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LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1847 TO 1887.

Second Series.

18842

BY

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LATE MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

B. 198

Πόλλων ἀνθρώπων ἴδον ἄστεα, καὶ νοὸν ἔγνῳ.

Nulla recordanti lux est ingrata.

8 x 9 37

Ah! dove andar quei dìei
Sì dolce passagier!

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
1887.

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LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

Second Series.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

In the year 1873 the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society assembled to keep their first Jubilee, half a century having elapsed since the date of their foundation, and five only of the original members having survived to that date. Occasion was taken to record in the report of the year the work done by the Society in the previous fifty years, and, as it were, to take stock of the literary capital and enterprise of the Society, and to make a fresh start.

Let us consider for a moment what a vast change has come over the Oriental world since 1823, the year in which Henry Colebrooke read his primary discourse. It is literally true, that the area of British India has doubled, and the rate of increase of the population has probably been greater. The great Company has fallen. Persia and Turkey have entered into the comity of civilised nations; while China and Japan, which were at that period merely geographical expressions, have commenced a career of progress. The Overland passage and the Telegraph have destroyed distance, and the news from the East is every morning as fresh as the news from Wales used to be fifty years ago. In one respect only there is no change: the subject of India is put aside in the political world as a bore now, because so much is known about it; fifty years ago it was scouted, because it appeared in a garb, and with surroundings, that were incomprehensible.

In the world of Literature, how vast has been the progress! How strange it appears now to read remarks from the pen of Dr. Wilson, that it was still an undecided question, whether the Zend

and Pehlavi ever actually existed as languages, or were mere inventions of the Parsi: at the present time the genuineness of Hebrew and Samaritan might as easily be questioned. In those quiet days no Settlement Officers had ransacked every corner of Northern India for the least vestige of a custom, or a tenure; and no Education Department had undertaken the herculean task of instructing the youth of the conquered according to the notions of the conquerors. Within that period the Science of language has by the energy and learning of her votaries secured a place by the side of her elder sisters; and the young giants, Comparative Philology, and Comparative Mythology, have ripped open many a favourite theory, and dashed down with the merciless club of fact the idol of many a time-honoured fallacy. The knowledge of the ancient world has been indefinitely expanded since that time. Bopp had not then spun his fine cobweb of unassailable reasoning over the great play-ground of the Indo-European Family; Pott had not delved in the inexhaustible mine of the Teutonic Word-Lore; nor had Grimm, like his great countryman Kepler, elaborated a new law, which future generations must obey.

The founder of the Society was a man, whose name can never be mentioned by a student of Oriental languages without the profoundest respect. He was [illegible] second of the three great English Oriental scholars, the undoubted pre-eminence of whom is admitted on the Continent as in England. Sir William Jones [illegible] the lamp to Henry Colebrooke, and he in his time found a worthy successor in his friend Horace Hayman Wilson. This dynasty lasted seventy years; and the vacant chair of pre-eminence has never been, and is not likely ever to be, filled again. As the field of labour widened, a distribution was made among the scholars of this and other countries; and though the amount of knowledge possessed by the present generation far exceeds that of the preceding, both in extent and profoundness, and also in accuracy, still in no one scholar is such a variety of gifts concentrated; to no one is conceded such undoubted homage. And it is characteristic of the institutions of Great Britain, that to not one of these three great Lights did the Sovereign or the State, prodigal in honours and pension to second-rate lawyers and third-rate divines, make the slightest acknowledgment.

Without wishing to detract from the great merits of these early giants, it must be remembered, that they had the advantage of being first in the field, but they had the ability and industry to make good use of their opportunities. They gathered in the first fruits of the great harvest, which had been ripening for two thousand years; they had the skimming of the great cream-pot. And it must be remembered that, as in all new mines, the ore lay very much on the surface. And, though they were servants of the State, the duties of public servants were not so relentlessly exacted

as now; they merely gave to the study of Oriental Literature the ample leisure, which their contemporaries dedicated to the card table or the bottle, leisure which the hard-worked Official of modern days looks for in vain.

The new Society was organised in 1823 under a Royal Charter, His Majesty George IV. being Patron, members of the Royal Family being Vice-Patrons, the President of the Board of Control was the first President, being ex-officio a Vice-Patron, and Mr. Colebrooke, the founder, was the first Director, a post which he occupied till his death, when he was succeeded by Dr. Wilson; and when his chair was vacated by death, it was occupied by Sir H. Rawlinson, who is the actual incumbent. At their first meeting in March, 1823, Mr. Colebrooke read an opening "discourse," which was reprinted for circulation in 1842, as up to that date expressing the objects and aspirations of the Society.

Admitting that Asia was the parent of civilisation, he lays down the principle, one so often forgotten, that Europe, and especially England, have a debt to repay, and this can best be done by promoting an interchange of benefits, which again must be preceded by more accurate information "*of all that is there known, which "belongs to Science, and all that is there practised, which appertains "to Art.* Be it then our part to investigate the Science of Asia, "and to inquire into the Arts of the East, with the hope of "facilitating the ameliorations, of which they may be found "susceptible."

We see what a wide field of inquiry was thrown open, how large a subject was grasped. All that is now the aim of international Exhibitions, and a large portion of that, which is included in the Moral and Material Progress-Report of British India, were contemplated by the small gathering of men interested in India, who were assembled fifty years ago in the Society's rooms in Grafton Street. The nominal rulers of the great Dependency were occupied in their investment for the China and home market: a knot of its retired servants were assembled to study the Alphabet of governing Asia upon European principles.

As the veteran Civil Servant warmed to the subject, he seemed to transport himself back to his seat in the Council-room in Calcutta, with hundreds of subordinates, scattered over the vast country, to whom "to hear was to obey." We think we hear him reading the measured sentences of his discourse, for, as with all old Indians, long practice had made him write well, and the stately sesquipedalia flowed from his pen, detailing a field of research "as "wide as the regions, and as various as the people, who inhabit "them are diversified. It embraces their history, ancient and "modern, their civil polity, their long-enduring institutions, their "manners and their customs, their languages and their literature, "their sciences, speculative and practical, the progress of know-

"ledge among them, the pitch to which it has attained, and last, "but most important, the means of its extension.

"It is the history of the human mind, which is most diligently "to be investigated, the discoveries of the wise, the inventions of "the ingenious, and the contrivances of the skilful.

"Nothing of what has most engaged the thoughts of men is "foreign to an inquiry within the local limits, which we have "prescribed to it. We do not exclude from our research the "political transactions of Asiatic States, nor the lucubrations of "Asiatic Philosophers. The first are necessarily connected in a "small degree with the history of the progress of society, the "latter have an influence on the literary, the speculative, and the "practical avocations of men."

Nor was the grasp of geographical area less than the grasp of subject-matter. The India of 1823 was a much smaller affair than the magnificent Empire of British India and its dependent States of 1873, traversed by railways and steamers, irritated by the periodical Census, thinned by the recurring famine, worried by the vacillating system of taxation, and overgoverned by voluminous legislation. In 1823 India represented a magnificent myth, a four months' voyage distant from England, a bourne, from which many never returned at all, and those, that did return, came back at such long intervals, and were so changed, that they seemed to belong to a distinct world. Beneath the soil of that India were the treasures of unknown languages, such as Pali, the Dravidian the Kolarian, the Tibeto-Barman, the Tai, the Mon-Anam, the Malayan Families, and a host of dialects. Beyond India lay China, represented pretty entirely by opium and tea. On this side of India lay Persia and Arabia, and the language of the latter was to be followed along the North Coast of Africa into Spain. Of the north of Asia, the great dominion of Russia, little was said, because little was known; and, strange to say, the great Altaic family of languages, as represented by the familiar Turki, is totally omitted. But even as far back as 1823 something was known of the infant Colonies of England in the Southern Seas, and the Royal Asiatic Society undertook rather pompously to contribute its aid to the obtaining of better knowledge of "Austral-Asia."

Even restricting the field to British India (and, until the great Mesopotamian discoveries, this practically was the restricted field), we must bear in mind, how extremely superficial our system of Government of India was in those days; how absolutely non-existent the great works of the Statistical, the Archæological, and the Educational Departments were; how rude and empirical were our systems of Revenue and Judicature; how little Public Works were thought of; or International Exhibitions, Model Farming, and Cotton Commissioners dreamt of; how alien to the spirit of the time would have been the idea of sending or raising Com-

missions to purchase or copy Oriental Manuscripts and Inscriptions, or wasting money on the repairs and preservation of architectural remains of a former dynasty. Gradually, very gradually, the Government of British India has risen to the level of the exalted views of the duty of a State of the nineteenth century, and has now so wonderfully organised an administration, that it is able with a wave of the hand to get in any amount of statistics with regard to the peoples, nations, and languages, that make up the empire, and declare with tolerable accuracy what proportion of the population make a practice of killing their daughters, how many millions bury, and how many millions burn their dead, and how many prefer, as a religious duty, to expose the bodies of their deceased relations to become the prey of wild birds.

But it has required all the energy of a great Government to get the Empire thus in hand, and a numerous, highly-paid, and well-trained army of Officials. But in 1823 it was proposed to do all this by the agency of public Officials, who had done their day's work, and returned home with more or less impaired constitutions. The venerable founder, in his discourse, thus describes how the work was to be done.

"Remote as are the regions, to which our attention is turned, "no country enjoys greater advantages than Great Britain for "conducting inquiries respecting them. Both within its territorial "limits and beyond them, the public functionaries have occasion "for acquiring varied information and correct knowledge of the "people and of the country. Political transactions, operations of "war, relations of commerce, the pursuits of business, the enter-"prise of curiosity, the desire of scientific acquirements, carry "British subjects to the most distant and secluded spots. Their "duties and professions lead them abroad, and they avail them-"selves of opportunities thus afforded for the acquisition of an "accurate acquaintance with matters presented to their notice. "One requisite is there wanted, as long since remarked by the "venerable founder of the Asiatic Society of Bangál, it is *leisure*, "but that is enjoyed on their return to their native country. "Here may be arranged the treasured knowledge, which they bring "with them written, or the remembered information which they "have gathered. Here are preserved, in public and private "depositories, manuscript books collected in the East, exempt "from the prompt decay, which would have there overtaken them. "Here too are preserved, in the archives of families, the manu-"script observation of individuals, whose diffidence has prevented "them from giving to the public the fruits of their labour in a "detached form."

"Leisure and knowledge." I pause over these two words. It was Lord Metcalfe, who wrote at the close of a long active life, "I am now convinced, that want of leisure is a constitutional

"disease, which will stick by me to the grave, and that it does not "proceed from excess of business only." It is at once the privilege, and the charm, and the cross, of a well-trained and active mind, *that it never has leisure.* People, who have nothing to occupy themselves with, generally spread that nothing over the whole day; but the active mind, while it finds time for everything, has the so-called "leisure" for nothing. There are some, who on their return from India crave for their Office Despatch Box, and the daily routine of indolent activity, or busy idleness, of an office; but how many bring home memoranda of books to be read, *when there is leisure,* thoughts to be arranged, when there is opportunity, subjects to be looked up, when there is a moment to spare!

Then, as to "knowledge," how many men fifty years ago brought back "treasured knowledge" of the kind described in their long sea cases? In how many overland trunks of modern times would anything be found worth publishing? Be it remembered, that as a companion of the leisure, and a penalty of the knowledge, often comes impaired health, and failing eyesight, and a feeling that the day's work is done, that the pen does not run so glibly as before, that the well-stored Memory somehow or other does not respond so readily to the touch, that the man is not what he was "*Consule Planco.*"

Even in the heroic age, when this Society was founded, there were but a handful of men, who were prepared and able to assist in the proposed work; behind them, and supporting them, was the usual amount of padding, the social "umbræ," whose tongues were wisely kept silent, and their pens judiciously dry, or who at least discreetly allowed their lucubrations to remain in manuscript; and to those who were willing, and able, how few and short were the hours of work allowed! Year by year the obituary column recorded the death of one of the leading members, and within a very few years we find the venerable founder requested to allow his honoured name to remain attached to a post, the duties of which his rapidly increasing infirmities had prevented him from discharging.

But the Society for many years did not shrink at least in words from the programme of their founder. In their report of 1834 we find that "the Council took the occasion to point out the peculiar "relations, in which the Society stood to the British Empire, "particularly to its Oriental possessions, and to express its hope, "that the Society might become an effectual instrument in bringing "into activity the intellectual energies of the inhabitants of our "Eastern dominions, in directing them, when so awakened, to "proper works of utility, and in making known the results of these "exertions to the European world. In this view the Council "considered the Society a national institution, justly entitled to "national support from the means which it possesses for diffusing

"among the nations of the East whatever of European invention "may seem calculated to improve them in Arts and Sciences, or in "any way to elevate them in the scale of nations; while on the "other hand, it operates as a medium, through which a knowledge "of all which they themselves possess may be laid before the public."

"These anticipations have been realised."

Again, in the report of 1837:

"We cannot slacken our endeavours to promote the usefulness of "the Society, as regards the welfare of our fellow-subjects in Asia, "or as regards the people of this country in being the medium of "communicating to them the knowledge of the former, their Arts, "Sciences, Manufacture and Commerce of the most valuable "natural productions and vast resources of our widely expanded "Empire in the East."

And once more, after a lapse of twenty years, we recognize the familiar ring, perhaps the farewell echo of the great Directors, at least we have heard no such sentiments expressed since Dr. Wilson died.

"Our Society should concentrate information of whatever is "produced or illustrated in respect of Asia by the learning and "industry of our countrymen, or residents in a foreign land; in a "word, that the inquirers for information respecting India might "be referred to this Society as the depository, where investigations "may be assisted and study prosecuted with the greatest prospect "of success."

In fact, the aspirations of the Society's Report, 1854, trenched on the field then open, but now occupied, and ably occupied, by the Government of India. The Society, presided over by the President of the Board of Control, and attended by members of the Court of Directors, was in fact the representative of the Government of the period in the Department of Arts and Sciences. Nothing can show this more clearly than the report read by Sir Alexander Johnstone, Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence in 1834 and 1837, going over the widest field of inquiry, geographical, administrative, and scientific. Twice a Committee of Agriculture and Commerce was established: on the first occasion it came to an end by the Government of India inviting the leading member of the Committee, Dr. Royle, to transfer his services to the State, and to finish more thoroughly as a salaried official what he commenced as an amateur. The second time, in spite of the able and zealous exertions of Mr. Marshman, the Committee came to an end, not from the want of interest felt in the subject, but from a feeling, that the subject could be handled by the State only. This was, perhaps, the last attempt of the Society to be useful beyond the strict boundary of Literature and Archæology. For, indeed, the question must arise: Did those who penned the extracts, which we have quoted above, really believe them? Did they

deceive themselves, that the Society was effecting any great work for Asia or India, or likely to do so? In the face of the gigantic administrative machinery of modern times, the annual Moral and Material Progress-Report submitted to Parliament, it became clear, that the front of the battle was changed, that in the midst of the army of report-writers, statistic-collectors, and commissioners of inquiry, the little contingent of the Royal Asiatic Society was nowhere; and that the Society itself was become like one of the little harbours of our coast, once accessible to the smaller craft of ancient days, but now, from the shifting of the current, and silting up of sand, far inland.

We have seen that the Asiatic Society was founded in 1823. After the lapse of twenty-five years it was firmly established as an Institution; but in 1848 all the great men, with a few exceptions, who were necessarily advanced in life, at the time of the foundation, had passed away. Indeed, a perusal of the report of the annual meetings has something sad in it, for each year some well-remembered figure was absent, some well-known voice was silent, and those, who uttered a well-deserved panegyric on their departed friends, were themselves the subject of a similar pious eulogy at the meeting of the following year. Two patrons of the Society, George IV. and William IV., a succession of official vice-patrons, the President of the Board of Control, and Chairman of the Court of Directors, and a long row of presidents and vice-presidents, Members of Council and office-holders, had disappeared from the roll. Among them were Charles William Wynn, the Earl of Munster, Lord Fitzgerald, the Earl of Auckland, the Earl of Ellesmere, the Marquess of Wellesley, Lord Metcalfe, Sir W. Macnaghten, Sir Alexander Burnes, Henry Colebrooke, Sir Gore Ouseley, and many others less known to the general public, but filling a large place in the affairs of the Society.

Although the Society seemed to be still flourishing, when after the lapse of another quarter of a century we look back upon the men, who even then were spared to assemble at the meetings and contribute to the pages of the journal, men such as Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir George Staunton, Mr. Elphinstone, Dr. Mill, Mr. Shakespeare, Mr. Bland, Mr. Morley, Colonel Sykes, Dr. Lee, Sir Graves Haughton, Lord Strangford, Dr. Falconer, Mr. Marsden, and others, still it was evident, that in reality the objects of the Society were languishing, that the field of inquiry was contracting, that the interest in Oriental subjects, which had launched and buoyed up the vessel thus far, was exhausted. The reasons were obvious, and they have double force now a quarter of a century later, and we propose further on to discuss them at large. In the year 1848 the Society had migrated from their original quarters in Grafton Street, and were newly established in the house in New Burlington Street, which will recur to many of our readers. These

excellent quarters contained a choice museum and a well-selected library; and the staff of the Society consisted of Dr. H. H. Wilson, the Director and moving spirit, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Edwin Norris were Secretaries, Mr. Alexander, Treasurer, and Sir Graves Haughton, Librarian, when a succession of events happened, which gave to the Society a new lease of life, and an amount of lustre in English and European circles, surpassing all previous and, we fear, all future experiences.

In the year 1845, Mr. Edwin Norris, the Assistant Secretary, had successfully interpreted the Inscriptions of Kapúr di Giri near Peshâwar, brought home by Mr. Masson; and soon after Sir H. Rawlinson, who in 1844 had been appointed by the Government of Lord Ellenborough to Turkish Arabia, had made copies of the Cuneiform Inscription of Persepolis in the province of Fars, and had solved the great problem, and had given new life to the decrees of Darius Hystaspes at Behistún after a slumber of more than 2000 years. The Asiatic Society lent its countenance and influence, and opened its purse liberally in the support of this great discovery; and in Mr. Edwin Norris was found the man, who by patience and ingenuity helped to work out the problem, translated the Median or Scythian portion of the great Behistún Inscription, and with singular and unselfish devotion to Science threw himself, as a humble co-operator, into a work, which covered his fellow-labourer with glory. The journals of the Royal Asiatic Society suddenly acquired a new interest, which was increased one hundred-fold, when Nineveh and Babylon disclosed their long-buried treasures, the literature, language, and history of a period not less removed from the present era than 2500 years. It was then, that the Asiatic Society became the centre of a great literary movement, that their publications were subsidised by a national grant, that the greatest and most eminent men of the time, headed by the Prince Consort, attended at the meetings, and tourists abroad found that a copy of the Journal, unfolding the wonderful Cuneiform discoveries, was the most acceptable present in the scientific world at a foreign capital. In heading this movement, the Royal Asiatic Society acted as if by inspiration, as there was for a long time a great wave of incredulity to resist, and Sir H. Rawlinson has always gratefully acknowledged the debt of gratitude, which he owed to his earliest supporters, and styled himself their "*alumnus*."

Practically the *raison d'être* of the Society has been as follows:

I. To form a centre for the social union of persons interested in Oriental Literature and Archæology, or in India and the East in its widest acceptance.

II. To increase mutual knowledge of England and India.

III. To concentrate information for the use of inquirers, whether English or Foreigners.

IV. To supply a graceful mode of recognising the distinction of foreign scholars by admitting them as honorary members.

V. To publish a periodical Journal as a vehicle of the above detailed information.

VI. To publish a periodical report of the proceedings so as to keep alive, and, if possible, increase interest.

VII. To annex to this report obituary notices of the distinguished members, who have died within the year.

VIII. To annex a *resumé* of all works published on Oriental subjects either in the British Dominions or foreign countries within the period, and thus take stock of the progress of knowledge.

IX. To collect and maintain a library available for reference, or for loan to members, or on the responsibility of members.

X. To preserve manuscripts, and lend them to scholars under certain conditions.

XI. To draw up memorials to the Government or the Universities on subjects connected with the promotion of Oriental Literature.

XII. To form a connection with Branch Societies in different parts of the world.

It must not be forgotten, that the Royal Asiatic Society was established at a date subsequent to the Asiatic Societies of Batavia and Paris, which date back to 1779 and 1822 respectively, and that it has always entertained feelings of filial respect to the parent-Society in Calcutta, founded by Sir W. Jones in 1784. On the other hand, round it are gathered Branch Societies at Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, North and South China, its motto being *Quot rami tot arbores*, with the emblem of the *Ficus Indica*. Of a subsequent date, and probably in imitation of the great examples at Calcutta, Paris and London, Oriental Societies have been established at every capital in Europe, save Spain, publishing periodicals, and vying with each other in industry and zeal. It must be added that, with the exception of London and Calcutta, the effective members of such Societies are chiefly members of the professorial body of the Universities, and but slightly supported by the members of the ordinary community.

I now come to consider what the Society has done; and the report of 1873 undertakes to supply information for the purpose. It must not be forgotten, that something has been done indirectly, which did not admit of being set out formally in a report, but which must not be lost sight of. The existence of this Society has filled up an admitted vacuum: it was alone in the field once, and by keeping alive interest by action on the Government, and on public opinion, has very much contributed to the establishment of other Societies, which by drawing off members have thinned its ranks. Besides the great case of the Mesopotamian Discoveries, the Society has by encouragement and liberality fostered other

researches, which might otherwise have drooped; and we cannot fully estimate the influence which individual members of the Society brought to bear in their capacity as members of the governing bodies of India. At any rate, we have the fact, that the great aspirations of the Society have been adopted and fully worked out by the Government. It is reasonable to argue, that the manifesto of the Society, and the proceedings and discussions which distinguished its early years, have led surely, but imperceptibly, to the improved administration of India, especially when it is recollected, that for thirty years the Director of that Society was one of the few of the unchangeable figures in the ever-changing kaleidoscope of the old India House, where those, who went to India as boys, and returned as middle-aged men, ever found the kind but solemn face of the most universally accomplished man, the admirable Crichton, of the Service of the Company.

I come next to the tangible records of the work of the Society, the three volumes of the Transactions, and the twenty volumes of the Old Series of the Journal, and the volumes of the New. Of many of the papers that were read, and of the numerous lectures which were delivered, with a few exceptions, there is no record; but the printed volumes of the Journal will speak for themselves, and, following the order of the jubilee report, I shall have occasion to notice them. The Branch Societies have all published Journals. But in addition to its own labours, the Society has given birth to two other kindred institutions supported and maintained by members of its own body, though enjoying a separate organisation and income. I allude to the Oriental Translation Fund and Oriental Text Society. The volumes of the former amount to nearly eighty in number, and contain the work of some of the most distinguished English and Foreign scholars; and the result is that the contents of books, which were emphatically sealed to the general reading public, have been made accessible in the English, French, or Latin languages, and the works of some of the most celebrated Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Syrian authors placed on a level with the European Classics. The Oriental Text Society and its successor, the Sanskrit Text Society, and the Pali Text Society, have had a more restricted object, but one not less important; to supply the scholar with Texts existing only in manuscript, thus by correct readings and good typography removing one-half of the horror, that surrounds the first attempt to be an Oriental scholar.

In estimating the result of the half century, it must be remembered that the Society has gone through more than one financial crisis, and from its earliest date until now there has been one continuous moan over the scantiness of support to a subject not of general interest. The increase and decrease of members has

been year by year jealously watched and commented upon, Instances of liberality and devotion on the part of the members have not been unknown, large donations have been made, and many of the members, who had compounded by payment, allowed themselves to be put on the paying list a second time. No lack of energy has been displayed by the managing council; quarters have been shifted from Grafton Street to New Burlington Street, and thence to their present house in Albemarle Street, the accommodation being contracted, or expanded, according to the state of the resources. Strenuous attempts have been made to secure free quarters from the State in Somerset House, or Burlington House, and in the new India Office. The Society surrendered their Museum to the great Museum of the India Office, and offered, but without success, to amalgamate their Library with that of the India Office, and establish themselves as Custodians of the great depôt of Oriental learning in the metropolis, reserving that power of lending manuscripts to scholars, which is the great distinction between the practice of both the above-mentioned Libraries, and that of the British Museum and the two Universities, who are restricted by Act of Parliament from allowing a sheet of paper to leave their premises; and how great a boon it is for a scholar to be allowed to take his manuscript to his house, instead of studying it in a crowded room at fixed hours, can only by scholars be fully appreciated. On looking back upon the past history, we do not see that the Society ever lost an opportunity, or was wanting to a duty; and, if prosperity has departed from its walls, it is mainly owing to the relentless logic of circumstances, and the shifting of the social and literary requirements of the age.

I now proceed to notice the report of 1873 more in detail. The two main Departments are:

I. Philology . . . Man illustrated by his "Words."
II. Archæology . . ,, ,, "Works."

In the former are included the following languages: Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Zend and Pehlavi, Armenian; treated by such scholars as Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, John Muir, Max Müller, FitzEdward Hall, and Goldstücker. The Pali language is worthy of a separate notice, illustrated, as it has been, by Clough, Fausböll, Childers, Hodgson, Turnour, Gogerly, and Hardy. The Vernacular languages have been noticed, though insufficiently with reference to the wide field opened for research. If we pause to consider how during the period under review Pali has been entirely discovered, Zend and Pehlavi rescued from the supposition, that they were only inventions of fire-worshipping priests, and Vedic-Sanskrit for the first time interpreted, we may form an idea, how great the work has been, in which the Journal has participated. The Vernaculars are still an open field for the scholars of the future, but the treasures of the glorious past have been ransacked.

Under the head of Philology will come the interpretation of the great Inscriptions on rocks in all parts of Asia. There appears to have been a special literary providence presiding over those ancient nations, which urged them to consign to the safe keeping of the everlasting hills, to metal tablets, and to the brick and clay materials of their buildings, those records of their history, which other nations have consigned rashly to more perishable materials.

In the Department of Archæology, unwearying have been the labours of Fergusson, Walter Elliot, Meadows Taylor, Cunningham, and Stevenson. The ubiquitous Director, Dr. Wilson, is here, as everywhere, with papers on sects, descriptions of Temple-worship, verification of itineraries, and judicious and kindly comments on the works of others. Here, again, at least there is an inexhaustible field for the future. If the Government of India have at last taken up the subject of the Archæological Survey in earnest, it must be remembered, that it was the Royal Asiatic Society, that made the first move as far back as 1844; and the Archæological members of the Society watch the progress with interest, and chronicle its proceedings. In the special branch of Numismatics, which to a certain extent links together the separate pursuits of Archæology and Philology, much has been done during the last quarter of a century by our untiring Treasurer, Mr. Edward Thomas.

Outside the two great departments have been numerous contributions to Botany, Geology, Geography, Ethnology, Statistics, Law, History, Commerce, Agriculture; and well-known names appear among the contributors, Sykes, Neubold, Lowe, Oswald De Priaulx, Marshman, Sir John Malcolm, Sir A. Johnstone, N. E. Baillie, Sir G. Staunton, Sir J. Bowring, Sir J. Davis.

What then are the causes of decay in this Society, and what are its legitimate prospects for the future?

First and foremost, is the fact, that the Government of India has risen to the level of its duty to the great subject-State, and undertakes to do by its own officials what it formerly left undone altogether, or allowed private individuals or Societies to undertake. The annual Moral and Material Progress-Report of India shows exhaustively how vast those duties are.

Secondly. Rival Societies have sprung up on all sides to divide the great kingdom. Lord Ashburton, as far back as 1855, in a thoughtful Presidential address, remarked "that the Society should "not care for the loss of the monopoly of doing good; if other "Societies do the work as well, the Society should rejoice. The "same subdivision of work has taken place in hospitals." The Society might reply, that the theory was true and just, but that the practice might possibly lead to its extinction. It has been found convenient in modern times to divide the work of research according to subjects rather than geographical limits; and consequently the Royal Asiatic Society, that undertook everything, has been

gradually ousted from portions by the Geographical, the Geological, the Ethnological Society, the Society of Arts, the East India Association, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Society of Biblical Archæology, and lastly by the Archæological Department of the British Museum, and in fact is now restricted to Literature and Archæology. But still the Asia of the Asiatic Society has never included Russia in Asia, and has been suffered to include Africa and Oceania.

Thirdly. The subject-matter of the Society's researches, now that the novelty is worn off, is not an attractive one. It requires special training, and the creation of special tastes, to bring men together to discuss matters, which lie so entirely outside the orbit of their daily avocations. In the House of Commons what crowds of members assist in a bill to regulate the licensing of pot-houses, and how few attend to listen to the affairs of the greatest subject-Empire that the world ever knew! Paris is the very centre and metropolis of Oriental study, but this happens, because the essence of France is centralised in Paris, which is the seat of her only great University; and in the meetings of the Société Asiatique the professorial class dominate, without any healthy admixture of the practical element. At any rate, at the Royal Asiatic Society, men still meet, who for a quarter of a century have practised the art of administration of Oriental peoples on the largest scale, and know personally the languages, the customs, and the places, which are the subjects of their discussions.

The extinction, therefore, of such a Society, or the curtailing of its means of usefulness by a slow process of atrophy, would be a subject of regret; an average of one hundred and fifty members contributing three guineas annually, and fifty members non-resident in England, contributing one guinea, supplemented by the liberal donation of the Government of India of two hundred guineas, the sale of Journals, and the sublease of rooms to other Societies, and the interest of the small capital kept as a nest egg, constitute an income of about £1100. There was a time, when members were forthcoming, who made annual presents of £100; and one liberal patron whose name should be recorded, Sir H. Worsley, presented £1000. The same sum was contributed by vote of Parliament to assist the publication of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. The income above stated is pretty equally divided in three shares, the rent of the house, the salaries of the Secretary and his staff, and the cost of printing the Journal. This therefore is the minimum, on which the Society can exist on the most restricted scale, and no margin is left for the purchase of books, or any purpose which might appear to be useful. It is difficult to lay down for another what should be their duty, or what might be their feelings; but it does not seem unreasonable to suppose, that a certain number of the retired servants of the Indian establishment

would annually fill up the vacancies caused by death and too frequent withdrawals. Some scheme of amalgamation with other societies, so as to utilise the rooms and the library, might be hit upon. Several schemes for readjusting the terms of subscription, and thus attracting subscribers, have been discussed, but without any result. As a fact, the Societies, based upon a guinea subscription, generally have no library and no paid establishment, their operations being conducted by volunteers, and in many cases the use of a room being leased by some public institution, the expenditure is limited to the publication of the Journal.

What is therefore earnestly to be desired is that new members could be found in the services in India, as "non-resident," who on their return to the country would take their place as ordinary members. It is often a subject of comment by foreigners, how strangely indifferent the British seem to be to the mine of antiquarian interest, which a kind Providence has thrown into their hands. It has always been so, but perhaps since the extinction of the great Company more so now than ever. I am tempted to quote a letter addressed by Mr. Colebrooke to Dr. Wilson as far back as 1827.

"Careless and indifferent as our countrymen are, I think never-
"theless you and I may derive some complacent feelings from the
"reflection that, following the footsteps of Sir W. Jones, we have
"with so little aid of collaborators, and so little encouragement,
"*opened nearly every avenue*, and left it to foreigners, who are
"taking up the clue we have furnished, to complete the outline of
"what we have sketched. It is some gratification to national
"pride, that the opportunity, which we English enjoyed, has not
"been wholly unemployed."

A second suggestion is, that authors of books, bearing on Oriental subjects, should courteously forward a copy to the library; there are no funds to purchase books. The liberality of many publishers and authors has to be acknowledged. Notice of all new works is duly made in the Periodical *resumé* of the progress of Oriental Research; and this acts as a kind of advertisement, and instances have been known of persons purchasing a book, to which their attention had been called by seeing it casually on the table, or on the shelves of the Society. Many members have presented volumes to the library, and many more have bequeathed books and manuscripts; and for any one, who had at heart the advancement of the knowledge of the East, it would appear to be more appropriate to dedicate his books and manuscripts to a Society which would appreciate them, than to leave them to be sold and scattered, and used for base purposes, or bequeath them to relatives, who have neither taste nor understanding to know their value.

A third suggestion is, there are still many tracts in Asia and Africa and Oceania; many languages of inhabitants of these tracts;

many curious customs; many ruins of great buildings; many remnants of the mighty past, which have been imperfectly investigated, and concerning which no authentic or trustworthy details have appeared in public prints. The temptation, of course, is to write a separate book; but such an operation requires leisure, capital, or interest with publishers, and opportunity, and such a work may often fall still-born from the Press. On the other hand, a carefully prepared short paper for a journal, such as that of the Asiatic Society, obtains at once a circulation among those able to appreciate it, and at no cost to the writer; and there it remains for reference hereafter, or to form the nucleus of a larger work, if the author's life be spared; if not, the information is not lost, and the writer is honourably remembered. To those, who have spent their quarter of a century in India, it must come back, that there *was* a time, and there *were* opportunities, and there *was* a special knowledge, which might have been so utilised, had it been understood that all that was required was to forward the paper to the Secretary in Albemarle Street, who would have submitted it to the Council and the Director would no doubt have communicated with the writer. Contributors of this kind are more valuable to a learned Society than contributions in money.

And one word with regard to the Society itself. Unquestionably the social advantage of a place of reunion is reduced to a nonentity. The periodical meetings are reduced to a mere shadow, if not a sham. No doubt there is a tendency for each member to ride on his own hobby. Old Sir John Bowring's voice will be heard no more about China and Siam; Holt-Mackenzie would have liked to see Land-Revenue and land tenures noticed; Colonel Sykes would have had more statistics; Mr. Marshman would have ventilated Cotton and Railways; Lord Strangford viewed the world from the stand-point of Constantinople; Wilson of Calcutta, and Rawlinson of Babylon. But a little opposition gave a little life; as it is now, the majority of living members are as silent as the marble busts of the old members which surround them. Better lectures to a more sympathising audience might be given in the adjoining Royal Institution; and such contributions as do find their way to this Journal, might find a place in the Journal of some one or other of the rival Societies.

But there are duties, which this Society alone can discharge. We have mentioned above, that all distinguished foreign Oriental scholars are made Honorary Members of the Society, and their number is added to with judgment, so as not to make the honour cheap, and still omit none worthy of the honour; and then to use the words of the report of 1855: "In their obituary notices the "Council records the loss of eminent Oriental scholars, whose "great attainments, or peculiar devotedness to the pursuit and "extension of our knowledge of Asia, makes it the duty of the

" Society to trace the steps of his literary progress, and to enumerate " the works by which the treasures of Eastern learning have been " enlarged."

Then, again, the library of the Society is a convenient one for the concentration of peculiar and special information, which scholars can refer to *and borrow*. Exchange is made by this Society of its Journal with no less than one hundred Societies: and out of this large number many are foreign, and perhaps in no other place in London would the Journals and publications of some of these Societies be found, when occasion arose to refer to them. If this Library were enriched by further purchases or donations, its value would be still greater. The most is made of it that can be.

But it is on the Journal, that the Society must rest for its reputation. The Society is the only body, that on certain topics can speak upon an entirely independent platform. It can memorialise the Universities, or the Government, upon subjects which fall within its special domain, as it has done in times past, when it memorialised the University of Cambridge, not in vain, to make provision for the teaching of Sanskrit, and this last year has represented to the University of Oxford the expediency of constituting a Semitic Chair. At the solicitation of the Society, a grant was made by the State for the Rawlinson Inscriptions, and the Society made the first move in the cause of Archæology in India. In the pages of the Journal the conflicting views of scholars can be set forth, as in the notable case of the theories of Dr. Goldstücker and Dr. John Muir on Vedic interpretation. When doubt was thrown by sceptics on the genuineness of the Assyrian Inscriptions, in the pages of the Journal the sealed translations made by separate scholars were published for the judgment of the learned world. Attention is fearlessly called in the pages of the Journal to the neglect of Oriental studies in England; and a constant protest made against the shortsighted policy, which has led to the anomaly that the conquerors of India have to look to France and Germany for competent persons to occupy Chairs of Oriental Instruction, to edit or translate Oriental works, to catalogue Oriental manuscripts, to discharge the offices of librarian and secretary to Oriental Institutions, and to conduct researches, for which English industry and intellect ought to be forthcoming. In the Journal also are found notices of the discovery and cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts, both in Europe and India, a kind of information of first-rate importance to the scholar, and which no other Journal could supply.

Let it never be forgotten, how nobly the old Court of Directors of the East India Company discharged their duties as patrons of learning and literature. It is not intended to make any reflections on the present Government of India, as it is not asserted, nor insinuated, that patronage is not liberally bestowed on authors and

scholars according to what is considered to be right and proper for a constitutional Government, having to answer to Parliament for its proceedings. But the old Court had another law, and another way of dispensing its patronage, sometimes bordering on princely magnificence, with the advantage of abundant funds subject to no account.

I have reserved to the last my notice of what appears to me one of the most important, if not the most important, duty, which may be discharged by the Society through its Council, which would be highly valued on the Continent, and be quite *sui generis;* for it is in this Journal alone that such a production could appear; and it would itself be the most generally interesting paper that a Journal could produce, for, while the contributions on special subjects, such as Assyrian Philology and Indian Archæology, are additions to knowledge, still by their very nature they are unreadable, if not unintelligible, to the majority even of the reading public. I allude to a careful and complete annual *resumé* of the progress of Oriental study and research, such as Professor Garcin de Tassy has for many years issued with regard to the Vernaculars of India, and MM. Mohl and Renan annually compose for the Journal of the Société Asiatique. It is no reply, that these gentlemen already supply what is wanted, for their admirable discourses are in the French language, published in a French Journal of limited circulation; and on some particular side of the subject, where the Royal Asiatic Society is strong, the French Society from its opportunities and proclivities is very weak. The project has long been recommended by the Council and during the last five years has been partially, though ably, carried out by the present Secretary. I proceed by quotation to illustrate my proposition.

In 1855 the Council remarked "that some subjects, which the "early labours of the Society were directed to illustrate, have been "in great measure exhausted, and information on others of general "interest has been flowing into other channels. The topics of "literary, scientific, and general investigation in respect of Asia "have been so multiplied, and their limits so vastly expanded, "that they now call forth, not only the enlightened attention and "active energies of our own countrymen, but the industry and "acumen of our continental neighbours, especially those of Germany "and France. *Without a watchful observation of what is brought to "light in these countries a very imperfect acquaintance is kept up "of the progress of successful research on Asiatic subjects.*

"It seems to follow, that in addition to its own contributions to "the general fund of knowledge, it is desirable, that our Society "should concentrate information of whatever is produced or "illustrated in respect of Asia by the learning and industry of "our own countrymen, only residents in foreign lands; that our

"Journal should diffuse early information on whatever can "interest the scholar and the inquirer respecting the races, the "languages, the products, the literature, the arts, the institu- "tions, the habits of its varied populations, and that it should "contain *occasional reviews, summary analyses, or other notices of "recent and valuable works relating to those subjects, whether in our "own or foreign languages.*" "Extensive correspondence should "be carried on in order that literary productions of importance "and value should be early obtained from the quarters in which "they have been produced." These are doubtless the words of Dr. H. H. Wilson.

In 1864 the President, the late Viscount Strangford, remarked, "that the Society must stand, or fall, by its Journal as the stan- "dard of its literary activity and usefulness. India must, as here- "tofore, continue to occupy a large, and perhaps a disproportionate "share of the attention of the Society, which might take a pattern "from the useful and comprehensive review of the Hindustáni Press "of India, with which Professor Garcin de Tassy annually opens "his course of lectures, and extend it to other subjects and to the "rest of the vast Continent, from which the Society derives its "name. Arrangements have been made for publishing in the "Journal summary notices of the progress of the different branches "of investigation, to which the labours of the Society are directed."

Allusion is here made to an attempt to divide the Report into several departments, and to get several members of Council to report each his special branch of Oriental pursuits. This plan fell through, and it is open to obvious objections, although adopted by the Philological Society. The Society could not be responsible for the opinions, often strained and extravagant, of private members, and liable to be unduly proportioned to the peculiar idiosyncracies of individuals. The report of the paid Secretary, though complete and well proportioned, is apt to be colourless and dry, and inexhaustive. The difficulty is felt on the Continent as here; the attempt to supply the want in Germany has led to another difficulty. Dr. Gosche's annual report on every publication bearing on Oriental subjects, or Comparative Philology, is complete and ably drawn up, but *always many years in arrear, which is fatal to the scheme.* In 1867 Sir Edward Colebrooke, President, remarked, that "the "report of the Council was with little variation the work of their "valuable secretary. It differed in one respect from that of last "year. While giving a full account of the labours of the Society, "it took no survey of those of kindred Societies both of Europe and "in the East, which were reviewed in our last report. But it was "thought that such a review would prove more interesting when "given at certain intervals, as it might be rendered more compre- "hensive and convey a clearer view of the general progress of "Eastern literature. The useful and important object had not been

"lost sight of." In 1864, Sir Henry Rawlinson, on accepting the post of President for the next year, remarked, "that the educa-
"tional movement would be in its further development of material
"use in promoting the spread of Oriental science, and should there-
"fore be a subject of congratulation to the Royal Asiatic Society.
"As long as he had the honour of presiding over the Society, his
"attention would be directed to the current literature of India, as
"much as to the cultivation of Oriental studies in Europe. The
"two subjects were closely allied and equally deserving of the
"care of the Society. When he met them again at the next
"anniversary meeting, he hoped to be able to offer a more detailed
"review of both these interesting matters."

From the foregoing extracts it may be gathered to be the settled policy to have a complete *resumé* every year to extend over the whole field, including the reports of kindred Societies, such as those of Paris and Leipzig, the Oriental Text and Translation Societies, and kindred institutions such as the Palestine Exploration Fund and Biblical Archæological Society, the Bibliotheca Indica of Calcutta and Bombay, the Archæological Survey of India, and a general review in detail of the modern vernacular, as well as the ancient classic or dead languages. Care should be taken that in the two subjects of Philology and Archæology no portion of the field should be omitted, which may be generally divided into Egypt and Africa; Assyria and Arabia; India and Ceylon; Java and Malacca; China and Siam; Persia and Central Asia; Turkey and Russia in Asia. While India and Ceylon appeared in every report, other fields might be noticed at greater length in occasional reports; but for India and Ceylon it must be remembered that Europe looks to England for correct information. The native newspaper Press, brought under periodical review by the local Governments, presented a new and interesting field for report, as being the first instance in history of an entire freedom of writing and publishing, enjoyed by a subject Oriental people in the midst of decaying customs and religions, and a great upheaving of national sentiment. Under a late law of India all books are registered and entered into catalogues, copies of which reach the Society, and present a most curious subject for annual analysis.

More might be done to bring the publishers in India *en rapport* with the reading public in Europe. On this subject in 1866 the Council remarked, "that while duly appreciating the talent and
"scholarship bestowed by learned Hindu and Mahometans on the
"cultivation of their ancient literature, and the patronage still
"accorded to it, as of old, by Native Princes, they cannot refrain on
"this occasion from recording their full concurrence in the regret
"frequently reiterated by M. Mohl in his annual Reports, that on
"the one hand, the editors and publishers of works which issue

"from the native Presses of India, do not sufficiently consider "the desire of European scholars to possess these books; and on "the other, that such desire is not sufficiently brought home "to them by those, who have the power and opportunities of "doing so."

This was indeed penned before the passing of the latest Press Act in India and the publication of annual catalogues; still there is a want of information, and a want of supply of Texts printed by private publishers, felt both in London and in Paris, and it appeared to be in the hands of the Society to supply a remedy to both. A careful analysis of the catalogues published annually would supply the information, and a circular from the Royal Asiatic Society to native publishers, and published in native newspapers, with the appointment of receiving agents in India, would, if we mistake not, secure a presentation copy of most of the books published; there would remain the expense of bringing them to England, to which the resources of the Society are equal.

And though many subjects, originally included in the prospectus of the Society, have drifted from it, still others have come into existence. The schoolmaster is abroad in India, and the results are reported annually, and buried in Parliamentary blue books, and remain unknown to the general home and continental public. The results of education are showing themselves in the institution of Anjumáns and Literary Societies, of which nothing is known in England. The reports of the great Missionary Societies, if properly analysed, would supply, from a secular point of view, much evidence of the effect of European contact on a great Oriental people, and much *bonâ fide* and *practical* information on the subject dialects and customs. The reports of a Protestant Mission may be distasteful to some in its original object; but no one interested in the progress of the people can fail to derive information from a study of operations conducted by purely independent parties from Kashmír to Point de Galle, and on the whole, allowing for a certain amount of professional bias, faithfully reported.

Turning its glance homewards, the Society should in its Report mark the progress, or neglect, of Oriental study at the Universities, or in the great arena of competitive examination, which has become one of the features of the age. The number of Professorial Chairs in the British Isles should be recorded, and the wants and shortcomings pointed out, prejudices combated, and ignorances cleared up. Then, and then only, can a correct opinion be formed whether, as a Nation, we are doing our duty, and whether sufficient encouragement is afforded by the State to students and scholars. It is a reproach that Englishmen should have to go to Germany to learn certain branches of knowledge,

and that Germans should be necessarily sent for to discharge certain duties in England.

It cannot be doubted, that, if such a Report were published annually, and in good time, it would be welcomed by the literary world, and would equal in value, and exceed in general interest, the greater part of the original contributions. The Secretary should be collecting materials throughout the whole year by careful collation of such circulars as are periodically published, as the *Revue Critique*, *Revue Bibliographique*, the *Literarische Central Blatt*, *Trübner's Oriental Literary Record* and such like. Members of the Society should from time to time furnish notices of works which come under their observation; and during the last weeks the report could be drawn up from materials thus leisurely collected. Nor can it ever be alleged that the Royal Asiatic Society is proceeding beyond its legitimate orbit by noticing Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Troy, the interesting operations at Ephesus, the solution of the mystery of the Cypriote language, as it must not be forgotten that the Society originally embraced every field of Asiatic research; and although gradually, and by no fault of the Society, but from the tendency of the age, certain subjects have been withdrawn and entrusted to special Societies, still it is to a Report of the Royal Asiatic Society alone that the outer world can look for a survey of *all* the work done and in progress during the past year. Moreover, the Royal Asiatic Society by its original constitution embraced "information of *all* "that is known in Asia which belongs to Science, and *all* that is "practised which appertains to Art."

LONDON, 1873.

Fourteen years have passed away since I wrote the above Jubilee Notice of the Society. It still exists, its finances have wonderfully recovered themselves, the number of members has greatly increased, the Journal has appeared with great regularity, in a greatly enlarged bulk, and composed of excellent, readable and varied material. The Annual Reports have been very full, and carefully prepared in the mode suggested, and last year Notes of the Quarter accompany the quarterly part of the Journal. A sufficient proof of the value of the Journal is supplied by the fact, that a considerable number of copies are sold to the general Public.

Two only of the distinguished Members of the Society have survived, and continue their attendance, Sir H. Rawlinson and Sir E. Colebrooke. Many well-known persons have withdrawn, and there is no longer an annual influx of old Indians returning home. As each old Indian name is removed by death, there is none to supply the vacuum. It seemed to me desirable that some change should be made in order to make the Society more popular, and

I drew up the following minute, and can only hope that changes may gradually be introduced.

My experience of the Society extends over fifteen years, and I have been connected with the Executive, have attended nearly all the meetings, and helped to make up the Journal all that time. My opinion is, that we must make a new departure as to our meetings and our Journal, so as to keep pace with the age. I desire to follow the example of the Royal Geographical Society, and anticipate the same success.

With the volume for 1887-88 the Second Series of our Journal will be completed: let the publication of a Journal then cease, and a complete Subject-Index of both Series be published.

From 1887-88 let us substitute "Proceedings," to appear every quarter from Nov. 1 of each year: In these Proceedings will be

I. The Papers read at the meetings, or sent in to the Society, and deemed worthy of publication, but not suitable for reading at the Meetings.

II. The discussions, which ensued after the reading of each Paper.

III. Letters addressed to the Society containing information, making inquiries, or refuting errors.

IV. Reviews of books (*not* polemical) on subjects connected with Science and Art, and Human Knowledge, in Asia, Africa and Oceania.

V. Abstract of Proceedings of Sister-Societies at Paris, Leipzig, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, etc.

VI. Brief notice of titles of books published in all languages on subjects coming within the scope of the Society.

VII. Detailed Archæological, Linguistic, or Scientific notices, original, or copied from other Periodicals.

Such "Proceedings" published every third Month would greatly reduce the bulk of the Annual Report. They should appear without fail on the days fixed, and be illustrated by maps, and plates, where required. The Members of the Society, and the general Public (on payment) would thus be supplied with an interesting and instructive periodical, analogous to the Proceedings of the Geographical Society, but relating to a different branch of human knowledge, neither overlapping each other.

The Meetings should be limited to six in the year, with a power to summon extra meetings, or evening conversazione, should any topic of peculiar interest and novelty arise. Meetings of the Council could be held oftener if required. There should be annually evening meetings to listen to selected lectures on interesting topics by persons of distinction.

Great care should be taken to select interesting subjects for discussion at the six meetings: the author of the paper should be required to supply an abstract, setting forth the nature of his

communication, and the salient features; this should be printed, and circulated several days *before* the meeting among the Members of the Council, and such Members of the Society as desire to be so supplied: copies should be sent to any individuals, who are *not* Members of the Society, but who are likely to take an interest in the discussion: such persons should be invited to attend and take a share in the debate.

A shorthand writer should attend the meeting, take down all the remarks made in the discussions, which should be published in the Proceedings, the proof having been submitted to the persons, who took part in the discussion for their approval.

At present the Meetings of the Society are very dull, and the discussions are very languid, and purposeless, in fact many Members of the Council slip away without attending the Meetings. The Journal is good, but heavy, and does not supply what is required, viz. *accurate information of what is going on in the different centres of Oriental Research.*

The Asiatic Society should draw closer relations with the Universities, the British Museum, and all other Societies, which occupy conterminous fields. Seats on the Council should be reserved for all scholars from India, English or Native, or other Oriental Countries, who are in England for brief times. It should be understood, that no one should be elected to the Council, who does not intend to contribute in some degree to the extension of Oriental Knowledge. Members of the Society residing at the Universities or elsewhere out of London or England, should be eligible to the Council, as their advice can be taken by letter, and will be specially valuable as representing a distinct centre of research: the Oriental Professors of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin should, when they are Members, be on the Council, and invited to take an interest in our welfare.

The Society should not restrict itself to Linguistic subjects, but should admit discussions and contributions on Oriental Numismatics, Archæology, Literature, Mythology, and Folk-lore. It should distinctly include Africa and Oceania within the regions of its inquiries. This will attract a wider circle of adherents, and supply a larger field for contributions. Whatever civilizations Africa and Oceania possess, they owe to Asia, and there are many interesting subjects opening out every year, on which there is at present no vehicle for discussion, and seeking information.

The Society should in addition to its ordinary Members, Resident and Non-Resident, and its thirty Honorary Members, who are elected as men of high distinction, have a staff of "Corresponding Members" in every part of the three Continents above named. There will be no difficulty whatever in selecting good men, who would be gratified by the honour, and who would receive a copy of the Proceedings post-free as their reward. I have myself corre-

spondents in nearly every part of this vast region. To them would be referred inquiries, which may have been started, and which require local elucidation, and their name is Legion. They should be appointed for a term of five years, and be re-eligible. Closer relations should be maintained with the Mother-Society in Bangál, and the Sister-Societies in Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Singapore, and China: encouragement, and complimentary notice of their work should be given in our Proceedings. All societies such as the Pali-Text, the Sanskrit-Text, Palestine-Exploration-Fund, the Egyptian-Exploration-Fund, etc., should be affiliated to the Royal Asiatic Society, their revenues and management being kept separate. The proceedings of all Government Officials, such as the Indian Archæological Surveyors, the Manuscript Commissioners, the Collectors of Inscriptions, the Librarian of the India Office, the Oriental Manuscript and Book Departments of the British Museum, should be noticed. The results of the Oriental Tripos, and Oriental Schools at Universities, should be chronicled, and by constant references to the subject Oriental study should be stimulated.

Medals and Diplomas should be offered annually, of the character of the Volney Prize, to superior Oriental Works. The completion of great works, such as Dictionaries, and the Chronicles of Tabari, should be noticed with due honour. Of course all this will require an efficient paid Secretary, and the assistance of able and willing Members of Council, who should be selected so as *specially to represent every branch of Oriental Study*, and take an active share in the work to be done. The number of old Indians on the Council, with no special branch of study, should be reduced, so as to admit younger and fresher minds, with special qualifications, and care should be taken not to let the hackneyed subjects of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Hebrew usurp a place, which they deserve neither for their novelty, nor their importance, in the great Republic of Oriental Knowledge.

The Royal Asiatic Society should determine to be the centre, the chronicler, and the authority, on every Scientific Oriental subject in its widest sense, having through its kindred Societies, and its ubiquitous correspondents, the touch of the whole Eastern World: its influence will then act and react on the Progress of Research, and the correctness of Record of Discoveries. The Société Asiatique restricts itself exclusively to French authors and French publications: the German Oriental Society has a very limited influence beyond Germany: no other European Oriental Society is of any importance whatsoever: let the Royal Asiatic Society take the standpoint occupied by the English Nation, and bring to a focus whatever is doing in any part of the Orient World, by whomsoever the work is being done. If it remains as it is now, it will soon be left high and dry by the retreat of the tide, and its membership

will cease to be desired, because no tangible object is derived from an Association, which has ceased to be honourable, or useful.

The subscription should be reduced to the level of the subscription of the Royal Geographical Society, but payment should be efficiently enforced. The Chair of the President should be occupied *for one year only*, so as to secure the services in rotation of scholars of distinction residing in London, and the Universities, and elsewhere. The position will then be coveted as one of dignity. The executive authority should be vested, as heretofore, in the Director, as regards the Proceedings, the Treasurer as regards the Funds, the Honorary Secretary as regards the general control, and under their orders only the paid Secretary should act. The Honorary Officials, though elected annually, should continue in Office, so as to secure departmental knowledge. With the Council, presided over by the President, will of course rest the supreme control, and the power of making organic changes.

LONDON, 1886.

Let me pause for a while and consider the progress, that has been made since 1823 in the extension of our knowledge. Egyptology has passed into the region of certainty. The discovery of the Cuneiform Character has revealed the documents of the Arian Persia of the time of Darius Hystaspes, the Semitic Assyrian and Babylonian, the Median of the 3rd Tablet, and the Akkadian and Susian of the earliest period of Mesopotamia. We have learnt to read the Inscriptions of the Sinaitic desert, of Safa, and Himyar, and are on the track of the deciphering of the Hittite and Cypriote mysteries. The Semitic Family of languages has been studied in its fullest extent. India has been exploited from the point of view of the Archæologist and Philologist. The very stones have been made to cry out. The Indo-Chinese Peninsula, Malaysia, China, and Japan are gradually revealing their secrets. The great Family of the Ural-Altaic, composed of its five branches of Mánchu, Mongol, Turki, Finn, and Samoyede, have been examined and exhausted. There is nothing more to be discovered with regard to the Languages of the Caucasus. An astonishing number of Archæological and Philological works has been the result of this general survey of Asia.

In Africa the knowledge which we have obtained is not so deep, but with reference to the total absence of knowledge previously existing, it is yet more wonderful. Oceania only dimly seen, and imperfectly understood, by the contemporaries of Marsden, is now fully revealed, and knowledge daily acquired.

Sir W. Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society of Bangál in 1784, would not consider that a Century had passed by in vain.

LONDON, MAY, 1887.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

This subject was first mooted by Sir William Jones in the Asiatic Researches. Some of the most distinguished scholars have at different times expressed opinions, totally irreconcileable with each other. New direct or indirect fragments of evidence have been contributed, sometimes narrowing, sometimes widening, the arena of the controversy. Last year Mr. Isaac Taylor summarised the facts of the case in his Book on "The Alphabet." I myself contributed a paper on the subject to the Indian Section of the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden, in September, 1883, which led to a lively discussion, occupying the best part of two days of the Session. In January of this year I again brought the subject before this Society, and I placed the whole case before the Members of the Society in the pages of the Journal.

Let me first deal with facts, and then pass on to theories. The Indian Alphabet is a marvellous and magnificent phenomenon quite unrivalled in the world. History is absolutely silent as to its origin, and development. Legendary accounts are also wanting. The earliest specimens of it have a well-ascertained date, and Inscriptions are found in excellent preservation in many parts of India, from the extreme Northern frontier of Peshâwar to the Island of Ceylon. I have seen some of these and passed my hands over them, and, being actually *in sitâ*, not shut up within the modern walls of a foreign Museum, they make a deeper impression upon the mind even than the venerable stone of Thera at Athens, or the Assyrian and Egyptian Inscriptions, all of which can boast of a much greater antiquity. But this Alphabet represents a symmetrical combination of symbols, designed by skilled Grammarians to indicate various shades of sounds, and is grouped in scientific order. The hand of a Brahmanical Scholar, dealing with a highly-polished Language, is detected here. No such refinement was necessary for the Vernaculars. This Alphabet became the Mother of a magnificent Family spread over the whole of India, Nearer, and Further, Ceylon, the Indian Archipelago, and the

Central Asiatic Plateau as far as Mongolia. In these two particulars the Indian Alphabet has no parallel, but enquiry is for the present restricted to the question, How did the Indians in the centuries preceding the Christian era get this Alphabet and at what approximate period?

But other facts require to be noticed. I quote Prof. Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 497. There is not one single allusion in the thousand Vedic Hymns to anything connected with writing. Such indeed is also the case, with the exception of one doubtful passage, with the Homeric Poems. To this silence the Hebrew Scriptures present a great contrast, as in the Book of Exodus the art of writing is unmistakeably alluded to, and the same three consonants used, which represent to this day the idea to countless Millions in Asia. Throughout the whole Brahmana period, there is no mention of writing materials, whether paper, bark, or skins. In the Sútra period, although the art of writing began to be known, the whole literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only: more than this, Kumárila's remark, that the knowledge of the Veda is worthless, if it has been learnt from writing, amounts to condemning its use after it is known to exist. However, the use of the word "Patila," or "Chapter," for the Sútra, a word never used in the Brahmana, lets in a side light: its meaning is a "covering," "the surrounding skin or membrane": hence it is used for a tree, and is an analogue of "liber" and "biblos," and means "book," presupposing the existence of the art of writing. Again, in 1878, in Macmillan's Magazine, Max Müller states, that there is no really written alphabetic literature much earlier than the Fifth Century before the Christian era: all poetry and legends must have been handed down orally previously. An Alphabet may have been used for Monumental purposes, but there is a great difference betwixt this and the use of it for art, pleasure and literature.

Prof. Roth of Tübingen at the Leyden Congress stated his firm conviction, the result of prolonged Vedic studies, that it was impossible to sustain the theory, that the vast collections of Vedic Hymns could have depended for existence on oral transmission: he considered it a sine quâ non, that writing was known, and that, in fact, a Pratisákya, or Vedic Grammar, could not have been composed by any one, who had not written Texts before him. He gave, however, no hint as to the date of the first writing.

Another kind of evidence is derived from the writings of independent Authors. The historians of the Greeks, who came into contact with the people of India after the invasion of Alexander the Great 327 B.C., have left conflicting testimony: Strabo quotes Megasthenes, who states, that the laws were unwritten, that the Indians were ignorant of writing, and in all the business of life trusted to memory, not even requiring seals for their pledges or

deposits. He also quotes Nearchus to prove, that the Indians wrote letters on cotton that had been well beaten together, and that they had milestones with Inscriptions upon them indicating resting places and distances. Quintus Curtius mentions that they wrote on the soft rind of trees, a custom which is confirmed by an allusion in the play of Sakuntala. In the Lalita Vistara it is recorded that the young Sakya was taught to write. The value of this quotation of course depends on the date assigned to that work. The case seems to be that the art of writing was known for public and private convenience, but that the learned classes abstained from using it for literary purposes.

We have a significant fact also from a Hebrew writer: Xerxes, King of Persia (the same who was defeated at Salamis, B.C. 480), who was well acquainted with the Greek Character used by his Ionian subjects, and the Persian Cuneiform Alphabetic Character, used by himself, and his father Darius, ordered his scribes to write to the authorities of the different Provinces of his Empire from India to Ethiopia, *unto every Province according to the writing thereof*, and unto every people after their own language. This evidences a plurality of forms of script, of which practical notice was taken, and India is specially alluded to. The Hebrew Character, which must have been the old Hebrew Character, not the later square Character, is also mentioned. The name of India at that period is inseparably connected with the River Indus. Was the Character used by Xerxes for the letter to India one of the Asóka Alphabets? It is of importance to recollect that the Greeks at the time of Alexander the Great were a highly literary nation. Herodotus knew very well how different Egyptian Hieroglyphics were from the Greek Alphabet, in which he wrote his own notes: yet in the allusion made by Greek writers to forms of writing in India, we find no hint that it was different in kind from the Greek. Clearly, therefore, it was Alphabetic, for a system of Ideographs, or a Syllabary with its wealth of forms, would have struck with surprise the Greek as much as it would a modern traveller.

Such are the facts: all that remains consists of theories, inductions, arguments based on analogies, ingenious combinations based on historical data, and Palæographical minutiæ. It may be stated that the Archæological Survey of India is drawing to a close, and the Archæological Survey of Arabia and Mesopotamia has not yet commenced.

Before I commence an analysis of the discordant theories, I would place on paper certain general arguments, as to the *possibility* and *probability* of the Indian Alphabet having been derived from the West of Asia, and being the offshoot of one of the branches, or directly of the parent tree, of the great Phenician Alphabet.

I. There has existed from time immemorial commercial intercourse, by land, across Persia and Afghanistan, and, by sea, by the Persian Gulf, and Red Sea, betwixt Western Asia, and India in its fullest extent.

II. In Western Asia there has existed from a very remote date before the Christian era an Alphabet of a very complete and highly elaborated character, the oldest specimen of which is the Moabite Stone, to which a date of 800 B.C. is attributed.

III. That from this Phenician Alphabet at a remote period the Greek and Roman Alphabets were derived.

The derivation of the Indian Alphabet from the Phenician is therefore *possible*.

Let us consider whether it is *probable*.

I. The copious Indian literature, so garrulous, so faithfully reflecting the introspective and egotistic character of the Indian mind, so ready to supply a mythical origin to every fact or event, even to the descent of the River Ganges, or to the origin of the rocky ridges, which connect Ceylon with India, is absolutely silent as to the origin of the Alphabet, which is used in conserving that literature. Indian authors have certainly made use of Alphabetic writing for more than two thousand years, and have treated upon every possible subject, physical and metaphysical, yet no account has been handed down by them of the origin of the marvellous vehicle of thought, which lay under their hands, and which they have elaborated to a degree unparalleled in any other country. Had it been invented in India, it would have been attributed to the God Ganésa, just as the invention of the Cuneiform Character was attributed to the God Nebo.

II. An Alphabet cannot spring into existence in full development from the brains of any people, nor is it the result of a compact at any given period. Where such Alphabets have been constructed in modern times in England, or North America, in Africa, or China, the process has only been that of adapting new symbols to the old Phenician method. It may safely be laid down, that an Alphabetic system is the outcome of a long use of Ideographic and Syllabic symbols. A nation capable from its own self-consciousness of carving upon rocks Alphabetic Inscriptions would assuredly have left traces of the same tendency on the same endurable tablets in Ideographic and Syllabic symbols. Now in India from the Himálaya to Cape Comorin no trace of such a non-Alphabetic Inscription, found so frequently, and in such diverse forms in Western Asia, and North Africa, has been found.

III. The resemblance of the Indian Alphabets to those that have taken root in Western Asia, Africa, and Europe, all of which are unquestionably of Phenician origin, is so striking, that it is difficult even to entertain the idea of a separate origin. No speculator has been hardy enough to suggest, that the Western lands are indebted

to India for their Alphabet as well as for their Numerals. In the single instance of the Ethiopic Alphabet this idea was indeed once mooted, but is now definitely abandoned. The resemblance exists, and must be accounted for; for there is no necessity pre-existent in the human mind of one, and one only, method of representing sounds by symbols: at any rate, we have totally distinct and independent Ideographic and Syllabic systems in different parts of the world, which might, uninfluenced by contact with the Phenician method, have developed into totally independent Alphabetic systems, but this phenomenon has not been proved.

A consideration of the above points leads to the conviction, that the separate and independent origin of the Indian Alphabet is highly improbable, or in other words that a common origin is exceedingly *probable*. The importance of these *a priori* arguments of *possibility* and *probability* lies in this that it throws upon the opponent of the solution now suggested the necessity of explaining away the remarkable facts or reasonable inductions above stated.

Of the Indian Alphabets there are two varieties, known generally as the North and South Asóka, though many others names have been supplied or suggested. Now these two Alphabets, though independent, and dissimilar, have many resemblances: though morphologically different, yet they are identical in structure: they adopt a contrary direction of writing: in usage they slightly overlap each other: coins are found bearing Inscriptions of both: the Edicts of Asóka were contemporaneously published in both in nearly the same language: the North Asóka died out in the first century after the Christian era, and was absolutely sterile: the South Asóka, as stated above, is the happy Mother of scores, with all human probability of an eternal existence: in both the necessities of the language, to which they were handmaids, compelled the use of the Cerebral letters, a characteristic shared by no other known Alphabet. The North Asóka is by unanimous consent affiliated to the Iranian branch of the Phenician Alphabet. Now this decision as regards the one Alphabet has an important bearing on the other, for a great many difficulties common to both, but surmounted in the one case, cannot be urged against the same solution for the other.

The theories with regard to the origin of the South Asóka divide themselves into two categories:

I. Those which assert an indigenous origin.

II. Those which assert a foreign importation.

It is worthy of remark that the authorities, who press either theory, totally disagree with each other: in this controversy each theorist stands on a separate pinnacle of his own private judgment, with but a small substratum of proof, manipulated by his own clever handling, and hanging together by his own ingenious plastering.

Let us consider the first category: the champions of this view are the late Mr. Edward Thomas of H.M. Indian Civil Service, Bábu Rajendra Lala Mitra of Calcutta, the late Professor Goldstücker, the late Professor Christian Lassen of Bonn, General Cunningham, the late Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, the late Professor John Dowson, and Pandit Shamaji Krishnavarma of Gujarát.

Thomas is distinguished as a Numismatist and Palæographer. He remarks in his Edition of Mr. James Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 48 (1858), that the South Asóka Alphabet bears every impress of indigenous organisation and local maturation under the special needs of the language, which it was designed to convey: at p. 144 of the same book he alludes to the independently perfected Alphabet of India. He quotes with apparent approbation a passage from M. St. Hilaire (Journ. des Savants 1857), that he could better understand the theory, that the Semites received at third or fourth hand an Alphabet of Indian origin, and adapted it to their requirements by cutting it in half and mutilating it, than the theory of the Indians receiving a shapeless and confused Alphabet, such as the Phenician, and elaborating it to the state of perfection in which we find it.

In the Numismatic Chronicle of 1863, N.S. No. III. Thomas treats of the Bactrian or North Asóka Alphabet, but he turns aside for an instant to express very decided opinions on the subject of the South Asóka. He remarks, that this Alphabet possesses in an eminent degree the merit of simplicity combined with extended distinctive capabilities, and remarkable facility of lection: it is formed from a very limited number of literal elements, and its construction exhibits not only a definite purpose throughout, but indicates a high order of intellectual culture on the part of the designers, who discriminated by appropriate letters gradations of sounds often inappreciable to European ears, and seldom susceptible of correct utterance by European organs of speech. It clearly constituted an *independently*-devised and *locally*-matured scheme of writing, adapted with singular facility for the exhibition of the language of the country, and as such competent to express all needed in the ancient vernaculars equally as in its but little changed, though more cursive and elaborately combined, forms, it suffices for the present day for all the demands of the multifarious dialects. He then goes on to say that the North Asóka, unlike the South, has no pretence whatever to an *indigenous* origin; and was superseded and extinguished by its more flexible and congruous associate of *indigenous* growth. It is worthy of remark, that Thomas was aware, when he penned the above, of the arguments of Max Müller and Professor Weber quoted in this paper, yet he is surprised, that the Indian Alphabet could be deemed an emanation from a Phenician stock, when we have in full contemporaneous

development a series of letters adapted to Indian wants, which not only declare their derivation in their own forms, but show how inconceivable a series of transmutations must have been gone through in the other instance to produce so innately dissimilar a set of characters from one and the same source.

At a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1866 (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. vol. v. p. 420), Thomas propounded the theory, I. that the Arians had never invented an Alphabet, but were always indebted to the nationality, among whom they settled, for their knowledge of writing; II. that the South Asóka was obviously originated to meet the requirements of the Dravidian languages. This expression of opinion was communicated to the Bengal Asiatic Society, and the subject was discussed there in 1866 and 1867, *vide* Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xxxv. p. 138, and vol. xxxvi. p. 33. In 1871, Thomas, in his paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S. vol. v. p. 422, brought up the topic again, and affirms his theory in a long argumentative note, based upon an examination of the different letters of the Alphabet. In 1874–75, he remarks in a Note to Mr. Burgess's Report on the Survey of Western India for 1874–75, p. 46, that his inference regarding the Turanian, or quasi-Dravidian, origin of the South Asóka does not imply a copying or imitation of any given Tamil (query Dravidian) Alphabet, and far less of the modern form now current: his object in giving the Romanized letters of that Alphabet was merely to show what letters were required, and what were not required, to express one group of Dravidian languages. In a private letter to my address in 1879 he remarks, that the more he advances in knowledge, the more confirmed is he in the universality of the primitive Scythian element, its predominance in Indian Alphabets, and its vitality in Indian speech. Again in 1884, understanding that my attention was turned to the subject, he assured me, that he has not modified his opinion at all with regard to the origin of the Indian Alphabet.

The theory of Thomas was twice discussed at meetings of the Bengal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and on the second occasion Rajendra Lala Mitra, a Sanskritist, distinguished as the author of many works on Archæology, read a note, which he had prepared in the interval betwixt the first and second discussions. He directly traverses Thomas's argument, that no Arian Nation had ever invented an Alphabet by the remark, that the Arian race migrated from their cradle at different times, and under different intellectual circumstances. The Indians were the latest, and it is neither inconsistent nor illogical, to suppose, that they were more advanced than their predecessors in culture, and might possibly have composed an Alphabet. And even supposing, as is probable, that they came to India before they had discovered the art of writing, there was nothing to prevent a highly intellectual race from doing so in

their adopted country. There is not in his opinion a scintilla of evidence to show, that the Non-Arians had a written literature at the time, when the Arians entered the country, or for some time afterwards. There is neither Inscription, nor Tradition, to support this theory. The history of the Non-Arians, apart from the Arians, is a blank, and all that we know of them from the writings of the Arians is, that they were the reverse of a literary race. He then reviews the arguments of other authorities, and asserts that the Alphabet, called the South Asóka, existed long before the time of that Sovereign. The different shapes, under which the letters of the different Edicts appear, can only be accounted for according to him by a long usage, engendering local peculiarities. He then enters at length into technical arguments.

Goldstücker, in the Preface to his Manava-kalpa-sutra, p. 15 (1861), cannot imagine the possibility of a people so civilized as they appear to have been at the time of the Mantra, a period anterior to that of the Sútra and Brahmana, being unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art is made in the hymns to the Gods: according to Lassen (Alterthumskunde, i. p. 1007), Prof. Goldstücker went so far as to maintain, that the Rishi themselves committed to paper their own hymns, as they composed them, at that remote period.

Christian Lassen of Bonn, in his Indische Alterthumskunde, 2nd edition, i. p. 1006 (1867), stood up for the indigenous origin of the South Asóka Alphabet, and, with reference to Weber's comparison of the Phenician and Indian Characters, he asserts that, when the letters are brought into close comparison, they are not found to possess the same phonetic value in both systems, and that the number of those, which do agree in sound and shape, is so very small, that no safe hypothesis could be built upon them.

Cunningham is distinguished as an Archæologist, and a Palæographer. He has had unrivalled opportunities of local inquiry, and familiarity with the Indian subject. He has published several remarkable works. In his Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. 54 (1877), he states without reserve his conclusion, that the South Asóka Alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian Hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. He works out an ingenious scheme to account for the indigenous origin of the Asóka Alphabet from Ideographs representing different members of the human frame. The Indians could not, according to his view, have borrowed the Egyptian Ideographs, as there was no correspondence betwixt the symbols, nor could they have borrowed even the idea of the Egyptian system of alphabetic symbols without borrowing the Egyptian system of Numerals at the same time, which we know that they did not. He admits that the difficulty in his theory is the non-existence of any traces of Inscriptions in the early stages of Ideographs, and he

accounts for this partially by the incomplete Survey of India, which may still contain unrevealed Monuments with specimens of archaic writing. He alludes to one very uncertain item of evidence in the Harapa stone, which however as yet proves nothing. It is fortunate in my opinion, that one Author has been hardy enough to adopt this extreme theory, as it shows that this point of view has not been overlooked.

Dowson was a Sanskritist and Palæographer: he contributed a paper to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. p. 102 (1881), but he was too ill to read it: so I read it for him, and he died very soon after. He states that, though he agrees in the conclusions of Thomas and Cunningham, he is unable to accept their arguments. His own are derived from a close study of Sanskrit writings: he considers, that the peculiarities of the Sútra are such, that their production and transmission was almost impossible without the use of letters: that, as the Vedic teachers instructed their pupils in the rules of Sandhi, or Euphonic changes, it was incredible, that the study could have been conducted with reference to sounds only without names for the sounds, and symbols to represent them: he admits that there is no proof of this. He is strongly of opinion that Pánini knew about writing, and that his date is from 600 to 400 B.C.: this leads him to the conclusion, that the art of writing was practised by the Hindú five or six centuries before the Christian era. He remarks that the North Asóka, though confessedly Semitic, has developed features such as a compound consonant, and adjoined medial vowels, to suit the requirements of a Sanskritic language, and there must have been some older Indian Alphabet, to which it was assimilated: of this however there is no proof. He does not think it credible, that the Hindú, who were such masters of language, and who invented Numerals, could not invent their own Alphabet. He states the theory, that neither in the North nor South Asóka have we the real original Indian Alphabet, as both are applied to a language passing into the second stage of decadence: of this again he gives no proof, except that such an Alphabet in his opinion ought to have existed. He admits that the cerebral letters are the special feature of an Indian language, and doubts not, that their existence is owing to the influence of the language of the Non-Arian tribes, who were found in the country by the Arian invaders, but he scouts the idea, implied by Thomas, that the Indian Alphabet was of Dravidian origin. He admits that the art of writing was known in the West of Asia long before there is evidence of its existence in India: but according to him the fame of the art of conveying ideas by material symbols must have penetrated to India through the channels of commerce, and the *idea* of an Alphabet must have reached India from without, though the practical application of the idea came from the Indians, and at a considerable period after the

Arians had settled in the country. Such is Dowson's theory: to me it seems that, if things happened in the way, in which he surmises, allusion to the adoption, and adaptation of this wonderful art would surely have appeared in Hindú writings: it may be true, that no Arian race ever did *invent* an alphabet, and the operation suggested by Dowson can scarcely be called an invention in the proper sense, but only an adaptation of an *idea*, of which there exist several analogues in Asia, Africa and America. If the symbols, however, were entirely new, whence came the remarkable resemblance to the Semitic Alphabets in certain particulars? At any rate the Indians have beyond doubt scientifically developed their Alphabet to an extent quite unparalleled elsewhere.

In September, 1883, at the Sixth Oriental Congress at Leyden, Shamaji Krishnavarma of Gujarát, a Sankritist and graduate of the University of Oxford, and a Member of Baliol College, in the discussion, which followed the reading of my paper in the Arian Section, read a note in reply, which is published in extenso in the Report of that Congress. He drew attention to certain expressions, words, and phrases, the use of which in the ancient literature of India proves, that the art of writing must have existed from a very remote period. He maintains that certain works could not have been composed, if the art had not existed. Himself an Indian, and a Pandit, with a well-trained memory, he asks how could such an enormous literature as that of India have existed without the aid of writing. He admits that his ancestors had a preference for oral teaching, and that his contemporaries have it still, but he cited certain quotations to show, that the art dates back to the most remote epoch.

None of the distinguished advocates of the independent origin of the Indian Alphabet appear to me to have considered sufficiently, if at all, this remarkable fact, that the formation of a pure alphabetic system, free from any traces of Syllabary, or Ideograph, is a unique and exceptional invention, of which we find no instance except the Phenician in the history of the Human Race. It is not a simple conception, nor a necessary outcome of Human intelligence: the Chinese have never reached it, nor are likely to reach it. There are some things, which it is hard to believe could have been invented twice: at any rate, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, and with opportunities of contact open, it is easier to believe, that one nation derived it from the other.

Let us now consider the second category, that the Indian Alphabet was a *bonâ fide* foreign importation of *symbols* as well as *idea*. As might be expected, there is here a great variety of opinions.

First came the theory of a Greek origin. James Prinsep, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. vi. p. 219 (1837), hazards the opinion "that the oldest Greek was nothing more than "Sanskrit turned topsy-turvy:" that illustrious scholar could

only write according to the light of his own period, and the wonder is, that he saw so many things clearly and rightly: his argument was "that so constant and close a conformity of the alphabetical "symbols of two distant nations could not exist without affording "a demonstration of a common origin." In the volume of the same Journal for 1838 he sets out the "Greek resemblances" in detail. It does seem strange, that he should not have thought of the even in his time well-known derivation of the Greek from the Phenician Alphabet, which is disclosed by the very names of the letters, and made his comparisons of the earliest form of the Indian Alphabet with the earliest form of the Mother Alphabet of the West. Dr. Otfried Müller followed Prinsep, and in 1838 suggested, that the Greeks took their Alphabet to India in the time of Alexander the Great.

The theory of a Phenician origin requires more serious consideration. Jones had suggested in the Asiatic Researches a Semitic origin; he was followed by Professor Kopp in his Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit (1821). Professor Lepsius in his treatise on Alphabets (1835) states, that he had no doubt that all the Indian Alphabets could be derived from the Semitic. Dr. Stephenson, in a paper on the Grammatical Structure of Vernacular Languages in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 75 (1849), anticipated in a remarkable way the fact, that all the Alphabets of the world came from the same source, and that all Indian Alphabets came from the Phenician, or from the Egyptian: if it was a guess, it was a lucky one. Dr. Geisler in his Studia Palæographica (1859) not only derives the South Asóka Alphabet from the Semitic, but also the old Persian Cuneiform Alphabet of Darius. Weber, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xxxi. (1856), was the first not only to take up the subject of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, but to subject the question to a serious and minute discussion. He has a few weeks ago in a private letter called my attention to an opinion expressed by Prof. Benfey of Gottingen in an Encyclopædia published at Leipzig, p. 254 (1840), that both the conjectures of a Greek origin of the Indian Alphabet, and an Indian origin of the Greek Alphabet, are unnatural, but that it is not impossible, that the Phenicians, to whom the Greeks owe their Alphabet, and whom we find about 1000 B.C. in commercial intercourse with India, made this important present also to the Indians; for thus by the intermediation of a common mother the resemblance of the Greek and Indian Alphabets, which is very striking as regards certain letters, is sufficiently explained. For the very peculiar development and systematization of the Alphabet in India would require a space of time equal to that between 1000 B.C. and 250 B.C., the age of the oldest Inscription. Weber tells me, that he had either never read this opinion, or entirely forgotten it, for he does not allude to it in

his Essay in 1856, and only by chance came across it, the book being rare, when he was preparing to reply to my letter. I wrote to him, because I felt that betwixt 1856 and the present time great advance had been made in Palæographic study, and many discoveries made, notably the Moabite Stone, and numerous other groups of Semitic Inscriptions, and I wished to know, whether he maintained the same opinion. His opinion was then, and is still, that the Indians borrowed their Alphabet from the Phenicians at nearly the same time as the Greeks borrowed theirs from the same source, about the period betwixt the eighth and tenth century before Christ. A long time was required to develop the Indian Alphabet from the few Phenician symbols, and so great has been the expansion that the Alphabet, as it exists, may be almost spoken of as an Indian invention. In his essay Weber shows the manner, in which the original Phenician symbol was altered and changed to meet the necessities of the Indian language with its rich vocabularies, and he went into detail to meet the expressed wishes of his friends: he expresses the opinion that, though subsequent modifications might be suggested, the general result could with difficulty be combated. In the Sequel of his Essay he discusses the resemblances between the Indian and Himyaritic characters, and explains them, as regards the consonants by the common Semitic origin of both Alphabets: as regards the vowels he assumes it as probable, that the principle of the Himyaritic vowel-marks, not the marks themselves, was borrowed from the South Asóka Alphabet. In doing so he sweeps away the opinion of Kopp, who found Masoretic influences, and of Gesenius, who found Greek influences, and he supports the opinion expressed by Lepsius (in 1836): the latter laid great stress on the name "Masnad" given to the Alphabet. Weber thinks that the reason why the Ethiopic Alphabet adopts the special mode of vowel notation, is the great wealth of Vowels in their Language, which is its distinguishing feature among all Semitic Languages, and that this being the feature of the Indian Languages also led to the same results. With regard to the period of the introduction of writing into India, Weber in his History of Indian Literature (1852) cannot admit the idea of such an art existing in the Veda or Brahmana period, and he attributes the great variety of texts held by different schools to their oral handing down: he quotes a remark made by Dr. Burnell in his "South Indian Palæography," that in the North of India, the cradle of Indian literature, no indigenous materials for writing existed before the introduction of manufactured paper, and this fact I can confirm from a long and intimate knowledge of Northern India from the Indus to the Karamnása River.

Prof. Henry Kern, of Leyden, who has made a close study of the Asóka Inscriptions, was good enough to send me his opinion by

letter: he is quite positive, that the Alphabet was not indigenous in India, and was derived from the Phenician, but the peculiar channel, by which the art was conveyed to India, is quite uncertain. He is of opinion, that the origin of the South Asóka Alphabet does not date from any remote period, for in the days of King Asóka it was used in various parts of North India and the Dakhan with insignificant variations. If it had been in use in India for many centuries, more pronounced differences would be expected; as indeed the later history of the Indian Alphabet evidences. Allowing three centuries as the period during which the writing might remain unchanged from its first use, 600 B.C. might be assumed as the date of the arrival of some Semitic Alphabet into India. This line of argument seems to me to take no notice of the fact, that the Asóka Inscriptions, though in different parts of India, were issued by the Ruling Power and probably in the Court Character of the Empire, or the Province, just as the Nágari is used at this day in Public offices all over India, in supercession of the numerous local varieties of script, which are used by the people.

Kern proceeds to remark, that he cannot agree with the theory of M. Halévy (which will be described further on), that the discrepancies betwixt the North and South Asóka Alphabets, and the striking resemblance betwixt certain of the South Asóka and the Greek letters, could be explained by supposing, that some of the letters of the South Asóka Alphabet had been remodelled under Greek influences. And his reason for non-agreement was the fact, that the supposed influences must have operated precisely in those parts of India, to which the Greeks never penetrated, and no trace of this influence is visible in the North Asóka Alphabet, which was used in countries, where the Greeks had long exercised influence. He considers that the peculiar manner of denoting the vowels was an Indian invention, because in no other Language except the Old Persian is the short vowel *A* so predominant, that the framer of an Alphabet suited to the wants of the case would feel tempted to consider the short *A* as something to be understood. In fact, Kern thinks, that the missing link betwixt the South Asóka and the Phenician has not yet been found, and that we cannot therefore state with confidence what the channel of communication was.

Prof. Bühler of Vienna, who during a long residence in India had turned his attention most particularly to the Inscriptions of India, which he has illustrated in the pages of the Journal of the German Oriental Society (1884), has expressed his opinion in a Memorandum printed in vol. xiv. new series of R.A.S. Journal, as part of the late Sir Clive Bayley's paper on the Genealogy of Modern Numerals. He is of opinion, that the South Asóka Alphabet comes before us a fully developed system about 300 B.C., and that it was even then an *old* institution in India, and that it owed its development to the grammatical schools of the Brahmans. He bases his theory on the fact

the enormous extent of territory over which it is found; that it must have been known among the higher and lower classes, as Asóka hoped to improve the morals of his subjects by his official Inscriptions: that the execution of the Inscriptions is excellent: that the Andhra Alphabet of the Caves is a sister-Alphabet of the South Asóka, not a daughter, pointing to the existence of a common mother at some still earlier date. To this I reply, that King Asóka may have published his official Edicts in his own official Characters in every part of his dominions without the necessity of that Character being localized in these parts, or being understood by the people. Inscriptions are found in many parts of Asia, and in Egypt, in situations, where apparently the object of their being placed there was not that they should be read or understood, but for the self-glorification of the Sovereign who erected the Monument.

Bühler shows, that it must have been the Brahmanical Grammarians, who developed this Alphabet, as no other class would have invented five or six different signs for nasal sounds, three sibilants, and a careful distinction betwixt short and long vowels. Now this argument does not exclude the possibility of a Phenician origin, subject to a Brahmanical development, to suit a fine polished school-language. But the number of nasals and sibilants are required for the Sanskrit Grammarian, and nobody else, for the Prakrit Language, in which alone Inscriptions are found, has thrown off this extreme discrimination of sounds. But this leads us to the conclusion, according to Bühler, that they must have been *long in use* before the time when we first find them: and, as we shall see below, this opinion is of the utmost importance in determining by what channel the Phenician Alphabet found its way to India. He remarks, that the inference to a very early cultivation of the art of writing in India, *at a time much anterior to* 300 B.C., is strengthened by the consideration of the North Asóka, which was clearly worked up by the same class of people, who fashioned the South Asóka: take for instance the system of vowel-notation and of compound letters.

The late Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, in a letter to the "Academy," Jan. 9, 1877, accepting the fact, that India derived its Alphabet from the Phenician, starts the idea, that this Alphabet might have found its way to the Peninsula through the Island of Ceylon: if, as he assumes, the Arab traders were the introducers, this course in his opinion would be the likely one. Mr. Rhys Davids, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, drew attention to this opinion at the Leyden Congress in the discussion, which followed my paper, and puts the case still more distinctly: viz. that the Ceylon forms of the South Asóka Alphabet were so different in several cases from those used in the Indian Inscriptions, that an independent origin was inferred for the Ceylon Alphabet, if not the greater honour of being the channel of transmission to

India of that Alphabet. When Goldschmidt died, his work was completed by Dr. E. Müller, who in his Report on the Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon, p. 24 (1883), remarks, that the art of writing seems not to have been known in Ceylon so early as in India, for not only are there no Inscriptions, which can be assigned to the date of King Asóka, but nothing older than the first century before the Christian era. As we cannot argue beyond our evidence, Goldschmidt's theory cannot be seriously entertained.

The name of M. Emile Senart of Paris must ever be connected with the Inscriptions of King Asóka, in consequence of the elaborate revision, which he has made of the Text and Translation in the pages of the Journal of the French Asiatic Society (1880–1883). An expression in Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet," page 304 (1883), implies, that Senart still attributed the peculiarities of the South Asóka Alphabet to Greek influences. As I could trace nothing in his published works to elucidate this point, I wrote to Senart, and asked him, whether he still held that view, and whether he would favour me with an abstract of the argument, on which he based that view: he courteously replied by return of post, that it was an entire mistake to attribute such views to him, and that he purposed to discuss the subject of the origin of the Asóka Alphabet in the Epilogue to his Essays on the Inscriptions themselves. He however informed me of his conviction, that the Asóka Alphabet was undoubtedly of Semitic origin. If there were any indications of Greek influence, they were restricted to æsthetic influences, which contributed to the regular and monumental appearance, which they presented. As to the particular channel, by which this Semitic Alphabet found its way to India, Senart was unable to pronounce any opinion: but to him it seemed impossible that the Aramean germ could have found its way to the South Asóka by the same road, which was traversed by the North Asóka. On the other hand, he could accept the theory of an origin from South Arabia.

The late Dr. Burnell, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, in 1874 published his Elements of South Indian Palæography, which marks an Epoch in the Science. His conclusions are important.

I. That the art of writing was little, if at all, known in India before the third Century before the Christian era, and that there is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system; it followed, therefore, that the art was introduced by foreigners, or at least borrowed from foreign countries.

II. That the original source was the Semitic Alphabet, but that the immediate source was uncertain, there being three possible channels, the Phenician, the Himyaritic, and the Aramean: he discusses each separately.

As regards the first possibility, he lays it down as his opinion, that all Phenician communications must have ceased five hundred

years before the date fixed by him as the earliest date of writing in India. If, then, the art had arrived at that remote period, it would have been perfected and been in common use, which was not the case. It was difficult, according to him, to understand, how the form of the letters could be retained with so little modification for such a long period, for the changes of the Characters of a date subsequent to the Inscriptions of King Asóka were very rapid and marked. He further notices, that all the South Asóka Inscriptions are in the same Character, from which fact he deduces that the art of writing possibly spread over North India from Gújarát, the place where, in his opinion, it was first used. In the course of a very few centuries subsequently the Characters used in Gújarát and Orissa, in both of which Provinces exist Asóka Inscriptions, which are practically identical, became totally different, as is notoriously the case at the present day.

As regards the second possibility, that the South Asóka Alphabet was the offspring of the Himyaritic Alphabet in South Arabia, the great difficulty in Burnell's mind was to show, that the South Arabians were in a position to furnish India with the elements of an Alphabet as early as the fourth Century before Christ. He admits that this Alphabet is written boustrophédon, which gets over the difficulty of the different direction of the South Asóka Alphabet from its presumed Semitic original. He remarks, that the Himyaritic Alphabet did not mark the vowels, but he admits that the Ethiopic Alphabet, its admitted derivative, *did* mark them. He leaves the case open, subject to further discoveries of lapidary Inscriptions in a country, which is still virgin soil.

As regards the third possibility, that the South Asóka Alphabet is derived from an Aramaic type used in Persia, Burnell is more sanguine. He brushes away the idea, that it can be traced back to the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary, or the old Persian Cuneiform Alphabet, but he calls attention to the cursive Aramean Character, which had long been in use in Mesopotamia, and which, at a much later period, in the form of Pahlavi, became the official Character of Persia. He quotes Professor Sayce to show that tablets exist, written in Cuneiform Characters with Aramean dockets, as old as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (745 B.C.). His difficulty, both in the first Edition of his Book (1874) and the second (1878), was that the South Asóka Alphabet (as well as the North Asóka and the Vatteluttu) had a peculiar method of indicating vowels in the body of the word, and that this method, though closely resembling the method of vowel-points in Semitic Alphabets, could not be evidenced as existing at a date earlier than the date at which it clearly was in use in India. In 1882, while suffering under that malady which proved fatal, he addressed a letter to the "Academy" to announce the discovery by Professor Sayce in the British Museum of a Cuneiform contract-tablet, which precisely satisfied his require-

ments: it had a docket by one of the parties in a hitherto unknown character, which appeared to Burnell, after examination, to resemble closely the South Asóka Alphabet, with vowels marked as in the Indian Alphabet. This document could be attributed to the date of Artaxerxes II., who fought against Xenophon at the battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.), a date earlier than that of any Indian Inscription, and the language is *not* Indian. Every line written by Burnell is precious: he died at the age of forty-two: had he lived longer, the world would have known more.

Let us now consider the opinions of other writers on the subject of the three possibilities of Burnell.

I. The Phenician origin. We have seen above that several writers have approved of this theory. Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," page 312, vol. iii. (1883), supports Burnell's objections: he states that the trade of India with Phenicia ceased 800 B.C.; that only one Character is found to exist in 250 B.C., so many centuries later; that the art of writing was not practised in India till 600 B.C.; and that there is no appreciable resemblance between the Asóka and early Phenician type, say the Moabite Stone. Now in my opinion none of these arguments are conclusive. It is not clear from History, that the intercourse of India with Phenicia did cease so early, nor does the official Character used by King Asóka for his Edicts in the different Provinces of his vast dominions exclude the possibility of the existence of many other varieties of script in use by the people. The English Government issues its official orders in the Nágari character in Upper India, but it is notorious, that very many varieties of script of the Indian type exist in the different Provinces in use by Bankers and Accountants. Many Sanskrit scholars of note insist from internal evidence upon a much earlier introduction into India of the art of writing, as the *sine quâ non* of the existence of its literature. Lastly, we cannot rest much on resemblance, when we know historically, and beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Arabic Shikastah, the Mongolian, the Greek, and the Roman Alphabet, all descended from the Phenician.

Bayley, of H.M. Indian Civil Service, had long interested himself in this question: so far back as 1867 he took part in the discussion which arose in the Bengal Asiatic Society upon Thomas's theory above described. When I brought the subject before the Royal Asiatic Society in Jan. 1884, he made some remarks, with the following abstract of which he has favoured me. After combating the assertion that the Phenician intercourse with India ceased before the destruction of Tyre by Alexander the Great, he remarks that Indian writing had certainly an antiquity greater than this latter date, that in his opinion the Nana Ghát (in West India) Inscriptions were of considerably greater antiquity than the Asóka Edicts, and not impossibly may be referred to the middle of the fourth century B.C. But even these represent the Alphabet already

equiped with the full array of aspirated and cerebral letters, and distinctive marks for long vowels. Probably even this alteration was derived from the North Asóka, as the signs, which form the aspirated letters, seem to be imitated from that Alphabet, and have in the South Asóka no inherent meaning, while in the North Asóka they represent the letter H. The simple Alphabet therefore, on which the South Asóka was based, must have been known to the Indians very long before the fourth century B.C.

The Phenicians were in contact with India at least as early as the time of Solomon, and they certainly possessed an Alphabet at that time, with which the Indians may have been acquainted. Some of the Indian letters seem clearly to be derived from the Archaic form of the Phenician Alphabet: others from later types: many probably from the branch, from which the Sassanian Alphabet eventually descended. As the Indians borrowed from an extraneous source, they would naturally, until their own Alphabet took its final shape, appropriate any more concurrent, or cursive form, which later improvement of the original presented. The change of direction of the South Asóka Alphabet may be attributed to the occasional use of the Boustrophédon method by early Phenicians, and to the nature of the material, on which the Indians originally wrote. The latter was a substitute for the fine clay, on which the tablets of the Western Asiatics were written, and not being available in India was replaced by the use of tablets of wood smeared with a mixture of clay and cowdung, as is still used largely in the Village Schools of North and West India. This would account for the name given in the oldest Indian Inscriptions to writing, viz. "lipi," which (as Burnell pointed out, though he rejected the inference) seems to come from the root "lip" "to smear." It may be observed that at the present day the use of the root is almost confined to "smearing with clay cowdung." On such a material it would be far easier to write that portion of the Boustrophédon method, which proceeded from left to right, as in the opposite method the hand would obliterate what was written on the surface of the moist material. The former therefore in the end would be eventually adopted to the exclusion of the other, and with it the reversed mode of writing the Phenician characters, which would be further modified by the necessity of epigraphic purposes. I deeply regret that, while these pages were passing through the Press, this accomplished scholar and amiable man has been lost to his friends.

As regards the second possibility, it was M. Lenormant, who first seriously put forward the theory, that the South Asóka was derived from the Himyaritic. It is sad to think, that the bright light of his genius has been extinguished in a premature death. In his Essay on the Phenician Alphabet (1872), which is an unfinished work, he makes the bold assertion or happy guess at page 150, vol. i., that the South Asóka sprang from the Himyaritic, and in his

Sixth Table in the appendix to the first volume he gives the Indo-Homerite Branch, under which the Ethiopic, and the whole Family of Indian Scripts are ranged, but he either never worked out, or at any rate never published the details of his proofs. In my own Essay on the Phenician Alphabet published in 1876 in the Calcutta Review, and reprinted in my collected volume of Linguistic and Oriental Essays (1880), I followed Lenormant, and at page 355 of the latter work I give the Indo-Arabian stem, and remark on the new feature, which this stem of scripts discloses in the fact, that the notation of vowels is formed by conventional appendages to the symbol used for the consonant, and to such an extent, that in consequence of this appendage in many cases the appearance of the consonant is modified. As it was not part of my plan in a brief Essay on the whole Phenician Alphabet to go into the proofs of a single stem, and as to me the theory was entirely new, at page 364 I remarked, that the question of this affiliation was still an open one, and that the nomenclature of this stem, assuming this fact, is premature, and can only be accepted with reserve. Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," 1883, p. 314, lays claim to the credit of having worked out the proofs not supplied by Lenormant, and he is satisfied that his theory is correct, and that Burnell is mistaken. His argument is as follows:

The transmission of the Semitic Alphabet could only have been effected through some nation, which was in commercial or political contact with India prior to the expedition of Alexander. Then, as now, India had intercourse with the Western world through two channels, by land and by sea. Her Northern Alphabet plainly came to her through the Khaibar Pass; her Southern Alphabet, that of the Inscriptions on the Western coast, as manifestly must have come by sea. Now, from the tenth to the third century B.C. Yemen was the great central mart, in which Indian products were exchanged for the merchandize of the West. For a prolonged period this lucrative traffic was in the hands of the Sabeans, and was the main source of their proverbial opulence. The trade between Egypt and Yemen began as early as 2300 B.C., that between Yemen and India was established not later than 1000 B.C. Even in the time of the Ptolemies the Indian trade was not direct, but passed through the hands of the Sabeans, who possessed extensive commerce and large vessels. Their ports were frequented by trading vessels from all parts; from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the coast of Africa, and especially from the mouth of the Indus. From the Periplus we learn that Aden was a great entrepôt of this commerce, while at the beginning of the second century B.C. the island of Socótra was the centre of exchange for Indian products. There was therefore ample opportunity for the transmission to India of the Sabean Alphabet, which must have branched off from the Phenician stem at some time not later than the sixth century B.C.

It is to this very period that the origin of the Indian Alphabet must be assigned. A very superficial examination will suffice to show, that the Asóka Alphabet, though it offers hardly any appreciable resemblance to any of the Northern Semitic Alphabets, agreed in a very remarkable way with the general type of the Alphabets of the Southern Semitic Family. The common characteristics of the Indian and Southern Semitic Alphabets are their monumental style, the direction of the writing, the vocalization, and the retention of the primitive looped and zigzag forms. The general aspect of the Sabean Inscriptions agrees so remarkably with those of the Asóka, that the resemblance cannot fail to strike the most careless observer. In both Alphabets the letters are symmetrically constructed out of combinations of straight lines and arcs of circles. Hence the writing is rigid, regular, and monumental, all slanting and cursive forms being absolutely excluded. The Sabean Inscriptions are written from left to right as well as from right to left. No importance, however, can be attached to the remarkable agreement between the Ethiopic and Indian systems of vocalic notation, since the Ethiopic Alphabet is later in date than the other.

Strengthened by the above arguments, I brought forward this solution of the problem distinctly at the Leyden Congress in 1883 in my paper on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, and, although a long discussion followed, in which many distinguished men took part, I cannot flatter myself that a single one supported my views. I stated the case as follows:

The South Asóka Alphabet was imported from Arabia, and was derived by the Red Sea, from the Himyaritic development of the Phenician Alphabet. Unquestionably the continuous existence of a commerce between Yemen and South India can be asserted from a very remote period, quite sufficient to meet all requirements. This channel of conveying the knowledge of the Alphabet was possible. It is shown further, that the Himyaritic Alphabet branched off from the Phenician not later than the sixth century before Christ, and it is to about this date that the origin of the Indian Alphabet is assigned, as the result of a careful chain of reasoning. It is suggestive that there exists in the extreme South of the Peninsula of India a third Alphabet, confessedly independent of the South Asóka, the Vatteluttu, which, though nearly entirely superseded by later Alphabets, has left marked traces of its peculiarities in the Tamil Character. Now this Alphabet, though differing from the South Asóka, and only adapted to the sound of a Dravidian language, shares with the Asóka certain Semitic resemblances, and must have been a foreign importation; and in this case there can be no question, that it must have been imported by sea from countries, which already possessed Alphabets, for there exists no possible presumption of its invention at home or importation by land from abroad.

Passing from general considerations to a particular comparison of the original letters of the South Asóka with the Himyaritic, I stated that the style of both is strikingly monumental; the direction of the writing of the South Asóka is from left to right, and we find that Himyaritic is written in the boustrophédon manner either way, and as a fact its admitted descendant, the Ethiopic, adopted the same direction as the Asóka. It is noteworthy, that to the same Alphabet of Arabia the honour is thus ascribed of giving a vehicle of speech to India and Ethiopia. The mode of noting the vowels in the Ethiopic and the Asóka have a special resemblance, and although the Ethiopic came into existence at a much later date, yet its possession of these peculiarities, and its undoubted parentage, add to the probability of the South Asóka, which possesses the same features, having come, though at an earlier date, from the same stock. The objections are that in India culture, religion, and the arts of civilization have always proceeded from the North to the South. As a general rule this may be the case, but the casual introduction of a special art from a foreign country must be an exception. In modern times the art of printing has spread from the South to the North, being an import from the West, just as it is urged, that more than 2000 years earlier the art of writing found its way.

I admitted however that a more serious objection was that up to this time no Himyaritic Inscription of a date sufficiently early had been found. Late in time, compared to the Inscriptions of Western Asia and North Africa, as the South Asóka Inscriptions confessedly were, the oldest of the Himyaritic was considerably later. If such an Archæological Survey of South Arabia, as has now taken place in India, were possible, earlier Inscriptions might be found, as the Himyaritic Alphabet is elaborate and refined, and the culture of Yemen is of remote antiquity. As it is, the intercomparison of existing specimens is that of sister Alphabets, alleged to be derived from a common, though as yet unknown, prototype.

After all, I only propounded a hypothesis, for there neither exists, nor is likely ever to exist, any direct or material proof. History is silent; tradition is non-existent; no hints or inductions can be drawn from ancient literature.

Against Burnell's third possibility, Isaac Taylor in "The Alphabet," vol. ii. p. 313, urges that there is no appreciable resemblance betwixt the Aramean and the South Asóka types, that in the former the loops of the letters had been opened, and in the latter closed: that this very Aramean type was already represented in India by the North Asóka, and that it was impossible to admit, that two such very different types should have found their way to India from the same source, one coming overland through Afghanistan, and the other by sea through the Persian Gulf. He lays stress upon the fact, that Burnell bases his argument upon a

hypothetical Alphabet, the existence of which cannot be materially proved. Now to this argument of Taylor's and the remark of Senart's at page 41, in my opinion it may be urged that the North-West frontier of India extends one thousand miles from the Indian Ocean at Kurachi to the Himálaya at Peshawar, and that the approach to India, whether by Armies or by Merchants, has been effected by a multiplicity of mountain-passes all down the frontier line, and that there is little intercourse betwixt the tribes to the South of the Bolan Pass opening into Sindh, and the tribes North of that pass, who enter India by their own passes into the country of the Five Rivers. The scripts used in Persia may have found their way to India at different times, and by different passes: unquestionably the North Asóka is found in existence at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass. The South Asóka may have come by the Bolan, and have never come into contact with the North. Again, the absence of an Inscription of a date sufficiently early to be the prototype of the South Asóka Alphabet presses with equal force against the theory of the South Arabian, as the Aramean origin, and it may with equal hardiness and lightheartedness be asserted, that there is no reason, why an Archaic Inscription of a sufficient antiquity should not be discovered in unexplored regions at some centre of primitive Commerce on the Shores of the Persian Gulf. The argument of the absence of resemblance has been already noticed.

M. Halévy ranks as one of the most distinguished Palæographers of the time, and he has not confined, like so many, his labours to the cabinet, but at the risk of his life he has collected or copied Inscriptions in the field: he is also famous in Europe as an independent polemic, one who hits all round with wonderful impartiality, and retires to a perfectly isolated pinnacle of his own private judgment. He was present at the Leyden Congress last September, and, when I had read my paper on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, he attacked my conclusions, and his argument is published in extenso in the Report of the Congress, though it is in fact but a résumé of a longer contribution to the Journal of the Société Asiatique. In his view no previous writer has yet satisfactorily explained the two-fold form of the vowels in the Indian Alphabet, when used as an initial or medial, and that all have erroneously accepted the theory, that the North and South Asóka Alphabets were totally distinct, with the exception of the resemblance of the forms of medial vowels, which the North Asóka is supposed to have borrowed from the South.

Halévy considers the North Asóka as older in date than the South, and that therefore it is necessary to comprehend the features of the elder sister before the position of the younger can be understood. No one has ever doubted that the North Asóka is of Semitic origin. Halévy affiliates to the Aramean Script, of which the

Ptolemaic papyri in the Louvre are specimens. Sixteen consonants were at once adopted with slight, if any, modifications; from these sixteen primaries the secondary consonants were formed, which were necessary for the requirements of a Prakrit Language. He traces the vowels to the same source, and the absence of any symbol for short A, which is supposed to exist, where no other vowel is expressed. He considers that the South Asóka was formed in an analogous way, but of more eclectic elements. After a careful analysis of its component parts, he finds, that a certain portion of the forms are Aramean, and a certain portion Phenician: when however he studies the phenomena of the existence of an Alphabet with a few Archaic forms and a great number of greatly modified Aramean forms, he is driven to the conclusion, that the archaic form of the South Asóka must have been derived from an Alphabet, which had preserved its archaic form up to the Ptolemaic period, and as the Mother-Alphabet must have been at the very gate of India, it could clearly have been no other than the Greek Alphabet which was diffused in India at the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great.

To the seventeen consonants obtained thus, the Indian scribes added seventeen secondary, while to form the vowels they combined the systems of the North Asóka and the Greek; from the first they adopted the medial symbols, and from the latter the initial. He considers, that both the North and South Asóka were introduced at a date later than that of Alexander the Great, in the reign of Chandragupta, about 330 to 325 B.C., for the purposes of a Prakrit Language; but for the Sanskrit Language it was not used till after 250 B.C., and that the Vedic literature was not *committed to writing* until after that date. As if not satisfied with the amount of antagonism aroused by his Palæographical novelties, Halévy turns round, and stirs up another nest of hornets by the suggestion, that the Vedic hymns were not even themselves *composed* till after the invasion of Alexander the Great.

Up to this point all the advocates of the Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabet, whose opinions we have quoted, have admitted, directly or indirectly, that the Phenician Alphabet, to which by one way or other they have traced it back, was at some remote period previously derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and it would have been unnecessary to allude to that point in this controversy but for the fact, that Prof. Deecke of Strasburg in the XXXIst volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, p. 102, has asserted, that the Semitic Alphabet is derived from the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary, and in the same volume of that Journal, page 598, goes on to prove that the South Asóka Alphabet is derived from the South Semitic Alphabet. At p. 612 he sums up his argument, that the South Asóka and Himyaritic Alphabets exhibit such a close relation, that they must have both

derived their origin from the same Mother-Alphabet, which however at page 599 he admits is only an hypothetical Alphabet. As a proof of this connection he cited the whole appearance of the letters, their regularity, stiffness, uniformity of size, as well as other peculiar features. It is not possible in his opinion to derive one from the other. As part of the argument rests upon the connection of the early Semitic Alphabet with the Cuneiform Characters, it is necessary to notice this theory separately, although he arrives at the same conclusion as those who adopt Burnell's second possibility.

All the writers previously cited advocate either an indigenous, or a Western, origin to the South Asóka, but in the last few years a new theory has been propounded by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie of an Eastern origin, and as this has been distinctly stated in a paper read by him at a Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, June 20, 1881, "On the Sinico-Indian origin of the Indo-Pali writing" (which has not hitherto been published), and as this theory was alluded to in this discussion at the Leyden Congress by Rhys Davids, it is necessary, that his argument should be clearly stated. I applied to the author for a brief statement of his theory, and he informed me that he proposed soon to publish a paper on the subject, and referred me to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xiv. N.S. I had not the pleasure of hearing the paper read, but I find that in the issue of the *Academy* of the subsequent week, it is stated that the author gave reasons for rejecting both the theory of an indigenous, and of a Semitic origin, and pointed out that historical facts as well as traditions demonstrated, that relations did exist between India and China as early as the third century B.C. He considered that the Indo-Pali or South Asóka Alphabet had been systematized from an older system of writing consisting on the borders of China of a certain number of Chinese Characters used phonetically for commercial purposes. This statement was supplied to the Secretary of the Society by the author, and in the above-quoted volume of the Journal of the R.A.S. at page 123, in a paper on a Lolo Manuscript, the same author finds an intimate connection of the Characters used by the Lolo, a tribe, subject to, but not ethnologically connected with, the Chinese in the province of Se-chuen, with the Characters on the stone seal found at Harapa near Lahore, already alluded to in page 35, and a remote affinity with the Indo-Pali. In a paper in the same volume, pp. 802 and 803 (note), on "The Yh-King and its Authors," he remarks: "The influence of the advanced "civilization and the mixture of the Ugro-Altaic early Chinese "immigrants with the native population of China were not con-"fined to the area of their political power. . . . The phonetic "writing, propagated by the Chinese immigrants, was eagerly "adopted by the active and intelligent population of the South-

"West: in 1109 A.D. the Annamites had a phonetic writing, and in "several instances we have tidings bearing on the existence of such "writings, composed of a great number of Chinese simple Characters "used according to the phonetic principle disused by the Chinese. "These simple Characters, selected by progressive elimination of "the less easy to draw and to combine, formed a special script, of "which we know several offshoots, and have been, as far as affinities "of shape, sound and tradition are to be trusted, the Grundschrift, "with which has been framed that splendid monument of phonetic "lore, the South Indian Alphabet, or Lat-Pali." In this age we have so many startling theories, and still more wonderful facts, that I must be excused, if I hold my breath for a time, and suspend my judgment, until the paper appears *in extenso*.

It is clear from the above résumé, that we are a long way from finality, and indeed that each year puts us further off, as new theories are started. A sudden find of Inscriptions may alter the whole position of the controversy, and introduce new facts, engender new doubts, or establish new convictions. I must protest against the assertion, that the direction of writing adopted by the Greeks, Romans and Indians is more natural, convenient and facile, than that of the Semitic Alphabets, as some writers, who know India by books only, maintain. Having practical knowledge of the use of the pen either way, right to left, or left to right, I think otherwise. The right arm is more free to act, when it commences its work outstretched, and works towards the left, as a barber uses his razor. If I required in my Indian Office a letter to be written quickly, I should have entrusted the duty to an Indian Clerk, who used the Arabic, and not the Nágari, Character.

Many who will read these pages have, like myself, been familiar for a quarter of a century with the Arabic and Nágari Characters, not as a pleasing and interesting study, but as the necessities of our daily drudgery as Magistrates, Collectors, and Judges in Northern India. If our Proceedings and Petitions were drawn up in the Arabic, all the village accounts, all the shopkeepers' ledgers, the majority of title-deeds, and all bankers' letters of credit were in some form or other, horribly degraded, and miserably written, of the Indian Alphabet, one of the descendants of the South Asóka. When I state that the affairs of one hundred millions are managed and recorded in one or other or both at the same time of these Alphabets, the case is not overstated. Every officer of Government, European or Native, is expected to be able to understand one: some few officers can write both: many officers can read both, setting aside the documents that were extremely badly written, and this last remark would equally apply to badly-written Roman. Now if any one twenty years ago had told me in India, that the three Characters, which I was simultaneously using, the Roman, the Arabic, and the Nágari, came from the same source and within

historical times, notably since the composition of Homer's poems, I should have laughed in his nose; and yet, by the sure and safe process of historical and palæographical induction and comparison, the fact in my opinion is nearly as certain as the second amazing fact, that the three Languages which I promiscuously, and without effort, used in the transaction of business, English, Persian and Hindi, came from the same Mother-language beyond any possible human doubt, this fact being admitted by all.

After sending the above pages to the Press, it was intimated to me that, as I had made a criticism of the opinions of all the authorities, I was bound to express a distinct opinion of my own upon the issues raised: I accordingly record the following, that

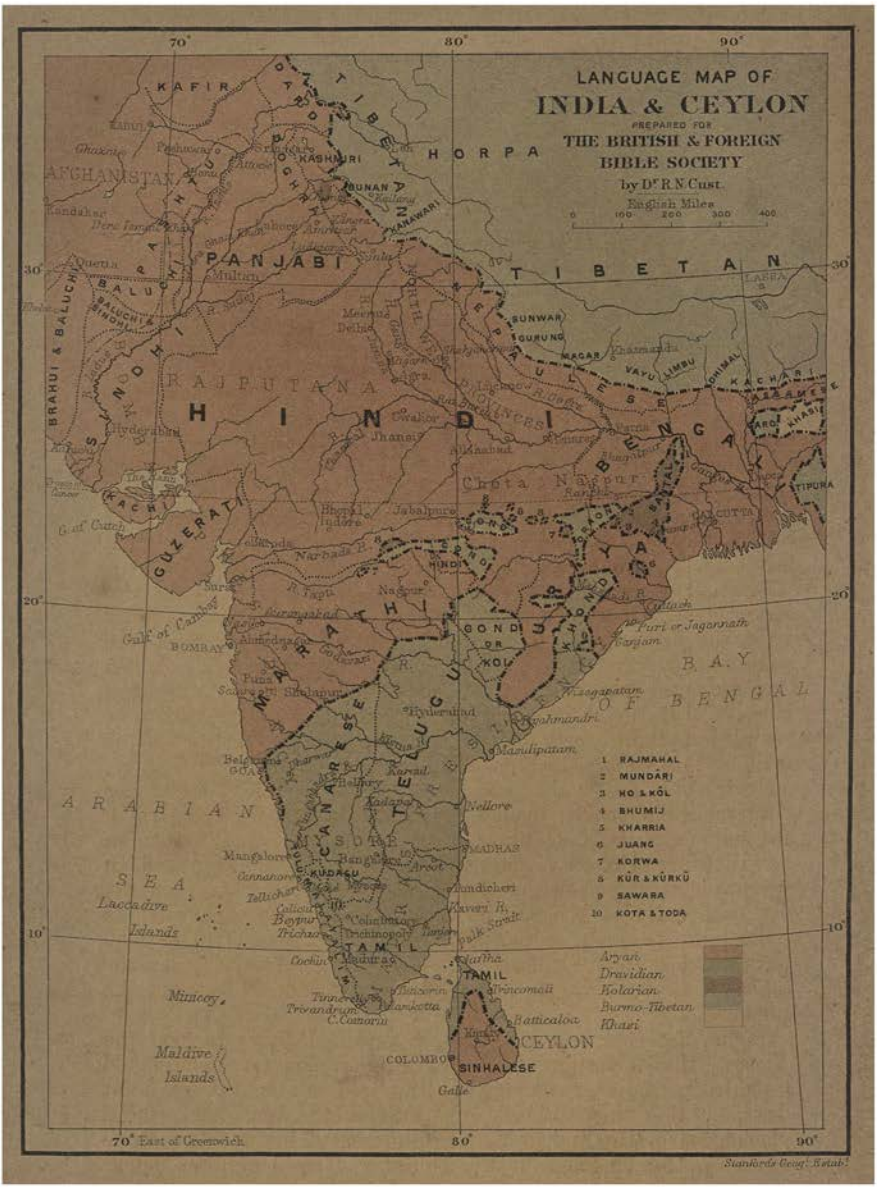
I. The Indian Alphabet is in no respect an independent invention of the People of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent a loan, which they had received from others.

II. The *idea* of representing Vowel and Consonant Sounds by symbols of a pure alphabetic Character was derived from Western Asia beyond any reasonable doubt.

III. The *germs* of the Indian Alphabet are possibly to be found in the Phenician Alphabet, from which beyond doubt sprung independently the Greek and Arabic Alphabets: the origin of the Phenician Alphabet is to be found in the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

IV. It cannot be ascertained with certainty, upon the evidence before us, by what channel, or through which branch, of the Phenician Alphabet-stem, India received either the *idea* or the *germs*.

LONDON, 1884.


LANGUAGE MAP OF
INDIA & CEYLON
PREPARED FOR
THE BRITISH & FOREIGN
BIBLE SOCIETY
by Dr R. N. Cust.
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400
70° 80° 90°
30° 20° 10°
70° East of Greenwich
KAFIR
DARD
TIBET
HORPA
KASHMIRI
BUNAN
KANAWARI
AFGHANISTAN
PANJABI
TIBETAN
LAHUL
BRAHUI & BALUCHI
BALUCHI
SINDHI
HINDI
RAJPUTANA
NEPAULESE
SUNWAR
GURUNG
MAGAR
VAYU
LIMBU
DOHIMAL
KACHARI
ASSAMESE
ARAKANESE
KHASI
TIPURA
BENGAL
Chota Nagpur
BHILI
ORIYA
KHOND
GONDI
HINDI
GONDI OR KOL
MARATHI
GUZERATI
KACHI
Gulf of Cambay
BOMBAY
Puna
Sholapur
Hyderabad
Nagpur
Jabalpur
Bhopal
Indore
Jhansi
Agra
Delhi
Meerut
Multan
Lahore
Peshawar
Kandahar
Quetta
Hyderabad
Kurnool
Kadapa
Nellore
Vizagapatam
Rajahmandri
Masulipatam
Puri or Jagannath
Ganjam
Cuttack
Calcutta
Dacca
Patna
Benares
Allahabad
Lucknow
Gwalior
Bombay
Surat
Belgaum
GOA
KARNATIC
TELUGU
CANARESE
MALAYALAM
MYSORE
Mangalore
Cannanore
Calicut
Tellicherry
Beypur
Trichur
Cochin
Madura
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Palk Strait
Kumbakonam
Arcot
MADRAS
Pondicheri
Kaveri R.
Bangalore
KURGU
TAMIL
Jaffna
Trincomali
Batticaloa
Kandy
COLOMBO
SINHALESE
Galle
CEYLON
Tinnevelly
Tuticorin
Trivandrum
C. Comorin
Quilon
Alleppy
Calicut
Laccadive Islands
Minicoy
Maldive Islands
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
1 RAJMAHAL
2 MUNDÂRI
3 HO & KÔL
4 BHUMIJ
5 KHARRIA
6 JUANG
7 KORWA
8 KÛR & KÛRKÛ
9 SAWARA
10 KOTA & TODA
Aryan
Dravidian
Kolarian
Burmo-Tibetan
Khasi
Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

CHAPTER III.

THE RACES, RELIGIONS, AND LANGUAGES OF INDIA AS DISCLOSED BY THE CENSUS OF 1881.

Just forty years ago, in March, 1846, in the tenth Number of the *Calcutta Review*, which was then in its youth, I despatched from the camp of Viscount Hardinge, the Governor-General, in front of Lahore, which had just been captured, my first contribution to this *Review*, on the subject of the "Countries betwixt the Satlaj and the Jamna." This is about the fortieth paper that I have since contributed, on many and various subjects, in many parts of the world; but I return, after that long interval, with undiminished love, to the object of my earliest interest, the People of India. I seem to touch ground at last, and the Census of 1881, though it leaves much to be desired, is a decided advance.

England holds India, as a man would hold a wolf, by its two ears, and must hold on for dear life: it would be dangerous to let go, as the wolf might turn and rend. But the wolf must get free soon, or at any rate, will wake up, and make demands. When such wretched countries as Servia and Bulgaria, which, in the long lapse of centuries, have never done anything worth recording, or recorded anything worth doing, are crying out for constitutions, is it likely that India, which has filled such a grand place in History, and to which the world is so largely indebted, will tolerate her position much longer; though it is possible, that the boon which she may desire, will not prove to be a real advantage? It is an unwise thing to go on rowing, with your back to the point, which you are labouring to reach. Those, who have their hands on the oar, dare not look back, or forward: it is as much as they can do to keep the vessel in motion and steady. Let some of those, who have watched India for nearly half a century, try to bring out the salient facts, and raise the cry of warning to the Rulers and the Ruled.

Before the Census commenced, I ventured to urge upon the Viceroy, that the attention of those employed in this duty should be called to the shortcomings of their predecessors. It was most desirable, that the Census should exhibit the remarkable social phenomena of the Indian Empire represented by Religion, Caste or Tribe, and language in the fullest and most uniform detail. No other country can exhibit such a remarkable picture, and no

Government, save that of British India, would have the power, or will, to delineate it with photographic accuracy. The Religions should be classified under the recognized names of the great Cults, and the Sects ranged under them: on the other hand, persons of totally different persuasion should not be lumped together. To place the millions of Chamars, Lingite, and the non-Arian Nature-worshippers under the general head of Hindu, is as grimly ironical as to class an Anabaptist as a Roman Catholic. Caste should be treated as a *Social, and not a Religious* phenomenon: it may be that among the lower classes all practical religious conceptions are reduced to the necessity of not breaking Caste-rules, but a Rajpút is a Rajpút by Caste, whether he be Hindu or Mahometan. The analogue of the Caste to the Hindu is the Tribe among the Mahometan. Again, among the Hindu there are Castes, like those of the Brahmin, which are historical and racial, but there are also Castes, like those of the goldsmith, or sweetmeat seller, or agriculturist, which are clearly only business distinctions, trade-unions, or guilds, such as are found all over the world. A pseudo-Caste may, from the very atmosphere of Indian society, have crept in among Mahometans, the non-Arian races, the Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, Armenian, and Eurasian-Christian population; but the term "out-Caste" should never appear on a State-document, nor should any excuse be given to a Court of Justice to compel a neo-Christian to record the name of his hereditary Caste, which he has solemnly abjured. If the government of a country were to assume, that Caste were the rule, and the absence of Caste the exception, a great act of injustice would be done to the millions, who would be described in the form of a negation, and, in a Court of Justice, are thus exposed to insult. Then, again, the great Castes, such as the Brahmin, which counts thirteen million, have numberless sub-divisions, or Gotra: if these are stated, they should not be called Castes, but subdivisions of Castes, and the same Caste should bear the same name all over India: a Brahmin should not be called here and there by the name of Pandit, Purohit, Misr, Pujári, etc., etc.

I begged also that the important subject of language might be carefully attended to, important both to the Administrative and Educational departments. It is suggestive of frightful injustice, if the Courts of Justice from sheer ignorance should not be supplied with Officials capable of speaking the Vernacular of the people. This shoe does not pinch in the great country of Hindustán, where eighty millions speak dialects of the same great language Hindi; nor in Bangál proper, or Marahta-land, but in Southern India, Assam, and Barma, it is a real difficulty. Great injustice might be committed, and the nature of grievances, which may have led to a rising, would not be understood: a few quiet words will often allay a tumult among well-intentioned but ignorant people. There should be a Language-map of each Province, coloured so as to show

what particular languages, or dialectal variations, are spoken by the bulk of the population, and where two or more are spoken, or a compound of two adjoining languages on a debateable frontier. This is a difficulty, which the Russian, Austrian, and Turkish Governments have to face, and it must be faced manfully.

The general report for the whole Indian Empire was compiled by an accomplished Official of great and unequalled experience in Statistics, and it has been submitted to the public, and is the basis of our present remarks. It was the first synchronous enumeration, which was attempted of the whole of India under the orders of the Government of India. The area operated upon excluded the petty Indian possessions of France, and Portugal, and the Kingdom of Kashmír and Nepál, but it included British Barma, and the great Feudatory States of India, which owe allegiance to the Empress of India. In addition to the eight recognized Provinces of British India, three Provinces must be added, under management by Treaty, viz. Berár, Kúrg, and Ajmír. The Native States were grouped as follows: Rajputána, Central India, the Nizam's Dominions, Maisúr, Baróda, Travancore, Cochin: all these are under the direct supervision of the Government of India: the Native States, under the control of the authorities of each Province, were enumerated in the population of that Province.

The entire population of British India on the 17th February, 1881, amounted to 253,891,821. It was thus distributed among the Provinces under direct administration of the English officials, and the Native Feudatory States:

CLASS I.

Bangál	69,530,861
North-West Provinces	44,849,619
Madras	31,170,631
Bombay	23,395,663
Panjáb	22,712,120
Central Provinces	11,548,511
Assam	4,881,420
British Barma	3,736,771
Berár	2,672,673
Ajmír	460,722
Kúrg	178,302

CLASS II.

Rajputána	10,268,392
Nizám's Dominions	9,845,594
Central India	9,261,907
Maisúr	4,186,188
Travancore	2,401,158
Baróda	2,185,005
Cochin	600,278

The area of British India amounts to 1,382,624 square miles. The average for the whole Empire is 184 souls to the square mile, but a vast area is entirely devoid of population, and the density in many places rises above 700 to the square mile, reaching its highest at 1335 in the Howrah Division of Bangál. The Province of Independent Barma, annexed to the Empire of India in 1886, is, of course, not included in this total.

The inspection of the returns of such an awful collection of mortal souls, totally replaced by the ordinary course of mortality, in the term of about seventy years, but replaced like the ever-changing water of a great river, by mortals of the same Type, Race, Customs, Religion, and language, is indeed one of unparalleled interest, and can be considered from a great many points of view. It is a notable fact, that there are twenty-one million widows, and 13,200 lepers: the lover of Statistics might produce several strange phenomena: the compiler of social customs would come upon many strange facts, such as Polygamy, Polyandry, and the "throwing the sheet over the widow of the elder brother," the systematic killing of female progeny, the eunuchs and dancing-girls, and professional beggars. Add to this, the strange variety of the mode of disposing of the dead by burning, burying, exposure to wild animals, scattering the ashes in a river, storing them up in metal or fictile receptacles, or sometimes keeping the body itself smoke-dried. In fact, there is no limit to the vagaries of human caprice, and nowhere can a study be made of more widely collected and correctly assorted materials; but our consideration is for the present restricted to the three great salient features of an Indian population, Race, Religion, and language; leaving to others to study the proportion of the sexes, in itself a wonderful problem: the rates of mortality and births: the tables of longevity: the number of persons afflicted with natural or acquired infirmities, the progress of Education, the proportion of rural to urban population, the variety of occupation; the ebbing and flowing of emigration, either within the boundaries of British India, or beyond the seas; and the pressure of population on the means of existence. All these are things, which the wise Rulers of men ought to know, and this justifies the great expense of a Census, and the perturbation caused to some classes of the community by the operation.

Race must come first. Kaltbrunner defines the comparative value placed by an Ethnologist upon evidence derived from the physical features of race, and that from Religion or language; the first is innate, inherent, independent of the will, and, at least for the individual, is incapable of change. A Negro can, and does, change his Religion, language and country, but is still a Negro, and it would take many generations to efface the trace of a Negro ancestor. I think that it may safely be stated, that in the length and breadth of British India there is neither Negro, Negrito, nor

Negrillo, indigenous to the country. Negríto are no doubt found in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and there may be aliens of African origin domiciled in India. Exclusive of the Albino, who is only a freak of nature, no one who has lived among the people of India, can have failed to be struck by the strange variety of colour, and stature, and character of the individuals, suggestive to the most casual observer of a distinction of race, though all may be Hindu, and all speak the same language. A long continuous custom of only marrying within certain restricted limitations has prevented that fusion of the population which has insensibly taken place during the lapse of centuries in European countries. In Europe the strata of society are horizontal, dependent on hereditary advantages, or personal success. In India they are vertical; a Brahmin may be a sacrificial priest, a chief, a high officer of State, a soldier, a cook, an office-messenger, or a mendicant, but he is still a Brahmin.

The theories (for they are only theories) with regard to the occupation of India by its present population, are well known, and are settling down to a recognition of an aboriginal, or, at any rate, primeval population, overrun by immigrants from the North-East along the valley of the Brahmapútra, from the North-West by the Bholan Pass, and the Khaibar Pass. This, in a general way, will account for the Tibeto-Barman, the Kolarian, the Dravidian, and the Arian subdivisions. Whatever may be the theory, the fact of their existence, with very distinct differentiations, is palpable, and the great peculiar Indian custom of Caste is based primarily on those distinctions. Over and over again has the attempt been made by the lower strata of Caste to do away with the custom. All religious reformers, the Kabírpanthi, the Sikh, the Buddhist, and the less well-known sectarians, have raised their voices against Caste, but without much profit as regards India proper; in Barma it is so totally non-existent, that the local reporter of the Census has no allusion to the subject.

The reports of Mr. Baines in Bombay, Mr. Nesfield in the North-West Provinces, and Mr. Ibbetson in the Panjáb, the separate compendium of Castes and Tribes published by Mr. Kitts, and the list of Caste-names in Tamil, Telugu, Karnáta and Malayálim in Madras, are important contributions to the subject. Many essays have appeared from time to time in local periodicals, and the labours of General Cunningham in his Reports of the Archæological Survey of India, and of Dr. Hunter in his Gazetteer of India, have thrown a flood of light upon the subject. The volume of Mr. Kitts is peculiarly valuable, as being the latest (1885), and based upon the facts collected in the Census of 1881, and compiled by one who had taken a share in that operation. The compiler of the General Report excuses his shortcomings by pleading, that he had not antiquarian tastes, and the peculiar knowledge, which would alone

permit of a full and enlightened discussion of the Returns; but it is manifest, that any one of the subordinates mentioned above was fully capable of manipulating the collected material, as, indeed, Mr. Kitts has actually done. In his Introduction, the author remarks, that the subject has been hitherto a mighty maze without a plan: different names in different languages, differently transliterated, shrouded from correct classification identical Castes. In some cases the identity was obvious, in others had to be cautiously ascertained. In Mr. Kitts' list No. 1 of Castes, each numbering one thousand individuals and upwards, and list No. 2, showing the remainder of ascertained Castes, there are no less than 1929 entries. This number may be susceptible of reduction after microscopic examination, but very possibly may have to be enlarged. There are no less than forty-seven Castes, which number more than one million, and of these, twenty-one each contains two millions and upwards; there are thirteen millions of Brahmins: eleven millions of Chumars, or workers in leather, and twelve millions of Kunbi, the agriculturists of Southern India. These Castes would take up the position of large nations in Europe: the three together equal the population of the British Isles: they are but items in the account of British India. Of Rajpúts, there are eight and a half millions; of Bania, or shopkeepers, four millions; of Ahír, or herdsmen, nine millions. Of Jat, the well-known agriculturists of the Panjáb, there are four millions; of the Teli, or dealers in oil, there are three and a half millions. These astounding numbers give rise to deep reflection.

Mr. Kitts affirms, on the substantial data of the Census, a fact, which has been loudly and long asserted by all, who are well acquainted with the Indian people, that *Caste is not necessarily conterminous with Religion*. Among the one hundred and eighty-five largest Castes in the Panjáb, there are only forty-three, the members of which all belong to the same religious Cult. In Bombay and Berár, members of the same Caste are found to be Jain, or Hindu. Neo-Mahometans retain with pride their old Caste-names, notably the Rajpúts, and it is quite possible and reasonable, that a Neo-Christian will do the same. In all cases, where the individual has an obscure or discreditable connection and origin, the Neo-Mahometan is glad to start a new career as a Shaikh, and the Neo-Christian as a Nasári; but not otherwise.

Mr. Ibbetson, in his admirable and exhaustive essay on Caste in the Panjáb, swept away the illusion (1) that *Caste is an institution of the Hindu religion* and wholly peculiar to that Religion; (2) that it consists of the old powerful classification of Manu; (3) that it is perpetual and immutable. The real state of the case is fully and fairly stated by him, and I entirely agree with him, that it is *a social* rather than a *religious* institution, and has no necessary connection whatever with the Hindu Religion, as is proved by the

fact that conversion from Hinduism to Mahometanism, in ninety cases out of a hundred, has not the slightest effect upon a man's Caste. The Sanscrit legends tell us in great detail how one famous man was able to alter his Caste: as a fact, it is notorious in the country-side, how certain well-to-do merchants of a low Caste manage gradually to grow into a higher one, and this has passed into a proverb. Nor are the rules of Caste the same. Some Brahmins will not consort with, eat with, or marry with, other Brahmins; while, on the other hand, all the Brahmins of the Panjáb, known as the Saraswat, eat with the Khatri, and sometimes a man of another Caste has by custom crept into this privilege also by tacit permission. I have known instances.

Community of occupation is quite as much the basis of Caste as community of origin. Manu's four-fold division of priest, warrior, merchant, and the common herd, indicates this. The custom of Oriental countries is to make occupation hereditary, and this feeling is strengthened by the absence of Education, the difficulty of locomotion, and the paucity of varieties of occupation in a community with simple wants: as betrothals and marriage always took place in the infancy of the parties according to the arrangements of the parents, and not the fancy of the individual, they were also strictly endogamous. The nobles of France and Spain became a Caste, because they always intermarried among each other; the nobles of England never became a Caste, as they enjoyed full liberty of selection from the families of their neighbours of lower degree. It was with the object of checking, once for all, the dangerous tendency of the office of priest becoming hereditary in Levitical families, that led the Pope to impose celibacy upon the Romish clergy; it has so far succeeded, but any interference with the fundamental law of the human race brings with it countervailing evils.

The lower the Caste, the more trouble is caused by Caste-assertion. In the North of India we hear *little* about it. The railways, the roads, the schools, the ferries, the choice of employment, the Courts of Justice, are open to all without any distinction. Some classes of the community may avoid the touch of other classes, just as we do of a sweep, but the law would not tolerate any overt act of offensive Caste-rules, such as used to prevail in South India, where women of some Castes were not allowed to wear a cloth above the waist, and in the public road the so-called low-Caste had to stand aside to let the high-Caste pass. Eight hundred years of Mahometan domination, followed by a century of English rule, has got rid of this kind of nonsense. In South India all the Castes were extremely low: the Súdra counted high, on the principle of a one-eyed man being king among the blind; but beneath the Hinduized Dravidian were several strata of pagan Dravidian Devil-worshippers, men of unclean habits, and low

occupations. Many of these have become Christians, and regarded it as a step in social life; and no doubt it is so, when accompanied by Education, and the adoption of a higher morality, and a more decent mode of life, and they have a perfect right to elevate themselves.

The Protestant missionary will persist in denunciations of Caste, and asserting, that it is the great impediment to Conversion. He does not reflect, that there is no Caste in Barma, or the Southern portion of Ceylon and China, Japan, and the rest of the world, except India, but there are equally great obstacles to his operations there also. Everybody must have something to abuse, and that something is generally one, the nature of which is not understood. The Chinese missionary has no Caste, so he fastens upon the Opium-trade. The African missionary has a more real grievance in Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, and Sorcery. Of course, in one sense, Caste has the nature of Religion, in its original sense, *as "something "that binds fast."* The Hindu Religion, consisting exclusively of ritual of the most trivial character, with the ordinary common herd is reduced to a mere name. A Hindu becomes a Roman Catholic with the slightest effort, and passes from one empty ritual into another without any strain of conscience. Whatever did survive of the religious element was, the desire so to conform to the customs of his friends and relations, as to be able to eat with them, smoke with them, and get a wife from their families. This he would call his Caste, or *dharm*. So among worldly men in Europe, honesty and honour take the place of the religious element. They neither enter a church, nor repeat a prayer, or care for a Future State, but they wish to be treated conventionally as Christians, and not to be excluded from the good fellowship of their equals. This is their Religion, at least all that has survived of it. It ill becomes an English missionary to press the subject too closely, as he would naturally object to taking his meals with the converted sweeper, and would shrink from giving his daughter, brought up carefully in England, in marriage to the pious and trusted Native pastor, whom he loves as his friend. He insensibly, and rightly, and naturally, recognizes, that there is *an indelible distinction of race;* not that one race is intrinsically better than the other, when both are equally educated and virtuous, but that they are different, and not intended to intermix without leading to inconveniences. This quite justifies him in setting his face against Caste-pride offensively exhibited in the School, the Church, or in public life, but in the privacy of his home, the Neo-Christian has a right, in which the law will protect him, to marry into such families only as appear to him proper, and to decline to sit down to meals with men of different culture, habits, and ideas of personal cleanliness. When missionaries are men of good common sense, they see this.

What is now required is a carefully and scientifically edited

Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Castes, and Tribes, and social distinctions of British India, arranged alphabetically under the leading name, but carefully giving all the synonyms, and alternative names, carefully transliterated in the Roman Character, and given also in the local Indian Character. It is an idle war to fight against Caste, which exists in the atmosphere of India. The English is but an additional Caste to the previously existing catalogue. There are also many compensating advantages. All secret societies of a dangerous political character are impossible in a population, which is honeycombed with deep, though innocent, fissures: the panchayet of the Caste is a welcome and powerful ally to a just Ruler: the old Roman proverb applies, *Divide et impera*. Difference of Religion and language, great as they are, are scarcely so operative as difference of Caste. Then, again, the necessity of a general poor law to relieve the indigent is obviated by the existence of Caste. The respectability of a community is maintained by the enforcement of wise Caste-rules; they are felt, though not written, by Europeans in their own country. The English Government has steadily ignored Caste, as far as the administration of public affairs is concerned, but respected the private rights of every class of its subjects, and the Civil Courts will give a remedy for any wanton outrage of the feelings of the meanest of its subjects; while, on the other hand, any attempt to monopolize the use of wells, or other places of public convenience, or to place any section of the community under a ban, causing injury to person or property, is sternly repressed. I am glad to hear that there is a prospect of an Ethnological Survey of British India.

I pass on to the subject of Religion:

The following table shows the distribution of the population according to Religions. They are arranged according to the chronological order in which they appeared in India, and in even hundreds:

A Pagan, or Nature-worshippers .	6,628,000
B Hindu, or Brahminical	192,624,000
C Buddhist and Jain	4,640,000
D Mahometan.	50,000,000
E Fire-worshippers	85,000
F Jew	12,000
G Christian	1,861,000
H Brahmo	1,000

It is a solemn consideration, that this multitude of multitudes have been passing on from generation to generation (ever since the time of Alexander the Great as a historical certainty, and for an unfathomable period previously) from the cradle to the grave, each class of religionist along his own groove of convictions for this life,

his ritual, and his ideas of the Future, and, with the exception of the few scores of intelligent Protestant converts, without the slightest ability to give an account for the faith that was in them, and without the faintest desire to inquire, whether it was right or wrong. On the first aspect of the subject, it would seem, as if Religion were an empty form, a delusion; and yet it is not so, for many would give up their lives readily to maintain their so-called religious convictions, and morality is not totally dissociated from the religious conception: and it may be said generally, though sadly, that it is better for the welfare of the immortal soul, and the purity of the mortal body, that a man should be a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Fire-worshipper, and a Mahometan, than be a sceptic, an unbeliever, an agnostic, or an atheist. In the one case there is the desire, though imperfectly displayed, to acknowledge the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and bow humbly before Him: in the latter there is naught but an arrogant reliance on self, and a soul and conscience lulled into a fatal sleep, calling to our recollection that sin, which can never be forgiven in this world or the next.

The enumerators of the Census, followed by the reporters, enter separately the Sikh, the Satnámi, and the Kumbhipathia, but they have by me been included under the general term of Hindu. The Nat-worshippers, and the "unspecified" have been included under the general term Nature-worshipper, and the Buddhist and Jain have been lumped together. There was a great difficulty in getting people to state their religious faith. No doubt the present return is only an approximation to the truth, but it is a sufficient one. The more accurately defined the Religion, the more easily can the followers be enumerated. Thus, the returns of all, with the exception of the Hindu and Nature-worshipper, can fairly be relied upon. These last two are surrounded with uncertainties.

Let us first consider the Pagans or Nature-Worshippers. It is necessary to have studied the circumstances of the population of Africa, America, and Oceania, to realize upon what a far higher platform of culture the people of Asia stand. If it has been decided, and rightly decided, that to the greater part of the African, American, and Oceanic populations the term "savage" cannot justly be applied, and that the term "barbarous" is more suitable, when we come to consider the people of India, we feel that the term "barbarous" does not apply to any portion of the population, with the exception of the Nature-worshippers, and not to all of them. The rest may be poor, degraded, uneducated, yet they are in possession of an ancient culture, not, indeed, a high culture, but one that is essentially Oriental. Some distinguished writers, such as Tylor and Lubbock, have written upon this subject of Primitive Man, and the Museums of Europe supply evidence that marks the progress upwards.

Those, who had charge of the Indian Census, seem to have had no independent knowledge of this subject, and this is the weak side of the Report. The history of the Arian invasion of Northern India is well known. They advanced from the direction of the Hindu-Kúsh across the Indus, and occupying the Panjáb, where the groundwork of their polity was fixed and the Veda written, they pushed down the valleys of the rivers Ganges and Indus to the sea, which is mentioned in the Veda, and across the Vindhya Range into Maharástra, but they found the country already occupied by darker and less cultured tribes, represented, to the present time, by the non-Arian races of the Dravidian, Kolarian and Tibeto-Barman. Now, many of these have been Hinduized, and, therefore, from the point of view of Religion, are correctly entered as Hindu. But these races may be divided into another category. Part of these non-Arian races retired before the invaders into impenetrable mountains and forests, and there maintained a rude independence and individuality, but a portion were overrun, and came under the domination of the invaders, and became hewers of wood and drawers of water, helot and servile races, discharging certain duties in every village and town of a very necessary character, but not blended with the superior race, and never admitted to their religion. Of these helot races the Chumars are a notable instance, who count as many as eleven millions, and ought never to be reckoned as Hindu. According to this view, the return of the Census is very defective, and it will be found that the number of non-Arian Nature-worshippers far exceeds the six millions assigned to them. This is a branch of the subject, which will require special notice at the next Census, and the Returns must be compiled by one, who is an adept in anthropological studies. There is no reason why the phenomena recorded should not be reduced to order, and it may be found possible to divide the population according to their peculiar beliefs, deities, and customs, into subgroups. It must, however, be recollected, that these aboriginal races are slowly passing under a process of assimilation with their more powerful neighbours. In the Provinces of Bangál, millions have adopted the faith of Mahomet: in the Central Provinces there is a tendency to Hinduize; and in Barma the attraction is to Buddhism. The Khond will still be a non-Arian, notwithstanding that he may have been admitted into one of the lower strata of the Brahminical fold, and have adopted the Arian language of Orissa. Education and administrative arrangements may unintentionally accelerate this process, though for the sake of the stability of the English Empire in India, it is to be deprecated. As long as Race is the leading feature, any combined action of the different units of the population to form a Nationality is impossible; but when the dominant Religion and language have been adopted, the feature of Race falls to the background, and populations sometimes gravitate

together by the more demonstrative links of Religion and language. The chances are, however, against the phenomenon in India for many centuries.

The Census returns exhibit the Nat-worshippers as a separate item: they are recorded only in British Barma, and it was illogical to record them as a main subdivision; they stand on the same platform with the Bhút-worshippers of Southern India, and are but a species of Nature-worship. Nats are spirits supposed to inhabit natural objects, celestial and terrestrial, and to interfere freely in the affairs of man. Some are evil, and their ill-will has to be propitiated by offerings of plantains, cocoanuts, fowls, or other such gifts. Some are kind, and their favour has to be secured. This belief has remained underlying the creed of Buddha; many Karen, and wild tribes, call themselves Buddhist, though in reality they cling to their old conceptions of animate Nature. It is the same feeling, that gave birth to the beautiful visions of the Greeks and Romans, peopling the hills, and the groves, and the streams, with nymphs and satyrs. The same feeling has transformed itself into the worship of local saints in the Roman Catholic Church, and, in another form, the fairy and the sprite have dwelt in the fancy of the English rustic up to this century. As was to be expected, the cold, hopeless, passionless form of a theistic morality was not adapted to the ignorant, degraded, yet excitable Oriental races of the Indo-Gangetic peninsula, without a large admixture of the follies and extravagancies of Nature-worship, which clung to the skirts of its clothing. The mind of man cannot get free of anthropomorphic conceptions, and cannot get beyond its own intellectual environments. We shall find this phenomenon more distinctly exhibited, when we come to treat of the far purer, and more exalted, tenets of the Mahometan Monotheism.

But the reflex effect of the Pagan Cults has been felt upon the Brahminical conception and ritual: hence comes the worship of local Shrines, like the lofty hill of Naini Devi, of the Naphtha fires at Jwala-Múkhi, and the floating rock in the lake at Mandi, all in the Panjáb. There are local objects of pilgrimage elsewhere, where the priests in charge are not Brahmins, and yet they are frequented by devout Hindu. On the other hand, the non Arian races, as they advanced in culture, had a tendency to establish places and ritual of worship, and to secure the services of the lower class of Brahmins to officiate, just as we read in the Old Testament of the non-Hebrew settlers in Palestine securing a Levite to establish a ritual for their Teraphim. There is a fashion in Religious Cults, as in many other matters. In the South of India we hear of ghost-worshipping, and devil-worshipping; the Brahminical religion did not extend to these classes more than in name. The husk of Hinduism has not hardened round them, and

hence we find that the spread of the Christian religion has been more extensive there than anywhere else. In the Central Provinces the Santal and Kole were equally outside of the Hindu fold, and the English Government is not restricted from the reasonable encouragement of the missionaries to civilize and convert such pagan tribes, as their pledges of religious neutrality are solely to the Hindu and Mahometan.

The Chumars have been already alluded to, and to these may be added a legion of names of the same nondescript class, and so-called out-castes; they eat dead animals, the idea of which is enough to make a good Hindu crazy. I once came suddenly upon the Ganges at Banáras in my evening walk, and found a party of these gentry cutting up a dead horse, with all the gusto, which is credited to the African in the books of travellers, when an elephant, or a hippopotamus, or a rhinoceros, or an English traveller, is killed. The greatest difference occurs in the disposal of the dead. The Chumars carry their dead on biers calling out,

"Tu hi hai: tain ne paida kia; aur tainne maria."

"There is but Thou: Thou hast given, and Thou hast taken "away." This shows that in this particular, at least, they have got to the root of the matter.

We pass on to the Hindu. On the subject of the Brahminical Religion profound books have been written, but they all fail entirely to convey the faintest idea of the Religion so-called, but actually practised. They describe Hinduism as it ought to be, or as at some remote and imaginary period it once was, and as some educated Brahmins still try, or pretend, to practise it. The remarks of the Continental scholar, who has never visited India, on the subject of the Brahmin, the ritual, and the Temple, seem to one, who has lived among the people, quite ridiculous. To him the officiating priest seems to be a learned and devout ecclesiastic; to the ordinary Anglo-Indian the same individual appears as a dirty, uninteresting, naked native. The esoteric doctrines play a very small part indeed in the daily belief of the masses. All is centred in ritual, and one member of the family does all that is required. In fact, the modern form of Hinduism is extremely material, debased by the contact of Mahometanism, by the absorption of the deities of the pagans, by the worship of household and village godlings, by a low kind of fetichism, by adoration of plagues, like "the small-pox," of the sainted dead of ancestors, the malevolent dead, by the use of charms, divination, and exorcism, and by the wildest superstitions and fancies; add to this an unbounded variety of practice by different Castes in different localities.

It is not clear, why the compilers excluded the Sikh or Singh of the Panjáb from the Hindu Family: they would be much surprised

to find that they were not deemed Hindu. The Sikh is certainly Hindu, and becomes a Sikh by taking the Pahal, and submitting to certain customs, such as never shaving or smoking tobacco. In its later development, it was essentially a political movement of the lower classes: few of the higher Castes became Sikh; and, now that power and prestige are gone, it must be on the decline. I lived among them many years, and learned to appreciate their manly virtues: over and above the Hindu books and ritual, they had their own sacred book, the Granth, and their own ritual. As a rule, they are essentially respectable agriculturists, with a potentiality of becoming soldiers. If credit were given to books, we should find Mahometan Sikhs. I never heard of such a thing: the Sikhs are the deadly enemies of Mahometans: whatever Nanak may have dreamt of, when he formed his community of Sikhs or "disciples," Góvind founded a community of Singhs or lions or "warriors."

The "Satnámi" should also be included among the Hindu, at least for the present: they are found only in the Central Provinces, and numerically do not reach half a million, and already have two irreconcilable factions in their midst. Unlike the Sikh, and the Buddhist, and the Brahmo, they have borrowed nothing from the outer world: their attempt is to reform out of their own consciousness their hereditary faith: they have obtained a glimpse of the truth, *i.e.* the worship of the one true God, "the true name," and hatred of idols, and levelling of Caste-distinctions, though this last feature loses its value, when we are informed, that the majority are Chumars, men with no Caste, whom I have classed with Nature-worshippers; but the Satnámi are something better than that, for they appear to be Hindu improving into something more exalted, not Nature-worshippers improving into becoming Hindu. Some of them have learnt to abstain from liquors and drugs, animal food, and the observance of Hindu festivals, and they hate the Hindu and the Brahmin. They have no place of worship or priesthood, and one informant tells us, that they are creating a host of deities and deified heroes. It is the old story, that pure theism is incompatible with a low state of intellectual culture: they cannot see beyond the near horizon into the far distant one: they have no elevated dogma like that of Mahomet: their worldly circumstances are very bad: education is almost non-existent. As a matter of fact, the Satnámi is as superstitious an idolater as the most ignorant Hindu.

The Kabírpanthi are only recorded in the Central Provinces, and are less numerous than the Satnámi. Kabír was one of the disciples of the celebrated Vaishnavite reformer, Ramanand, who, in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, with great boldness, attacked both the Veda of the Hindu, and the Korán of the Mahometan. He left a Sect behind him, but they never attained a political existence: he lived and died near Banáras. Nanak, the

founder of the Sikh sect, was his more fortunate pupil and follower. Kabír must be classed as a reformer within the body of the Hindu Religion, and his followers are reformed Hindu, just as much as the Wahábi are reformed Mahometans, and the Protestants are reformed Christians. The very fact, that the disciples of Kabír revere him *as an incarnation of the Deity*, shows that they are still Hindu. The followers of Buddha have no such delusion. The mantra of initiation, with which he received his disciples, is in the name of Rama, one of the Hindu Avatars. We find that though theoretically there is no distinction of Caste, yet each Caste of the Kabírpanthi keeps very much to itself; and more than that, they intermarry with pure Hindu of the same Caste: the tendency is to give up all but the mere name. Under these circumstances the Reporters of the Census were wrong in entering such creeds as a separate heading, especially as they included the much more pronounced Chumar and Lingaite as Hindu. It is admitted by the Reporters, that the Kumbhipatra were entered as a separate heading wrongfully, and the same error applies to the Sikh, Satnámi, and Kabírpanthi.

Separated by a vast abyss of religious conception from the Hindu is the Buddhist. Volumes have been written on the subject of this mighty movement, the very thought of which causes amazement. One of the most astounding features is, that there are not 200,000 Buddhists to be found in the whole of India West of the Ganges, the birthplace of the doctrines, where once, as evidenced by the widely-spread pillars of Asóka, it ruled supreme. In the Indo-Chinese peninsula it is the dominant religious form: there are more than four thousand Buddhist monasteries in British Barma, and the number of priests (celibate) amounts to one in every five hundred of the population. The annexation of the Kingdom of Ava, or Independent Barma, will have added largely to the number of Buddhists in the next Census. About 3000 are enumerated in the Spiti district, in the Himaláya, in the Panjáb.

I have, contrary to the enumeration of the Reporters, annexed the Jain to the Buddhist. I admit there are difficulties, but, although they are often described as a sect of the Hindu, they are more akin in their religious professions to the Buddhist, and I am at this moment regarding the population from the point of view of Religion. The subject has not been fully studied. The Jains have played a great part in the history of India, and left an enormous literature behind them. Rhys Davids is of opinion, that the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Mahometan conquest of Kashmír, in the twelfth century, preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain Sect, and by adopting the principal tenets as to Caste and ceremonial observations of the antecedent Hindu creeds. Forty-two thousand Jains are enumerated in the Panjáb returns. I have come into contact with men, who were said to be Jains, and at the same time were Suraoji Banya, called in vulgar parlance

Agarwal. One of the chief features of their religious observances is their extreme respect for animal life, which they carry to the absurdity of keeping their mouths covered with veils to prevent the chance absorption of an insect. Two-thirds of their number are in Rajputána and the Bombay Province. It is to be hoped, that at the next Census we shall have more accurate information on this subject.

Little need be said with regard to the fifty million of Mahometans, except to notify that their number is increasing by the peaceful absorption of non-Arian tribes. Of the whole number, not much less than half are found in the Province of Bangál, who are lax Mahometans, being in fact non-Arians, nominally converted, and known as Ferázi. In the Panjáb there are ten millions, some of whom are of the stock of the original invaders, but in the time of the Great Moguls, many great tribes were by force or bribes converted, and are Mahometans, without giving up their proud Caste-title of Rajpút, and preserving their own Hindu customs having the force of law with regard to Marriage and Inheritance. One of the Rajas of a great Rajpút clan in the Himaláya is a Mahometan, and rules without prejudice over his Hindu clansmen. Many of the Indian Mahometans would be considered very lax professors of their faith, for they sacrifice to local deities, let their wives sacrifice to Sitala, the small-pox: they keep a Hindu family priest, are very lax in their prayers, and totally neglect their fasts: to some extent Hindu and Mahometans go to the same shrines: in two districts I discovered that they intermarry. There is a great deal of opportunity for a Wahábi reformer, but it is as well for the peace of the Empire, that they should be as we find them. They are quite as much observers of Caste-rules as the Hindu, and it is with a feeling of surprise, that the Englishman finds himself allowed to eat and drink with a Mahometan in Kashmír, as he is in Western Asia. One thing, however, is obvious. Under the scorching light of Education, and the electric contact with other nations, Buddhism, Hinduism, Fire-worship, Nature-worship, wither away, and become despised; but this not the case with the Mahometan; he has nothing to be ashamed of in his tenets, if he can once understand them, and of his Koran, if he can read it in the original or translation, and act up to it. He may yet be a powerful factor in the history of India, and a fierce antagonist to the spread of Christianity. The idea is ridiculous, that the Mahometans of India know, or care, for the Sultan of Turkey, or recognize him as Khalif. The Great Mogul of Dehli was a far greater Potentate than the Osmanli sovereign.

The Fire-worshippers are Persian refugees at Bombay and on the West Coast at the time when the sword of Islam destroyed their religion in Iran: they have an Indian domicile of several generations, and have adopted an Indian language, the Gujaráti, in supercession of their own; but they keep to a limited profession of their

ancestral worship. They are respectable, wealthy, enterprising, and in every respect come nearest to the British, but their number is very inconsiderable, and they will never form a factor in politics.

The existence of the Jews is interesting: no doubt, like the Falásha of Abyssinia, they are not, and do not pretend to be, of Semitic origin, but they are alien proselytes. They call themselves Beni Israel, and are insignificant, and may probably disappear, having no reason for existence: they have no knowledge of Hebrew, nor any translation of the Law in their own Vernacular: if they had, they could hardly convince themselves, that there was any Covenant to them, and their Gentile offspring. The world is full of surprises; perhaps the existence of the Falásha and the Indian Black Jew is not the least.

The Christian population is one and three quarter millions, but the whole of the English Army, and all officers in Civil or Military employ must be deducted, being undomiciled aliens. It may be doubted whether any European British subject is domiciled. On the other hand, the Syrian Christians and the Armenians belong to a period antecedent to British rule: the great majority of the Roman Catholics are merely skin-deep Christians, who have exchanged Ram Ram for Ave Maria. There remain the Eurasians, and the converts of the numerous Protestant Missions of all the Churches. These may hereafter be a formidable factor, but go for nothing now.

Last in the list is the youngest religious development known as the Brahmo: the numbers recorded are few, and in the report it is stated, that these numbers are much understated, which seems strange, as the tenets are very distinctive, and the holders of those tenets are men of Education, and not ashamed of them. It is emphatically a new Religion, the result of the contact of the Christian, or at least European, civilisation with the decaying Hindu fabric. As it cannot be enumerated under the Hindu heading, which it has entirely broken with, and the Christian, which it has not attained, it must necessarily stand alone. Standing on the confines of an old and new Faith, it is a mixed Religion, in the same sense as we write of a mixed Language. The tendency of such a religious conception is to pass away into Theism, Agnosticism, or Indifferentism.

It must be recollected, that the calm, and even disdainful tolerance of the British Government has greatly tended to re-establish Hinduism, which had been persecuted by the Mahometans, notably by the Rulers of the Panjáb. The rules of Caste have been tightened, Temples been built, pilgrimages of enormous distances have been facilitated for vast crowds, who formerly would have shrunk from the perils of the way: all taxes upon Temples have been remitted, and, in many cases, large endowments have been left in possession. On the other hand, any idea that the Hindu

gods had the least power to cure evils, or inflict evils in this world, send rain, or withhold it, must have utterly passed away: the presence of the fifty millions of Mahometans, and the annually increasing Christian communities, must have removed that idea. The Egyptians of Alexandria really believed, that, when the Temple of Serapis was destroyed, the world would come to an end. No Hindu would believe that now with regard to Jagarnáth, or the great Temple of Banáras. He likes his old ritual and is glad to keep it, and, having always been tolerant himself to every form of belief and unbelief, he appreciates the entire toleration, which he enjoys.

Gradually the officers of Government have withdrawn from all connection with the Hindu ceremonial: no money is given to Brahmins to pray for rain, no benefit of clergy is given to a Brahmin offender, no sanctuary is allowed in a Hindu Temple. Annual processions are only so far accompanied by the Police, as to prevent molestation from Mahometans, and a breach of the peace. No Englishman falls so low as to contribute to the erection of a Hindu Temple. Nátch dances connected with religious ceremonies are falling out of fashion: the race of public officers, who did not mind sitting in Durbar like merry-andrews, with sacrificial garlands round their necks, has passed away. Education is quietly sapping the whole fabric. Idolatry cannot stand the scorching glare of publicity and knowledge: Mahometanism can; there is the difference. The heat of the flame melts the one, which is based on a lie, till it disappears; it refines the other, which is based upon indestructible truth, the existence of one God, all-wise, and all-mighty.

Turning as I do now from the patient study Nation by Nation, Tribe by Tribe, of the populations of Africa and Oceania, how wonderful appears the Genius, the accomplished work, the acquired learning, and the exalted future of the Indian Arian. They owe literally nothing to any other nation of the world, except the germ of their Alphabet, and even of that they were the first and only Systematiser, and the greatest propagator. They gave Religions to other Nations, to the Indo-Chinese peninsula, China, and Japan. Where did Oxford or Cambridge, Gotha or Tubingen, Paris or Salamanca, Padua or Pisa get their conception about Grammar until the Hindu taught it to them? The great Epics of the Indian Arian became the staples of the literature of the Dravidian, the Tibeto-Barman, and the Malayan people. Other Nations have passed through the furnace of centuries and become changed, but the same dogma and ritual of the Veda live on, tolerant, complacent, casting off new Sects, new Schools of Thought, new volumes of Philosophy. They have their own Astronomy, Architecture, Inscriptions, they are proud of their Canals, and their Cities, their Manufactures and their Products, they are famous for their polish

of manners, their dignity of address, their bravery in battle, and their wisdom in council. Those, who have lived among them, far from the contagion of great cities, can testify to the purity of their family-life, and their freedom from those sensual vices, which disgrace the European with all his vaunted civilization, and the fearful crimes of Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, Slavery and Sorcery, that torment the poor African, and the South Sea Islander, who have given nothing to the world to benefit, or ennoble, or enrich it.

Passing on to the great subject of Language, I cannot congratulate the compiler either on the method adopted, or the success of the compilation: in fact, it is as bad as could well be imagined. In spite of my advice communicated before the Census, no list was supplied to the local compilers of the languages and dialects, which they were sure to meet, and the synonyms, which would probably occur. The consequence has been a most discreditable and unprofitable return, made absolutely ridiculous by the following peculiarities:

No less than twenty-two million seven hundred thousand are entered with no specification of language at all: thirteen thousand nine hundred are similarly entered as Wild Tribes, yet wild though they were, they must have been Hindu and had a form of speech: in all probability any Text-book would have supplied the language. European languages, dead and living, are heedlessly entered: I should like to know more about the single individual, who entered his Vernacular as Latin, the thirteen hundred as speaking Sanskrit, and the one, who spoke Slavonic.

We have next to clear away the following European languages, which are all mixed up in the alphabetical list with the languages of India: English, Scotch, alias Keltic, alias Gaelic, for they are all entered; Irish, Welsh, French, Dutch, Flemish, German, Russian, Italian, and Maltese, Greek, Romanian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Magyar, Polish, Lapp and Swiss. The following Asiatic languages follow, which belong to regions beyond India, the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the Indian archipelago: Persian, Japanese, Chinese, Turki, Armenian, and Arabic. Nine hundred persons are entered as employing Hebrew as their Vernacular, which is ridiculous; it is doubtful whether, since the Babylonian captivity, any man has used Hebrew as his sole Vernacular. Two residents of India are credited as communicating their ideas in Syriac, and two thousand as speaking a language called African: why not enter the others as speaking European or Asiatic? To no one is it imputed, that they speak Australasian or American. It is amazing that a Census Return of India for 1881 should record 124 speakers of Scotch, 149 of Gaelic, and two of Keltic! !

We now approach India in its direct sense. Many names are entered twice under slightly varying forms. Twenty-three

thousand are entered as speaking Panjábi dialects. Now, the Report for the Panjáb is singularly full and instructive, and with a little care these dialects could have been entered under their parent language. The form of speech of a region or a tribe is called a Language: the local variations of such language, spoken in particular districts, or by particular subtribes, are Dialects, just as the Venetian, Neapolitan, and Sardinian are dialects of Italian. It is obvious, that, where the returns have been prepared in this way, the work has fallen into unsympathetic hands, and there is much left to be desired. The transliteration of names is not that adopted by Hunter's Gazetteer, and scores of names of recognized languages or dialects have been omitted. There are, no doubt, great difficulties: a great deal of additional information is required, but this end can only be reached by keeping to the lines already laid down. There are transitional regions on the border of a language-field, or a mixed patois in a debatable region; aliens who have domiciled for many generations and have adopted the Vernacular of the region, often retain a household patois borrowed from their ancestral language. This may account for 15,700 speakers of Persian.

The received classification of the languages of India, Indo-China, and the Indian Archipelago is as follows:

1 Arian Family. { A Iranic branch. B Indic branch.
2 Dravidian Family.
3 Kolarian Group.
4 Tibeto-Barman Group.
5 Khasi.
6 Tai Family.
7 Mon-Anam Group.
8 Malayan Family.

The word "Family" implies actually ascertained affinity: the word "Group" implies a less intimate, or less accurately ascertained connection, possibly only a geographical approximation.

It may be stated, that the progress of knowledge of the languages of India, if evidenced by the General Report of the whole kingdom, is certainly retrograde: the compiler had not taken the trouble to consult the most ordinary Text-book: many of the supposed facts which he exhibits in his Table of Languages, in his notes attached to that Table, he discredits and declares to be inaccurate: the reader can only ask, why did he not correct the Table? The reply seems to be, that the Table was compiled by ignorant mechanical collators of the Provincial returns, and not looked at by the general compiler, until it was in print. It appears that the Chief Commissioner of Assam, one of the most interesting language-fields, sent only naked statistics and no report. If it really was intended to schedule among the languages of a Province, the Argot and trade-jargons, they should have been entered in a separate category.

In the Arian family we find the two leading languages of the Iranic branch, the Pashtu and Balúchi, and ten leading languages of the Indic branch, Kashmíri, Sindhi, Panjábi, Hindi, Nepáli, Assámi, Bangáli, Uriya, Maráthi and Gujaráti. Some interesting particulars with regard to dialects are added. The relation of Hindustáni or Urdu, the great lingua franca of India, is misunderstood: it is only a dialect of Hindi, which is spoken by the largest population in the world, and has a tendency to expand and absorb its neighbours, notably the Panjábi. It is every way more convenient for the present to treat Hindi as the unit, and then allow full room to its magnificent dialects, such as Bhojpúri, Maithili, Braj-Basha, Bagri, Pahári, Jathki, Marwári, Chatesgarhi, or any others. In course of time they will establish an independent literature of their own, and raise themselves to the position of independent languages, their special idiosyncracies and divergences being brought to book. Whether the Hindustáni has attained an existence geographically is doubtful: it is the language of the educated classes, over a vast region, and the official language in two great Provinces. However, in a country like India, where the agricultural classes form such a vast majority, we must know what language they speak. Hindustáni does, indeed, resemble English in its hybrid character, and power of absorption of foreign word-stores, and foreign word-formations, yet it differs in two essentials. It has fallen into the fatal error of arranging the words in a non-natural sequence, contrary to the position in which the idea rises in the mind, *e.g.* instead of, "Why have you not obeyed my order?" we insensibly, in Hindustáni, following the Sanskrit idiom, say, "By you my order why not obeyed?" A still more formidable obstacle to its world-wide expansion is its slavish adherence to the shackles of Gender and Number, from which the English, destined to be the World-Language of the next century, has freed itself. Of what possible use was it to make adjectives, and pronouns, and even verbs alter their final vowel with reference to the gender of the noun? The Persian language, to which the Hindustáni is so largely indebted, had got rid of this badge of linguistic slavery, and the English is as free as air, making no difference betwixt an old man and an old woman, or a naughty man and a naughty woman, without any loss of perspicuity.

We are greatly indebted to Hoernle, Kellogg, Beames, Grierson, Growse, and others for their important studies on different portions of the Hindi language, but much remains to be done to record the effect of the contact of this lordly Vernacular with Dravidian and Kolarian elements, and with its sister-Vernacular in Central India. The reporter of the Census for the Panjáb, Ibbetson, though he disclaims any pretence to being a philologist, has contributed most important information. What is now required is, that a large map of the Hindi language-field should be prepared; and after information has been received from each sub-Collectorate, of the propor-

tion of the population speaking each dialect, it should be exhibited on the language-map by shades of colour. It is of the utmost importance for the well-being and peace of the people, that the officials, native as well as English, should be able to hold converse with the agriculturists in their villages. The sections of the population marked by these variations of dialects are not petty tribes, but in some cases are counted by millions.

I pass on to the Dravidian Family. New names of dialects come to the surface, and old well-known ones have been ignorantly and unsympathetically treated. The four great Dravidian languages will probably swallow up their small and adjacent congeners, but the Gond, the Khond, the Uraon, and Rajmahâli, or Maler must either hold their own, or fall before their great Arian neighbours. If this happens by a natural process, it can neither be arrested, nor ought it to be regretted; but it is a terrible scandal, that there should not be a single Gond-speaking school amidst a population of more than a million. I strongly remonstrated against this* some years ago, and was answered, that the Gond had no written Character, and had no right to exist. This is a policy more worthy of the French, German, and Austrian Governments than the British. The Gond language is described by Caldwell as being a language of great linguistic capacity. If the absence of a written Character be the test of vitality, what will become of the great Vernaculars of South Africa? Neither administrator nor missionary has a right to set aside a great Vernacular, living in the mouths of the people, from mere laziness or sheer stupidity. The unanimous judgment of the English statesman and the Protestant philanthropist is against such a course.

Next in order comes the Kolarian Group of Central India. One, at least, of that Group, the Sontal, will survive, and from the logical beauty of its structure, is worthy to survive. The poor miserable fragments of old half-extinct Vernaculars will, like the languages of the Bhil, disappear, and form one of the dialectal variations of the adjacent Arian language. The Mandâri will have a hard struggle for life, though at present the Vernacular of three-quarters of a million. In a South Sea Island, or an isolated peninsula, such a language would live for ever; but the Mandâri has to resist the aggression of the Hindi, Bangâli, and some Dravidian languages, and the odds are against its survival in the struggle for life.

Of the vast group, the Tibeto-Barman, only a portion appears in the reports of the Census. The languages of Nepâl, an independent kingdom, are not included. The Tibetan appears in the hill-tracts of the Panjâb, and is reported to be advancing: it appears again on the Assam frontier. As the Assam authorities sent in no report, and the general compiler did not care to consult the latest authori-

Vide Letter at the close of the Essay, p. 81.

ties, the report of the language of that Province is most unsatisfactory. The identity of the Kahkien and Singhpo had escaped notice. The languages of the tribes in the intermediate zone, betwixt Bangál and Barma, have escaped observation, though fully reported by officers of Government such as McCulloch. Of British Barma we have full information in the local Report, and an additional notice by Dr. Forchhammer of the Educational Department. The isolated language of Khasi, and the languages of the Tai, Mon-Anam and Malayan Families are inadequately noticed. It requires no little study and consideration to find out the locality of such random and mis-spelt entries as Bhuin, Chin, Chau, Dainet, Hajong, Yebein, Salone, and others. One entry defies all research. The brief notices attached to each name are singularly inadequate, and often misleading.

No passing allusion is made to the multiform variety of Written Characters used in India for literature that passes through the press in published works, and in the scores of unshackled daily and weekly newspapers, in the vast epistolary correspondence, that is conveyed with rapidity and inviolate sanctity from one end of the Empire to the other, in the account books of the banks, the merchant, the village accountant, and the copyist of religious manuscripts. No country can display a parallel. The indigenous characters were undoubtedly all developed from one parent-stock, as exhibited in the Tablets of Asóka; and the Characters then used, two centuries before the Christian area, betray a contact with the great Phenician Alphabet, the great mother of the Alphabets of the world. Over and above the indigenous Alphabets is the great Alphabet of Arabia, and over and above that is now the great Alphabet of Rome; and those, who have used them all three concurrently, and with no exertion, in the discharge of their daily duties, know that all three, however different they may appear in their modern form, are sprung from the one great Phenician Alphabet, which Tyrian merchants, at some remote period, brought back with them from a study of the Hieratic manuscripts in Egypt.

The preparation of the next Census should be entrusted to a Commission of three persons, possessing distinct qualifications. I. An Official versed in Statistics, and no doubt the compiler of the present Report was eminently qualified for that portion of the operation. II. An individual who has studied Anthropology, ordinarily a medical man. III. A philologist from the ranks of the Educational Department. To them should be entrusted the duty of preparing the instructions to the local Census-takers, and the forms, as well as compiling the results, and the whole operation should take place in India, down to the correction of the last proof, and not in London, where it is impossible, by a reference to a correspondent on the spot, to clear up a difficulty, or correct

a manifest error, which springs up at the last moment. It is of no use throwing voluminous Tables of naked figures at the heads of the readers, like a bundle of bones of a skeleton. They must be clothed with flesh, their purport explained, and the conclusion to be drawn therefrom philosophically indicated. A Census is prepared, not as a matter of antiquarian interest, but as a barometer to warn and caution administrators of complications, with which he may have to deal.

The East India Moral and Material Progress and Condition Report during the year 1882–83 is a remarkably valuable work. It recapitulates the history, from the earliest day, of every branch of the subject: it appears intended for the edification, or perhaps the Education of the ambitious new members of Parliament, who actually know nothing about India, and who fall into the old belief, that a zemindar and a jemadar, and Scindia and Sindh are synonyms. Still, at best, it is that dangerous telescopic knowledge obtained by an examination of distant scenes through lenses carefully manipulated for the purpose, and fall far short of that microscopic knowledge only to be obtained by dwelling among the people. The series of maps in the second volume is wonderful: they have been devised so as to submit to the eye all the salient phenomena of India, both moral and material, from the meteorological map, showing the rainfall, the gift of God, to the railway map, recording the science, industry and enterprise of man. We have done our duty to India at least in this particular, and there is proof that, vast as is the population of the region, the soil is so fertile, that it could support a much larger one: infinitely various as are the products of the soil, they could be amplified: vast as the natural wealth of the country is, it could be indefinitely increased. The great Pax Romana of the last quarter of a century has worked out this result.

Another interesting State document is the minute of Sir Mount-Stuart Grant Duff, Governor of Madras, published in 1884, describing the seven tours, which he made in that Province in 1882 and 1883, visiting every one of the twenty-two Districts, holding conversation with the Officials, English and native, giving audience to the municipalities and the notables, and answering the different representatives of the different interests. It is a striking photograph of the state of things, and causes those, who knew India forty years ago, to start at the change in that Province. Its vast seaboard, its canals, railways and great variety of imports, indigenous and introduced, must keep it in the first rank. It is true, that the Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners of the Northern Provinces, have for many years adopted the practice of such visitations, with the additional advantage of knowing the language of the people. If, as Sir M. Grant Duff remarks, a Proprætor, or Proconsul of a Roman Province, such as Cicero in Cilicia, or Pliny

in Galatía, or Aulus Gellius in the Sahára, had taken the trouble to make such a tour, and had recorded it with the precision, in which Xenophon and Cæsar recorded their military operations, how much more ample would our knowledge be of the tribes, their languages, their customs, their forms of worship, than that which we now possess. If Pontius Pilate had left some record of his general mode of administering justice, and collecting the imperial taxes, of the establishments, which he kept up for the purpose, of the representations and complaints made to him by the Jews, what a clearer view we should have of his character and of his environment!

Such life-like diaries please and instruct more than the stately and defiant Minutes left behind them by the great Proconsuls Dalhousie and Lawrence. These last rank more with the Ancyrean Tablets, wherein Augustus, in his pompous style, tells future ages, how much he had done for Rome, or, in other words, at what price the Romans had sold their liberties to the crafty tyrant: such records are emphatically the story of the man, who held the whip, not the story of the dog, which had to bear the stripes. In fact, the people went for nothing then in Europe, and till lately, for nothing in Asia. It was no uncommon incident for an English officer to call upon a Raja and have a talk with him, and then report to his Government, that he had taken the opinion of the country-side. Municipalities had not come into existence, and the idea of an address from planters, merchants, land-owners, and tenants would have seemed ridiculous.

What will it be a quarter of a century later? We may imagine an ingredient of discontent, a spice of malcontents, a suggestion of foreign emissaries sent on purpose to propagate grievances, a French man-of-war in the offing, a Russian agent in the cities, a class of nondescript aliens claiming French protection, an Irish feeling about tenant-right, a Bulgarian feeling about a right of independence, a new theory started by the speakers of Telugu and Tamil, that a unity of language constitutes a nationality, the old theory, that a unity of religious notions justifies a struggle for political union; an unprincipled Native Press; a periodical, like the notorious Bosphore published at Pondicherry, and circulating thence over the Peninsula. In all these elements of disturbance we can see the germs of weakness and decay; then will come the cry for federation with the English Empire, or a statutory Parliament, and a paper constitution, reducing Government to as low a state of degradation as is represented in Rome by the immortal letters S. P. Q. R. "Senatus Populus que Romanus" on the scavenger's carts of the city.

A French writer, Gaidoz, in a late review of the resources of India, remarks that the sentiment, which is called patriotism in Europe, is unknown in India. There is neither unity of Race, Religion, Language, nor common interest; they cannot appeal to the same traditions, the same gods, or communicate with each other

in the same language. This first fact accounts for the second fact, that the English were able to conquer, and are still able to hold the country. But this state of things is changing: a current of opinion, and a moral organisation is forming, from which elements of antagonism to a foreign Government will as certainly be developed as sparks from tinder. The infusion of Western ideas and English education may some day supply this unity, but that time is not yet. Anything is better than a Government on low principles like that of the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago, which withholds Education from the people, stifles the local Press, renders the settlement of Europeans difficult, and treats a great country as a preserve, from which the mother-country is to be fattened. No liberal man can object to this expected development; he is the friend of liberty everywhere, and he must look the Future in the face, doing his duty in the present. The Russian Government fosters Education in Odessa and Tiflis, and lets the Bible be distributed freely over the Empire, employs Natives of the conquered Provinces in the highest Civil and Military posts, and must take the consequences of this policy in the next generation. India is held for the good of the people of India, and not to fatten merchants, or planters, and provide salaries for Military and Civil Servants. It is worthy of remark, that the classes who are educated, and who bluster so much in the Press, and in public Meetings, are totally unwarlike, timid, and incapable of bearing arms. There is not a soldier enlisted from the population of Lower Bangál. Just before the battle of Maharajpúr, the Bangáli clerks of the Foreign Secretariat petitioned Lord Ellenborough "to be allowed to retire to Agra, until the issue "of the battle was known, as they belonged to an unwarlike race." On the other hand, the warlike races of Northern India are still totally uneducated. It would be a false kindness to grant liberal institutions to a population not fit for it. A careful study of the Census-report will enable judgment to be formed, whether they are fit for it. The Kingdom of Greece and the Province of Romelia, or Eastern Bulgaria, have occupied much public attention lately: the population of the former, with all its islands, falls short of one and three quarter millions, speaking one language, and belonging to one religion: the population of the latter, taken last year (1885), falls short of one million, and the population of Bulgaria proper is only two millions. What a gigantic problem is that of India compared to these petty districts, and in manhood, capacity, wealth, enterprise, Education, and everything that constitutes a State, how superior are the people of India to the debased Bulgarians, and the decaying and unworthy Greeks! If India became the theatre of a struggle betwixt two European nations, or were left to itself after the struggle of a European war, its present civilisation would roll up and perish, the canals and railways would be destroyed, commerce be paralysed, and Education cease to exist. The successful

founder of new dynasties, whether Hindu or Mahometan, would be something very different from the educated natives of the Calcutta and Bombay College, and the editors of newspapers. This latter class had better reflect, that it is under the English Government, *and the English Government only*, that they would be allowed to exist. A Russian, German, or French administration would snuff them out without a day's delay. Men of stronger calibre would spring up: the year of the mutinies in Northern India supplied a fair idea of what would be the state of the country, if the strong, but gentle and sympathising Central Government were withdrawn. And the educated classes should reflect upon this, and limit their aspirations to municipal institutions, provincial councils of finance, provincial legislatures, the right to rise by proved merit to the highest Offices of the State, and absolute equality of man with man in every court of justice, police and administration without any disqualification of race, religion, or language, whatsoever. Albocracy should cease, if the Indian Empire is to be maintained.

The English system in India is too much like tying bunches of flowers to dead branches, instead of patiently watering and manuring the hidden roots of a newly-planted sapling. The first duty of the Government was to protect the weak against the strong, and this has been done: the danger now is lest European notions of right and wrong should be forced upon an Asiatic people: such forces, though called moral, and the outcome of a higher civilisation, are in very deed the projected shadow of physical force: it is the man teaching the dog to dance and learn tricks. In matters affecting the Religion and Customs of the People extreme caution is necessary, for the very attempt to lay down the limits of persecution and wrongdoing is dangerous. The Religious world in England and Scotland is up in arms, if they hear an imaginary injury is done to a convert to Christianity, while deep injuries done to the Hindu and Mahometan provoke no sympathy. This may be right and just, but it may lose the Empire of India. The young Englishman or Scotchman goes out to India to fill his pockets during a temporary residence in India, and has no manner of right to interfere with the laws of the country or rights of the people: he is but an alien interloper, occupying in British India the same position, as a valued and respected guest, which is occupied by a Frenchman and German in the British Isles, and the sooner he understands this the better. He must submit to the laws of British India, or leave the country.

On the other hand, the Natives of India must not suppose, that they are to pass by easy stages upon rose leaves into the position of a great independent State. Nations and Kingdoms are hammered on the anvil of Fate, pass through the hot and cold stage before they develope into the magnificent Future, which Patriots dream of. The gushing young Indian of the nineteenth century is something

very different from a real statesman, he is more of the type of the so-called Irish Patriot, who is paid for the job which he undertakes. It is bad enough that we have introduced new diseases, gunpowder, and intoxicating liquors (if we really have done so), but it would be worse to introduce representative Government among a people totally unfit and untrained. I read with astonishment of the Indian National Congress, and the desire of those present to form themselves into Volunteer Military Corps. We quote the words of a leading Journal on the subject of such Congresses: "Thus we "have to deal with public opinion of a kind, but it is important to "remember that it is the public opinion of a class, whose aims and "interests are not by any means identical with those of the great "masses of the Indian populations, for whom we have to care. It "is a highly vocal class, which can repeat all the commonplaces of "English political life with extraordinary facility, but which has "very little stock-in-trade besides that aptitude. Such a class has "only two congenial occupations after supplying a certain limited "number of busy doctors and lawyers: one is to seek employment "under Government, and the other to abuse the Government, which "does not give it employment enough. These societies and the "newspapers they control represent a very trifling percentage of "the people of India. It is much less certain than they probably "imagine, that their success would prove a benefit to any section of "the Indian people except themselves. But they have learned "from us, among other valuable lessons, how to throw dust in the "eyes of the mob, and how to present their own ends under "the guise of public benefits. Consequently they constitute "a factor, which has to be reckoned with, and which in certain "circumstances might become a serious danger to public "tranquillity."

And the Indian Politician would be wise, if he inquired as to the kind of treatment, which the Natives of Africa, Australia, and North America have received at the hands of British Colonists, and extend his inquiries further as to the position of the Native tribes in the French Colonies, or the Russian conquered Provinces, and pause before he desires a change, which might, and probably would be, for the worse.

To the eye of the old Anglo-Indian, when his sun is near upon setting, when he looks back with tender love on the Indian friends, whom he knew years ago, most of whom have been consumed on the funeral pyre, or placed away in a, to him, unknown grave, the horizon seems to clear. Thinking of the destiny of the country, which he loved so well, he looks above the narrow bounds of party, and the shortsightedness of class-interests, and gazing into the great unknown Future beyond, he seeks to find a great result, worthy of the two great Empires of England and India, the one so rich and strong, the other so rich and populous. Nothing abides in this

world. Each generation propounds, discusses, and decides its own problems, and no greater problem is recorded in History than the attempt to find some means of keeping the two Empires united without injury to the one or the other.

Standing by the side of the sons of my two Masters, Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Lawrence, I pleaded the right of the people of India to be tried by the same Courts and Judges as the European British subject. Science claims that Truth is the highest object to attain and the greatest good. Faraday and Tyndall have proved this. Poets and Painters have achieved imperishable fame: but in my opinion a wise, equal-handed, sympathetic, patient, and firm Government of a great Kingdom is a greater achievement for the benefit of mankind than the work of the Scientist, Poet, or Painter. It is Wisdom, Philosophy, and Philanthropy united and practically applied. The highest Art, the noblest Profession, is that of *ruling men for their own good.* From this point of view the last half century of British Rule in India stands unequalled in the History of Mankind. There are no State-Prisons, no Siberia, no Ostracisms, no tyranny of Priests, no Mob-Rule, no Despotic Irresponsible Sovereign; but Free Press, Free Trade, Free Religion, Free Public Meetings, Free Agriculture, Free Manufacture, Free Locomotion, Written Laws, Open Courts of Justice, and a strong Public Opinion.

"O Fortunati, sua si bona nôrint!"

LONDON, MARCH 25, 1886.

APPENDIX.*

The Committee, over which you preside, being appointed to inquire into the best mode of extending Education to the Masses, I earnestly solicit your attention to the question of the Vernacular Language, in which that Education is to be conveyed so as to reach the various tribes, which compose the motley population of British India. The returns of the Census will place incontrovertible facts at your disposal.

I think that the subject is overlooked, or misunderstood. Certain Vernaculars obtain a preponderant favour with the European and Native officials, and it is often presumed, without sufficient reflection, that the people understand the Vernaculars used by the governing or influential classes of the towns. Now it is a terrible oppression, when justice is administered, or rather a mock form of justice is administered, in a language not intelligible to the people. Very many of the political troubles in European States have arisen from the insane idea of forcing

* See note, page 74.

a dominant language upon an unwilling population. It is a charge constantly made by the Slavonic subjects of the German and Austrian Empires. It is a positive danger to the Peace of the Country, and the stability of the British Empire in India, that the Officials should be ignorant of the languages of the different tribes. My own conviction is, that many of the troubles, that have lately arisen in the management of the Non-Arian races, may be traced back to the fact, that none of the higher Officials, English or Native, were able to assemble the notables, and hold a palaver with them without the intervention of untrustworthy interpreters.

If it were a question of introducing the English language, there might be a shred of an argument in its favour, inasmuch as the English would be the vehicle of extended knowledge, and new ideas: but such is not the case: the indigenous Vernaculars are generally crowded out, or stamped under, by the invasion of a powerful Vernacular, just as it happens that the official colonization of the District takes place from the North, the South, the East, or the West. The absurdity of a Grammar of the Khond Language written in the Uriya language and Character is but an exaggerated instance of the tendency.

I ventured this time last year to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the fact, that the Gonds in the Central Provinces exceeded one million in number, and yet that in the Educational Returns of the Province there appears to have been no provision for instructing the Officers of the State in that language, or of conveying instruction to the Gonds through the means of their own Vernacular. I beg to call your attention to the reply of the Viceroy of India in Council (No. 14 of 1881, Government of India, Home Department, Education), and should feel obliged to you, if you would apply for a copy of that despatch and its inclosures. It must be remembered, that this is but one instance out of many: the Sontál, Kole, Gond, Khond tribes are large, important, and increasing factors in the constituent elements of the Empire: it is of moment to the maintenance of our Rule, that they should not be absorbed into their Hindu neighbours, but maintain an existence, as a counterpoise to the Brahminical and Mahometan elements, and this can best be done by arresting, as far as an equitable system of government permits, the decay of their language, the extinction of their lawful customs, and the destruction of their national existence. "Divide et Impera" was the great maxim of our Roman predecessors, and masters, in the art of ruling Subject Nations.

The Central Provinces were chiefly supplied with Officers selected from the Provinces, the inhabitants of which speak one or other of the Great Arian Vernaculars, or their leading dialects. The Chief Commissioner, therefore, in his letter of September 14, 1881, records his opinion that "the Gonds converse perfectly well with

"the Officers of Government in Hindi, Maráthi, or Chatesgarhi, a "dialect of Hindi." Had the supply of Officers been from the Madras Presidency, the Gonds would no doubt, and with more reason, have been expected to understand their Rulers in the kindred languages of Tamil and Telugu.

But the Chief Commissioner goes further, and condemns the Gond language "because it has never been reduced to writing, and "has not *even* an Alphabet of its own." The Inspector-General of Education cannot imagine a greater misfortune for the Gonds of the Central Provinces than that the numerous dialects of their language should be reduced to writing. The consequence is, that it is proposed to efface it from the list of the languages of India, and the World. This may be an undertaking beyond the strength of an Inspector-General and a Chief Commissioner, as it is one in which the Empires of Russia, Austria, and Germany have notably failed. The language of the Finns, the Magyars, and the other agglutinative languages of Europe and Western Asia, have held their own, in spite of threatened absorption by Arian neighbours; and instances have not been wanting, in which blood has been shed in defence of a National Vernacular. If the Gond language has indeed not been reduced to writing in any form of the great Indian alphabetic system, so much the better for it, as it will more easily adopt a modified form of the Roman Alphabet: out of the languages of the world it is but a small minority, that have been reduced, previous to this century, to alphabetic expression: of the millions in Africa, Australia, Oceania, and America, who are now taught by Englishmen to make use of their own Vernaculars, and are now developing an extensive indigenous literature, not one has had the advantage of, as the Chief Commissioner expresses it, "having *even* an Alphabet of its own." I beg to remark with deference, that my attentive study of the languages of India saved me from the risk of assuming "that Gond was a written language, "with a literature of its own;" but I did assume, and not without reason, that the Gond language was the vehicle of thought, and means of intercommunication (and in many cases the *only* means), of a million of Her Majesty's subjects, who were, under an unsympathising, or an uninquiring, system of administration, to be left uneducated, or to be compelled to adopt the language of an alien race, and not in its purest form. If there are several dialects of the Gond, it will be a matter of judgment to select, as has happened in England, France, Italy, and Germany, that dialect, which exceeds its sisters in purity, and popular predominance.

In the unanimity of the Officials of the Central Provinces there appears to me to be danger, as the case has not been argued. The Commissioner of the Nagpúr Division seems to doubt, whether the Gonds, as regards their Arian neighbours, are an isolated race of Dravidian origin, and "whether giving them the privilege of

"Education in their own language is not forcing civilization upon "them;" this is a strange argument for the nineteenth century. The Inspector of Schools anticipates that "the establishment of "Government Schools in parts of Districts, where schools were not "wanted by the people, would be likely to produce risings and "revolts." Forty years ago, when Mr. James Thomason, the Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces, set the example of organised Public Education of the Masses, the same consequences were with as little reason anticipated.

The Commissioner of the Nagpúr Division states, that almost all the Gonds of the Central Provinces speak Hindi. If that be the case, *cadit questio*; let the Gond language be expunged from the list of the Vernaculars of India. But let us see what the returns of the Census say, not only with regard to the Northern Gonds, but also the residents of Bustár. Can it again, apart from the religious question, but upon the grounds of political expediency, be desirable that the Pagan Gonds by our neglect of their interests "should become year by year more imbued with Hinduism"? Surely this is a tendency, which should be checked by lawful measures, rather than encouraged by Official supineness.

The Commissioner of Nagpúr is possibly not aware, that in the United Kingdom Welsh is taught in Welsh schools, and Gaelic in Gaelic schools: Cornish, has, indeed, died out before the Education of the Masses was dreamt of, and Manx is on the edge of the grave, as I ascertained from a personal inquiry in the Island. That the Irish, while they reject the political domination of England, should, in spite of themselves, have adopted the language of their bitterest enemies, is one of the anomalies, which are not without parallel in History. At any rate the Gonds cannot be said in truth to have adopted the Hindi language as yet, and the remarks of the Commissioner of Jabalpúr, as quoted by the Chief Commissioner, appear to be founded on a considerable misconception of facts.

And why should the Commissioner of Nagpúr, with apparently limited linguistic experience, call the language of the Gonds a "barbarous language"? It comes of the same stock, from which have sprung the magnificent Tamil, and the euphonious Telugu, languages which will last as long as the World lasts. Bishop Caldwell, the highest authority on the subject of Dravidian languages, speaks in admiration of the peculiarities of the Gond. "While the more cultivated Dravidian idioms are so simple in "structure, the speech of the Gond boasts of a system of verbal "modification and inflection almost as elaborate as that of the "Turki." No higher praise can be given by a linguist than this. The Officials of the Central Provinces would, no doubt, condemn the Sontál language, as a *barbarous unwritten* form of speech, without an *Alphabet*, but that marvellous language has developed without a literature an organization of unrivalled wealth of form, and un-

surpassed elaborateness of combinations, surpassing that of the Greek.

To establish separate schools would, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Nagpúr, be "the height of absurdity. Masters "would not be obtainable, an Alphabet would have to be formed, and "books would have to be written. In fact, an artificial language "would have to be created, and all this to arrest a movement, whereby "these wilder races are abandoning their own *barbarous* and *defective* "*language* for the richer and more expressive Hindi dialects." The Austrian Military Ruler of a Slavonic Province, or the German Ruler of Alsace-Lorraine, could not have expressed themselves more decidedly, or have more entirely ignored the great work, which is now being done by the British nation in every part of the World in teaching and instructing inferior races in their own proper Vernaculars. Gentlemen with the views of the Commissioner of Nagpúr would have suppressed the wonderful languages of the Zulu, Kafir, and Chuána, and established Dutch Schools and Dutch Courts of Justice in the South African Provinces.

The Census Returns will place before you the exact distribution of the tribes, religions, and languages of the people of British India. If the Education of the Masses is to be a reality, it must proceed upon sound principles. It is not pretended, that the language of the few hundreds of a broken tribe in the lowest state of nomadic absence of culture, like the Juang, is to be preserved, but, where there is a population, counting by hundreds of thousands, given to agriculture, settled in villages, living decent, domestic, honest lives, it is impossible to deny to them schools in their own vulgar tongue, if you give them schools at all. It cannot be seriously urged, that the debased Hindi of the Chatesgarhi District is a better vehicle of thought "per se" than the Gond, as described by Bishop Caldwell. In the struggle for life let the strongest Vernacular conquer here as elsewhere, but let it be a fair fight. The process must be gradual; masters must be trained; elementary books written, but, if such details are possible in Africa and Oceania, they may at least be thought out in the Central Provinces of India.

CHAPTER IV.

A NEWLY-CONQUERED DISTRICT IN THE PANJAB.

THE advantages of the British rule over that of any Native Potentate, be he who he may, Hindu or Mahometan, an upstart of yesterday, as Ranjít Singh of Lahore, or the descendant of a royal line, coeval with the world, as the Rajpút of Rajpútána, a young, foolish licentious profligate, or a prudent and experienced ruler, are so constantly quoted by British Officials, British historians and the public in general, that it appears an admitted fact, upon which any further superstructure of argument may be built. Some soothing and flattering allusions to the benefits of British rule are generally found at the close of divisional reports submitted for the consideration of Government, or transmission to the Home Authorities; while the general idea is prevalent, that under Native rule rapine and anarchy are rampant, that the poor have no remedy from petty exaction, and the rich no security for their ill-gotten treasures.

There are some, however, who have gone on a contrary tack; and whether from pique, or prejudice, have endeavoured to give the Native system a preference over that introduced by the British: they have painted in glowing colours the satisfaction felt by the people in being ruled over by National sovereigns, the greater outlet afforded for indigenous talent, crushed under the other system by the influence of strangers. They maintain that justice, though less ostentatiously brought to notice, is administered more completely, and more effectively by judges capable of entering into the feelings of the disputants, and from whom the real merits of the case cannot remain concealed; the charge of rapine against the Native princes as a system they deny, and, if occasional instances do occur, they consider such individual cases of suffering in the one system more than set off by the vexatious and expensive law delays, the tyranny of the Police, and the exhausting drain of the Revenue, in the other. Arguers of this class stand upon no ceremony in their illustrations, and quote unjust decisions of the Supreme Court in a Presidency town, to palliate, as it were, acts of downright wanton extortion on the part of some of the worst Native princes: their argument seems to be, that the seeds of oppression and injury lie

at the roots of Society, that it matters little, whether the fruit developes itself in the oppressive, though formal, working of a Revenue Regulation, or the indiscriminate exchequer-filling of a rapacious Dewan.

Truth lies, as is usually the case, in the middle; we cannot assent to the doctrine of the early Anglo-Indian legislator, that the introduction of our system is the sure forerunner of inestimable blessings, which cannot exist otherwise on a native soil, nor can we subscribe to the doctrine advanced by the other section. Absolute irresponsible power without checks other than the armed resistance of an outraged people, without limits other than the forbearance of a half-educated, pampered despot, never can form the basis of good Government in any country, or under any circumstances.

There are advantages to be traced by a close observer in both systems; and neither of them can be so extravagantly good or bad, in all instances, as their supporters or maligners would pretend: if Native Governments are so bad, so boundlessly oppressive, how is it that their subjects are content to wear out their existence in such misery, and do not emigrate into the more favoured districts immediately adjoining? If the Anglo-Indian system is so excellent, how is it that room is daily found for such striking and palpable improvements, as are from time to time promulgated? The whole system of our Indian legistation has been a course of experiment, and can we wonder that the patient should have sometimes suffered under the hand of the operator? Each measure, that has been successively enforced, bears the stamp of the age, and the individual. In introducing our earliest measures we have rarely been free agents, and they bear consequently always the indications of haste, and are of a tendency both narrow and temporary. We have attempted also to graft upon an Asiatic and most imperfect stock the intricate machinery of a British procedure, when it would have been better to have introduced an entirely new system, adapting the principles of a tried and approved code to the wants of a population three hundred years behind us in civilization. If the complaint can be made against a Native Government of a want of law, it may with greater truth be urged against us, that we are borne down by an excess of law, which few from among ourselves perfectly comprehend, and which to the Natives of India bear so awful and perplexing a form, that they become in practice worse than the most oppressive of their former tyrannies.

In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the system, the Natives of India have to thank the Anglo-Indian Government for two substantial blessings, which no Native Government was ever strong, or liberal enough entirely to bestow: a freedom from the invasion of foreign foes, and the overrunning of foreign armies, and a complete tolerance of religious tenets and observances. These, however, are blessings, which are never fully estimated by a gener-

ation, which has never experienced the misery of their absence: they can only be appreciated by those, who have seen their houses plundered by marching armies, or their Temples defiled, and Priests tortured for the profession of their ancestral faith: these advantages are admitted by all, and the Native system has nothing on its own side to balance such substantial blessings; but on minor points the matter must still remain a drawn question, the opinion of each varying, as the party is influenced by prejudice or favour.

It rarely now falls to the opportunity of any one to see fully into the internal workings of a Native Government, and to watch how far the interests of Society are affected thereby. Wherever the Anglo-Indian moves, he carries with him his cloud of prejudices to obstruct his vision: and wherever he takes up his position, the same circle is woven round him, whether he be at Calcutta or Kábul: he introduces the same machinery, and brings into action the same inflexible and uncompromising laws, beyond which he deems it impossible to exist. Before this formidable array all Native customs fade away, and are forgotten, and the change is so complete and final, that it would appear, as if no Government had previously existed at all, that anterior to the date of the cession or conquest all was one great blank, a chaos of atoms, from which the creative energy of the first Government Official had brought into existence the present political world.

Yet such is not the case. Whatever may be the faults of Native Governments, they are elaborate in some of their details, though found wanting in others: they are profuse in their display: though behind us in the progress of civilization, they are by no means tyros in the art of Government, and can talk as largely of the administration of justice, both technically and practically, and the advantages of good and evil Government: but, having no fixed system, and preserving no records, having no Printing Press at command, the effects are ephemeral, and perish with the power of the Government, which gave them birth, and contrary to the oft-repeated moral in civilized countries, that the good man dies, but his memory lives after him. Such is not generally the case: a good Governor is but vaguely remembered by the descendants of his contemporaries: his benefits are soon forgotten; but the oppressions of the evil Governor, being more deeply stamped on the sensibilities of the sufferers, are more feelingly transmitted to their descendants, and give the tyrant a fairer promise of immortality than the public benefactor.

No better representation of the contrasting differences of the systems can be made, than by laying before the reader the past and present state of one of the new Provinces, such as the Jalandhar Doáb,* that have lately passed from the hands of a Native Ruler,

* Doáb means a Country lying between two Rivers.

to that of the British Government, into which the system we adopt, improved by the experience of years, has been deliberately introduced to the extinction of every vestige of former Government, or mis-Government. We would not, however, quote the former Government of the Doáb as even a fair sample of the Native system, inasmuch as the peculiar circumstances of its history, and the corruption of its Rulers, have exercised a more than ordinarily unfavourable influence on its character. We give it, simply as an instance of the Native system, which will ere long become extinct, caught alive in our hands, and by bringing out into strong relief the peculiarities of the former system, we may possibly enable others to form an opinion of the antagonistic principles of British and Native Government. It is seldom in the annals of the world, that such great and sudden changes have been made in the form of the Government of any Province: changes are generally the result of progressional events, and influenced by the feelings of the people governed. Here, by one stroke of the pen of two parties, populous districts, containing millions of inhabitants, were transferred from a Government of so simple a machinery, as to give the accused no chance of escape except by admitted and open bribery, of so benevolent a temperament, as to punish larceny with the amputation of the nose, or hamstringing the foot of the thief: founded on such discriminating and wise principles, as to make penal the slaying of a cow, and permit, or rather sanction, the crime of infanticide, slavery, and inhumation of lepers: transferred from a system of the most inert, and unimproving kind, to one the most intricate and artificial, the most elaborate in its details, and most benevolent in its intentions, whatever it may be in practice, upon the improving and adapting of which, good and wise men are daily employing their best faculties and energies, urged on thereto as well by the spirit of the age, as the principles of the Government.

Upwards of a century ago, and at the time of the decadence of the great Mogul Empire, the fertile Province of Jalandhar was a dependency of the Province of Lahore, but was governed by a Deputy, resident within its boundaries, who, supreme, in all departments, paid a certain portion of the Revenue to his superior. The last and most famous of these Deputies was Adína Beg Khán, whose name serves as the last land-mark of the Mahometan rule anterior to the Sikh deluge. Of the internal administration of his Province little is known: if a more than an ordinary tyrant, at least the memory of his tyrannies has perished with his victories. In all probability he differed but little from other Mahometan Proconsuls in considering Provinces but as preserves for re-filling exhausted Treasuries, and enabling the fortunate administrators, endowed with more talent for exaction than principle, to amass pro-consular fortunes. Whatever may have been the character of his internal administration, his talents

and character in the political arena of the Empire are undoubted: and it was no easy game for him to play. During the period of his rule, Hindústan was several times invaded by the hardy races of Kábul under the guidance of Nadir Shah and his successor Ahmed Shah, and it was a hard task to keep on good terms with the invader without throwing off his allegiance to the invaded. But another and more difficult element was in existence in the limits of his own Province: the turbulent Ját Agriculturists, long difficult to manage, had now become unmanageable, and under the exciting and binding influence of the tenets of Gúrú Govind, which they had adopted, were sapping the foundation of Society, and rapidly introducing a new state of things on the ruins of the Mahometan Monarchy. Though not yet arrived at that state of independence, which they gained in a few years, they were already sufficiently numerous and determined to form themselves into large parties for the purpose of depredation, and to avail themselves of the distracted state of the Government. It will generally be found that there is but one stage between that of a petty thief, against whom the arm of the law is raised ready to strike, and the feudal Chief or Baron; and this stage is that of the powerful freebooter and marauder, who has sufficient force to set himself up above law, but is not yet recognized as a component part of the State: and to this intermediate stage the Sikhs under Adína Beg Khán had arrived. These stages might ordinarily be passed through in as many generations: the father throws up his occupation, and becomes on outlaw. Success, and increase of the number of his followers, enable the son openly to defy the Government, from the emissaries of which his father had been continually flying: a few short years see the grandson a territorial Chieftain and a Baron of the Empire. To remedy the evil of this state of things, Adína Beg Khán adopted the same temporizing and fatal policy, by which the plains of Italy had many centuries before fallen into the hands of the Lombard, partly yielding to, and partly resisting his rebellious subjects, he at length took two hundred of the most notorious into his service for the preservation of his Province, hoping thus to ward off the effects to himself of a calamity which he felt that it was beyond his power to cure. And his policy so far succeeded, that by judicious management, and timely concessions both to the contending powers above him, and the audacious outlaws nominally under his control, he managed to keep possession of his Province, and has left a name respectable for ability and success, as the last of the Imperial Proconsuls.

He died,* and with him perished the genius to combine and the strong arm to control, the discordant elements of which his

* I felt such a high respect for his character, that at my own expense I repaired his tomb at Hoshyarpúr.

power had been composed. His feeble widows, for he died childless, were unable to hold the reins, which his grasp could barely control, and the Province was lost to his family, and not only to his family, but to the Empire. The power of the Mogul was now shattered to its foundation, and the invasions of the Afghans bore more the character of incursions for plunder, than expeditions with a view of acquiring permanent Empire, and thus the field lay open to a new and more active invader. Nor were they long in taking advantage of the opportunity; which the utter extinction of all outward form of Government presented. It was the doom of the highly civilized Mahometan, to give way to the brawny arm and savage resoluteness of the hardy cultivator of the soil. The same era had arrived to the Mahometan Monarchy, of which the page of History presents us so many, and so mournful examples: the same tale must be told of institutions overturned, of cities sacked and levelled, of the entire disorganization of Society, and return to the primary elements of brute life, where strength is Law, which marked the irruption of the hardy tribes of the North of Europe into the plains of Italy; a new race of Longobardi had sprung into existence to found dynasties and lord it over the conquered soil.

The Janissaries of Adína Beg Khán saw their opportunity, and began to take possession for themselves of the Province, which they had been engaged to protect. Their numbers were reinforced by their relations from the neighbouring Districts, and no sooner was it found how profitable a trade was that of a marauder, how soon a single Chief of enterprise could collect round him a party of horsemen, and convert himself into an independent Prince, and his followers into landed proprietors, than the ploughshare was converted into the sword by every Ját agriculturist, each village sent forth its detachment of hardy youths to carve out for themselves a respectable fortune, and to pay out old scores with their ancient oppressors. Thus it came to pass that in a few years the Delhi Monarchy became a shadowy and empty name, while the solid and substantial advantages of power and wealth passed into the hands of the lowest class in the scale of civilization, the hardy but ignorant cultivator of the soil.

These were fine times for those, who were gifted with the sterling gifts of a resolute spirit and a stalwart frame. No accomplishments of the mind, no cultivated talents, no boasted descent of an illustrious ancestry, were required to constitute this new and self-formed Aristocracy. Enterprise and success made the Chieftain. As large a tract of country as the walls of his Fort could overawe, and his dependent horsemen could overrun, were the limits of his dominion: his code of policy embraced the ready gathering in of his harvest: his only allies were those, whom mutual advantage bound to him: his only law was his sword.

Such a state of things could neither long continue, nor was it within the bounds of human probability, that principalities so easily won would be so easily preserved. In the annals of the time we read of feuds and forays, of Chieftain swallowing up Chieftain, of the hardy Ját but yesterday behind the plough, and to-day the lord of territory and castles, and to-morrow again a houseless outcast. Some few Hindu and Mahometan Officials of the old regime had by the aid of strong walls to their towns and forts, and by the resoluteness of a small band of their own faith, managed to resist the desultory incursions of the new invaders. Some few purchased peace by the cession of half their possessions, or the tribute of half the Revenue, and the Rajpút Rájá of the Hills availed himself of the confusion to take possession of Districts in the plains: but there was no certain possession, no son could reckon upon succeeding without a struggle to the inheritance of his father: few even died in the possession of those lands, which they had themselves won. When the strong arm became paralysed, the old man saw himself ousted from the castle, which had been the trophy of his youth, and in which he had lorded it in manhood.

For forty years this state of things lasted, a dreary time for the quiet and peace-seeking inhabitants of the country, an interval without the semblance of law, when strong walls alone protected the wealth of the trader, and the ploughman tilled his fields with arms in his hands: battles were fought for village boundaries, the blood of man was shed in retaliation of plundered cattle. That such a state of things lasted so long, can only be accounted for by the circumstance of the absence of any individual, who, by uniting political craft to valour, could combine these heterogeneous materials and establish upon their ruins an Empire.

The time arrived and *the man*. In one of the smallest of the tribes, into which the Sikhs had divided themselves, with but few personal recommendations, but endowed with a keen and true mental intelligence, a craft passing all sifting, and the magic power of influencing all, with whom he came into contact, Ranjít Singh consolidated under himself the shattered fragments of Empire. For the term of his own days he ruled with success, and but for the intervention of another and a stronger Power, which he alone of his nation rightly appreciated, and prudently succumbed to, would have spread his rule over the North of Hindústan, and established a new Hindu Monarchy from the Indus to the Ganges.

His power fell with him: his successors had not the ability or the fortune of their predecessor, for his system was rotten at the core. To outward appearance his kingdom was wide and consolidated, but there were neither the ties of nationality, nor religion, nor interest, to cement what his personal ability and success alone had brought together. The paraphernalia of power, and the ostentation of ruling, the splendour of his palaces and retinue, and the

magnitude and fame of his armies, gave his rule the semblance of strength: the administration, though composed of various faiths, bore the garb of nationality: the Army, though a large proportion were natives of Hindústan, and subjects of a foreign state, bore the name of the Khalsa, and deliberated as a great patriot confederation. But the secret springs of the strength of a nation, and a Government, did not exist: the army melted away, as the snow in the spring: the kingdom of the Sikhs, who in their haughtiness had fancied themselves the salt of the earth, was dismembered, and divided between the British Government and the King of Kashmír.*

At the time of the first treaty entered into by the British power with Ranjít Singh in 1806, when Lord Lake with his handful of veterans chased the discomfited Holkar across the River Beas, and held with a comparatively small army the frontier, which we now hold with six times the force, Ranjít Singh possessed not an acre in this District, and it was on the boundary of the Sikh-land, in which he and Fateh Singh were supreme, that the first compact of amity and friendship was concluded. It was within the subsequent forty years betwixt January, 1806, when Lord Lake crossed the Satlaj at Ludiána, to February, 1846, when Brigadier Wheeler marched from the same place to Jalandhar, that the Province was conquered, and managed by Ranjít Singh and his successors. For the three years subsequent to Lord Lake's retirement, the cupidity of Ranjít Singh was excited by the richness and defenceless state of the plains betwixt the Jamna and the Satlaj, and his religious vanity was flattered by the possibility of extending his rule to the Ganges; these hopes were crushed in 1809 by the forward policy of Lord Minto, by the negotiations of Metcalfe, and the military demonstration of Ochterlony. But no sooner had this crafty politician satisfied himself, that there was no fear of further interference on the side of Hindústan, no sooner had he reconciled

* The position of the individual known in England as Mahárája Dhulíp Singh is not fully understood. I knew him as a boy, when he had been placed on the throne of Lahore by mutinous soldiers, who had killed his predecessor. He had no claim whatever to that dignity, for he was only the supposititious child of Ranjít Singh. When that Monarch was in extreme old age, and deprived of the use of one side of his body, one of the Chiefs offered him his daughter Jundan in marriage: he had already a large number of wives and concubines: the old King laughed, and sent the girl his shield and spear, and that was their only relation. He laughed heartily, when he was told that a son was born; the actual father of the child, a common carpet-sweeper, was well known. The mother is described by Sir Herbert Edwardes as the Messalina of the Panjáb. She and her lover Rája Lal Singh, brought on the final catastrophe of her country.

When the Panjáb was annexed, a handsome pension was assigned to little Dhulíp Singh, and the Koh-i-Núr, which I saw for the first time fastened on his little arm, was taken away, and sent to the Queen of England. The boy went to England, became a Christian, married a teacher in one of the American Missionary Schools at Cairo, and has now left England, and, if report be true, ceased to be a Christian. His name is entirely forgotten in the Panjáb.

himself to the armed intervention, which had prescribed the River Satlaj as his limits, than he set himself vigorously to work to bring under his immediate control the Provinces, the privilege of confiscating which had been conceded to him. No ties of relationship saved the estates of his maternal uncles and his step-mother: no claim of friendship averted the evil from his turban-brother, once his equal and ally: year after year the feast of Dusserah found Ranjít preparing for an expedition of plunder and annexation, and the death of each Chieftain of the old school was the signal of the attachment of his territories, and the confiscation of his wealth, till one by one all the former possessors were annihilated, or reduced to insignificance. At the close of twenty years the heads of the three most powerful families remaining in the District fled precipitately across the Satlaj, preferring independence in the small estates, which they possessed in the Territories protected by Great Britain, to the uncertain enjoyment of their extensive patrimonies under the daily increasing exactions of their unprincipled neighbour.

Thus it fell out, that Ranjít Singh became the undisputed lord of the Jalandhar Doáb. But it must not be supposed, that the whole Revenues of this fertile province found their way to his treasury: a large portion of the country was still left in the possession of the less powerful of the old Sikh Chiefs, who had wisely bent to the storm: a proportion was conceded for the subsistence of the descendants of those, who had been summarily ejected, Ranjít Singh being too politic to exasperate: a large proportion was re-distributed as a fief to the military followers, who had assisted in the conquest, and who formed the new Aristocracy; and a still larger proportion became the prize of intriguing priests, or was disposed of in religious grants to the shrines, or generally for the maintenance of the professors of the Sikh Sect of the Hindu Religion. Like the majority of unprincipled plunderers, Ranjít Singh was pre-eminently superstitious, and his religious advisers were forward in assuring him, that the readiest and most certain method of atoning for past offences was by enriching the shrines of his religion with some portion of the ill-gotten spoils.

Such small remnant of territory as remained after the extensive appropriation for religious and secular purposes, was committed to the tender mercies of the farmers. Having entered into engagements for the payment of a certain amount of revenue, he was vested with supreme fiscal and judicial power, with uncontrolled privileges of imprisonment, and rack-rent, his orders being without appeal, and his processes most summary. So long as the fixed instalment was paid in, so long as the Royal ear was not pestered with too impertinent, and too flagrant, complaints, so long as well-timed douceurs kept friendly the possessor of the Royal ear, so long as no higher bid was made for the farm, so long was the term

of the contract. No consideration for the go
thought of the improvement of the Districts,
Justice, Polity, or Humanity, were allowed to int
supposed to bear on the question.

Armed with such awful and irresponsible power, su
a hungry train of needy relations and dependents, con
his time was short, that the bargain had been driven hard,
its fulfilment would be exacted, himself of low origin, and
pared by education for his duties, can it be a matter of su
that the power should have been used by the Farmer for his ow
advantage, that all dictates of conscience, all rights of property, al
respect for things sacred, should have been laid aside, and that his
sole object should have been the gathering in of wealth, the convert-
ing of his ill-gotten treasures into ingots of gold, and the disposing
of them so as to elude the grasp of his successor, who, he knew too
well, would arrive armed with the power of confiscation and imprison-
ment? The change of Farmer was always heralded by the arrival
of his successor with a sufficient force, generally accompanied by a
short siege in one of the District-strongholds, and ended in a
summary attachment of all available assets of the ex-Governor,
a search in the Female apartments for gold and silver ornaments,
and a maltreatment, supposed or real, of his women. The re-
ceiving charge of the new Farmer was signalized by the expulsion
of every subordinate employed by his predecessor, a general re-
sumption of all grants of land made by his orders, and a general
crusade against all his relations. The same story then followed,
the chapter ended with the same peroration: the confiscator of
yesterday underwent the same ordeal of his misdoings: private
revenge, malice, and all the evil passions, which had been en-
gendered by the short tyranny, found their vent in the established
finale.

The last, and perhaps worst, of these Provincial Governors was
Shaikh Imam-úd-dín, whose name late events have made familiar
to the most casual of readers. The history of his family is a fair
sample of the chequered life of adventurers in the East. Some
fifty years ago all the adult male members of his house were
extinguished in a feud at Kirtarpúr. One solitary representa-
tive of the family had remained at home to perpetuate the line
of these second Fabii, and his children in the memory of man sold
shoes, and obtained their living by humble employments in the
town, in which his grandson ruled with the power of a Monarch;
and to his great-grandson was reserved the honour of contending
in arms for the vale of Kashmír with the whole power of British
India. Twice was the farm of the Jalandhar Provinces made over
to the tender mercies of this family. The first time ended in the
ensuing year in summary confiscation and expulsion. During, how-
ever, the unsettled times, which succeeded the death of Ranjít

nich had been lost, was again recovered, the re again refilled: for the space of six years the was in the undisturbed possession of these Philis- sts appeared numberless, and everything valuable, y, was finding its way into their hands; while, owing ce of all efficient control at Lahore, they were enabled he payment of the Government instalments, and render nts of their stewardship. But their lease expired with the , by which this District was ceded to England, and, ugh for a short time they clung fondly to the idea, that it ight possibly be continued to them, they soon sunk down to the level of private citizens, and would have been allowed to enjoy their wealth in peace, had not the fatality, attending upon ill-gotten gains, involved them in collision with the British power in Kashmír,* which has ended in a manner much to be lamented by themselves.

Under such a system as the one described, any attempt at good Government must have been impossible: there was neither the will, the power, nor the material for the establishment of Civil Justice, and the peculiar nature of the tenures of land, and the relation borne by parties to the Supreme Government of Lahore, would have rendered any attempt of the best intentioned abortive. Large tracts of country interspersed in various directions were held by powerful absentee Sirdars, or influential Priests, who looked on the Local Governor as their equal, and permitted no interference within the limits of their fiefs, in the boundaries of which they affected a virtual independence: each of these had his army of retainers, his artillery and castles, prepared to take up any quarrels either immediately, or incidentally affecting their master's interests: the tracking of crime was thus rendered impracticable, and all administration of civil justice rendered impossible. General improvement, such as the construction of roads, the protection of merchants, and the other numerous cares of an enlightened Government, never entered the ideas of Rulers, who looked upon the soil merely as a mine, whence their hoards were to be amassed, and the people as the instruments of production.

That the country flourished, that the population increased, must be attributed to the sturdy and independent character of the cultivators of the soil, who, waging one continual war with their superiors, have in the long run held their ground, and by dint of their numbers, and the permanency of occupation, come off victorious. The natural fertility of the soil was such, as few districts in Hindústan can exceed, and the position of the country at the time of British occupation presents fair ground for some sort of argument either that in practice the state of things above

* I received an order late one night to attach all their houses and their property, and confiscate them to the State, against which they had rebelled.

described is not injurious to the people, or that the prosperity of the producing classes is not affected by Social and Political institutions.

The resemblance, however, of the mutual relations of the Ruler, the Nobility and the people in these Provinces to that of Europe in the middle ages under the Feudal system must occur to anybody, who is acquainted with the history of those times, and who has read Hallam's Middle Ages. We have here the superior Lord, or Suzerain, holding direct of the Crown on tenure of service in war, and attendance on days of ceremony with an appointed force: under him are the different grades of vassals, the subinfeudation of fiefs, the smaller chief holding of his superior Lord upon terms of service, harsher, more binding, but of the same kind as those, which bound the holder in chief to the Crown. Power has the same effect upon the human mind in all climes, but the leading feudal principles seem to have insensibly developed themselves in the same form in the distant countries of Europe and Asia. The weak must yield to the strong, and as the free tenure in Chivalry, by continued exactions of the Crown and Superior Barons, degenerated gradually, but certainly, in England into the most odious and oppressive of tenures, till in the days of Charles I. they could no longer be tolerated, and were abolished by his son at the Restoration; so the easy tenure of service, upon which the fiefs were held by the Sikh Chiefs, became irksome under Ranjít Singh, and has eventually swallowed up nearly the whole under the uncompromising system of British Rule. The pages of Blackstone, in his chapter on tenures in Chivalry, may apply with equal force to these tenures. Aids "are a natural incident of feudal holdings, and none more "natural, than that of *a fine of recovery*:" nothing more simple than for the Suzerain to step in during the confusion incidental on the death of his vassal, and wring a handsome price from his widow and orphan: the marriage of the Chief, or his sons, presented another plausible pretext for exaction under the garb of a present: the absorption of estates of childless Chiefs, the confiscation of those of rebellious Chiefs, the annexation of defenceless ones, and the arbitrary management of the estates of minors to the advantage of the self-constituted guardian were opportunities, which were greedily made available by both Hindu and Norman.

In another particular the Sikh chief resembled his European prototype: the hand of man may be strong, but in proportion as the physical triumphs over the intellectual faculties, so do superstition and bigotry establish their empire. The professional plunderer is invariably a devout Religionist: with his hands steeped with the blood of the slaughtered victims, he heaps the shrine of his favourite Saint, or Divinity, and feels confident, that if he has not fully atoned for the deed, he has at least made the Deity a sharer in his crime; there are always to be found wolves

in the garb of Priests ready to share in the devotional offerings of plunder, and to mutter benedictions for the benefit of the robber. No scruple seems to have suggested itself as to the impurity of the offering arising from the sin of the donor, no connexion appeared to these holy men to have existed between the spirit of the Devotee and the advantage to be gained by the gift: it was sufficient, that the offering was costly, and it mattered not that the tabernacle was constructed from the plunder of the Egyptian. In this way in Papal Europe sprung into existence many of the Abbeys and Monasteries: on this account Monkish Chronicles handed down in rapturous terms of applause the brave robber knight, who sacked flourishing towns, plundered the highway, put thousands of innocent people to the sword, and founded a convent of monks to eat venison and drink burgundy, and pray at their leisure for the soul of the founder. Matters were managed much in the same manner in the Panjáb. The irruption of the Sikhs was in a great measure a religious movement, and, when the spoil was divided, there was no lack of hungry spiritual advisers to receive some portion of the bounty of their ignorant disciples. These were the Bedí and the Sodhí, the descendants of the Gurú, and the numerous fanatical professors of the Religion, all of whom received rich offerings, which they held free of service, liable to no resumption, to descend to their children's children. Ranjít Singh, as he was of all plunderers the most unscrupulous, so of all he was the most devout, and in his time the professors of his Religion tasted deep enough of the fat things of the earth, and the fleshpots of Egypt, to pray for the success of this most successful of plunderers, and the most lavish bestower of favour on idle mendicants.

In the domestic habits and manner of living of the Sikh chief, there is much to remind us of the tales of the feudal Chieftain, who held his state in his castellated mansion, and lorded it bravely over his neighbours and his servants. I have often visited the Sikh Chieftain in his estate, and found much, that spoke of affluence and rude comfort, and little of civilization or improvement. Through fields promising abundant harvests, I found my way to the entrenched fort, which was at once the title-deed of the estate, the asylum of the family, and the storehouse of the plunder. I was met by the Singh himself on the drawbridge, a venerable figure, with a beard, of which Abraham or any of the twelve Patriarchs might have been proud: by his side were his sons and his sons' sons, and a train of followers, a patriarchal group, from the centre of which the old man would make his offerings of sweets and rupees, and would wonder, why they were not accepted. He showed me over his fort, which exhibited on all sides signs of rural abundance, and, albeit it cannot be concealed, that the so-called fort was once a Mosque or Mahometan tomb, the unabashed Sikh felt no qualm in displaying it: from the highest point of the fort

he showed me not only the villages, of which he was still in possession, but with an upbraiding tone he pointed out those, which Ranjít Singh according to him most unjustly seized, forgetting that his own father, whose white cenotaph appeared in the neighbouring garden, had himself appropriated these villages from the Mahometan Ruler, and that Ranjít Singh's right was at least as good as his. But this the old man could not or would not comprehend; he remonstrated with me at the dismantling of his fort, and the tardiness of the landowners in the payment of their dues, now that he had no longer power to imprison and to torture: and all this with so much good humour, that I could not be angry with him, and with the air of a man, who had been deeply injured, complaining of the deprivation of an established right, while in fact he was the son of a highwayman, who would have not the least scruple to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbour, should opportunity offer or powerful friends protect him.

The Sikh Chief is dead to the voice of honour, shame, or affection, as long as his own interests are affected: ideas of justice he has none, except that the strongest has a right to appropriate, and that it is the privilege of the weakest to submit:

> For why, because the good old rule,
> Sufficeth him, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep, who can.

Dissensions with his wives, or his brothers, occupy his youth and manhood, and in his old age, he is obliged to divide his property among his own sons, who take vengeance upon him for his conduct to his own father: his hand has been against all, and the hands of all have been against him, and it is only by the number of his family, his hired menials, his ditch, and walls, that he has held his own and been able to collect the fruits of the earth in the season of harvest: it is only by force of arms and by bloodshed, that he has been enabled to maintain the boundaries of his own villages, and it was no unusual sight to see forts erected within musket-shot of each other to maintain a disputed boundary.

Were no others but themselves affected by this unsettled state of things, it would be comparatively a matter of indifference, if these fiefs were estates in the English sense of the word, cultivated by the owner's tenants or servants: so long as their lawlessness did not extend beyond their own boundary, the world at large would be unaffected: within the limits of his own jungle the wild beast may be allowed his pleasure, his ravages are confined to himself, and those of his own kind. But in estimating the injurious effect of the state of things, it must be borne in mind, that these fiefs comprehended only the share of the produce, which immemorial usage has vested in the hands of Government as the protector of the soil,

which had been formerly expended in the maintenance of the Imperial Court of Dehli, the pay of the Civil and Military Establishment, and the expenses of the Empire, but *was* now misappropriated by these Ját freebooters for the necessaries of their own unprofitable existence. In each village of these fiefs existed the undoubted village proprietors, a numerous and industrious race, who have manfully stood up, but with varying success, for their rights against the Sikh upstart and his hirelings. Year after year was renewed the struggle between these hereditary enemies about the division of the crops, bloodshed constantly, fierce contentions, imprisonment and maltreatment always accompanying the glad period of the ripening harvest. Here ends the similarity between the European and Asiatic feudal system: in Europe the whole estate was possessed by the feudal Lord, who tilled it by his own servants and villains, and of which he was the proprietor: in India the land is the property of others, it is the share only, which is the prescriptive right of Government for the purpose of enforcing order and rule, that is thus misappropriated.

In considering the subject of assignments of Land-Revenue, under whatever name they are known, and in whatever form they appear, it should always be borne in mind, that they are virtual deductions from that portion of the produce of the soil, known by the name of Revenue, and the prescriptive right of the Ruling Power for the sole purpose of maintaining good order, and the other sacred functions, which according to the organization of Society are vested in the hands of the Ruler. Under no pretence, and for no other purpose, can the right to exact any proportion of the produce of the soil from the admitted proprietor be defended; for no other purpose would it be permitted in a free State, where the Revenue-payer has a voice in the disposal of the taxes levied from his estate. Standing in this position, the system of alienation of the sources of public Revenue previous to their collection is as unwarrantable, and as hardly justified, as the mal-appropriation, or lavish expenditure of the funds in the public Treasury. Every sixpence that passes to other than public purposes, whether in the shape of land free from assessment or payments after receipt, is an equal injury to the State; and as to the State, so to good Government, and the common weal. But the provision of relatives, dependents, and supporters, is a weakness, to which all Rulers in all climes have been subject. In England, when the alienation of the royal domains was prohibited by Parliament, royal profligacy found ample provision for the maintenance of its mistresses, its courtiers, and parasites in pensions and sinecures, till the days that the pound, shilling, and pence view taken of the matter by the new school of financiers, cleared the Augean stables. In India the Revenues of Native Administration have been for ages frittered away in assignments, and religious grants, to the detriment of justice and good order, and

leading generally to the insolvency and destruction of the Dynasty. The continuation of such grants can be in no way incumbent even upon an hereditary successor; and if so, what shall be said of the grants made by local Rulers, whose ephemeral connection generally ended in their own catastrophe, who were unable to preserve their own? And, if such is the tenure upon actual grants, what right can remain to the deliberate plunderers and appropriators of the sources of public revenue during a season of convulsion? Such however is the Sikh Sirdar; his right is founded on no grant, he is the son of a successful freebooter, who ousted and perhaps slew the subordinate of the former Governor, and he has as much claim to the Government share of the produce, as the Highlander may have to the excise duties of a country, of which his grandfather may have in former days robbed the Provincial Treasury. The Government of India have taken this view, but its clemency has provided for the gradual, and not immediate extinction of the class, and the lien of the Sikh upon the soil will lapse with the death of the children of the present incumbent. We trust that the same policy may be gradually extended to British India, towards which our relations are more complicated, but to which the grand principle should still extend, that the Sovereign's share of the rent should be appropriated only by those, who are capable as well as willing to discharge the duties of the Governor.

We have no sympathy with a Ruler unable to discharge the duties of his high station, with a Sovereign rejected by his subjects. In the words of a modern writer: "Sceptres were committed, and "Governors were instituted for public protection and public happi-"ness, not certainly for the benefit of Rulers, or the security of "particular Dynasties. No prejudice has less in its favour, and "none has been more fatal to the peace of mankind, than that "which regards a nation of subjects as a family's private inheri-"tance. For, as this opinion induces reigning princes and their "courtiers to look on the people as made only to obey them, so "when the tide of events has swept them from their thrones, it "begets a strong hope for restoration, a sense of injury and impre-"scriptible rights, which give the show of justice to fresh dis-"turbances of public order, and rebellions against established "authority."

It behoves all those, who are concerned in the future Administration of India to consider well these words, and to remember well, that the people are the strength of the country, that it is apart from duty as well as policy to uphold those, whose capability to rule with advantage to their subjects is gone, the spawn of the moment, who would have been swept away long since, but for the fortuitous interference of our Power, who are drones for good, but can be wasps for evil, who are incapable of giving assistance, as many a war has fully shown, but are capable of annoying, and who

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without one quality to recommend them, are freed from the restraint of all law, and are allowed to fatten on the revenue alienated from the Government, which has the protecting of all.

My remarks apply to measures and not to men, and what I now write is not for the empty laudation of individuals; but some account of the measures adopted for bringing this Province under the system of the British Government is necessary to conclude the history of the country. By the treaty of March, 1846, the whole of the Jalandhar Doab, both hill and plain, and without reservation, was ceded to Great Britain. A Commissioner and Assistants* were appointed to go into the land and settle it, build up the form of justice, where it formerly did not exist, smooth down asperities, and conciliate affections, settle revenue, and punish crime, report upon fiefs, and assign land for military cantonments, and all this, in the month of April, in a houseless country. When once the machinery is set a-going, it requires but system, judgment, and regularity to carry on the details of Civil Government, but in a newly-ceded Province, we had to create where nothing previously existed, to collect together the heterogeneous components, to meet the thousand and one calls upon time and resources. To those, who are inclined to underestimate the laborious duties of Officers thus employed, we recommend that their judgment be suspended, till personal experience has enabled them to form an opinion.

Much has been done within the last two years, though much still remains undone. A light assessment of the Revenue of the country is a blessing, which has been widely appreciated, and the benefit of which will not perish with the term of the contract. Peace has been restored to the borders of a country, which never knew a season pass without a foray and bloodshed; the boundaries of every village have been permanently demarcated, and all cause for future contention on that head removed. Straight and wide lines of roads lead in every direction from river to river, and the abolition of all restraint on trade, the security of property and person, and the opening wide the means of communication, have given new life to commerce. Towns are being re-built, and, as the den of the robber and the lawless is cleared away, the rest-house for the traveller and the residence of peaceful men spring up in the plain. All forts and defensible places, capable of resisting the police, saving such as are required for the use of Government, have been dismantled, and their materials sold into the hands of the agriculturist for the construction of granaries and wells; verily, and in deed, the sword has been turned into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning-hook. The plundering Sikh has quietly returned to his patrimonial acres, and the common report has gone forth trumpet-toned into

* The Commissioner was John Lord Lawrence. The Assistants were Robert Cust, Sir Herbert Edwardes, and Edward Lake.

every village, into every corner of the country, that the doors of Justice are open to all, that, as none are so high, but that they must bend their head to it, so none are so low, but they may crawl to its threshold. Crime against the person or property scarcely exists, and the state of the internal peace of this newly-conquered Province might vie with that of any in India. The thunders of our artillery at Sobraon still ring too loudly in the ears of the population, and personal fear of their Rulers, who have destroyed the Khalsa, is still sufficient to deter from plunder and robbery, while the European system of Criminal Justice has not been sufficiently long established to allow of the introduction of the social art of petty larceny, which flourishes so plentifully under its auspices. Widow-burning and female infanticide, if not entirely suppressed, are at least known and admitted to be offences against God and man, which will assuredly be punished, and no supposed custom of family or precept of Religion will be admitted in defence of an action, which is in itself a breach of the first great principles of our nature. Nor have the minor arts of peace been forgotten. Schools for the instruction of the mind, and public hospitals for the cure of bodily ailments, have been established by the liberality of Government in both of the great towns, as nuclei from which in due time we trust, that the healing principle of both may spread over the whole country, and be available to the poorest inhabitants.

In matters of Religion, the policy of Government has been marked with liberality and straightforwardness: and freedom to all to profess their own faith, to worship the Deity in the way in which it seemeth best to them, has been proclaimed. After a violent suspension of fifty years, the outward ceremonies of the Mahometan Religion are openly professed, and any interdiction upon the slaughter of kine, which might have previously existed, has been removed; at the same time the taxes upon the Hindu shrines have been remitted, and all connection of Government with either faith dissevered; a Protestant mission has been established; and the principles of toleration, which are extended to all, are demanded and enforced from all.

The treatment of the numerous claimants of the bounty of the Supreme Government, the assignees of the Land Revenue, and the other religious and secular dependents of the former Rulers has been just, and yet tempered with mercy. That a moiety of the Revenue of the country could be permitted to remain alienated in favour of the Priests and servants of a foreign power was out of the question; but that the right of each should be examined on its own merits, and that speedily, and that a number of individuals should not heedlessly be deprived of the means of existence, was a subject worthy of the consideration of a great Government. And although the lavish profligacy of the corrupt Lahore Government for the last four years rendered large resumptions necessary, and

the fond hopes of some idle sycophants and crafty Mendicants have thereby been blasted, yet still the principle, upon which the decisions of Government were grounded, will be admitted by all capable of giving an opinion on the subject, to be as liberal as they are unquestionably equitable. Upon the same principle an unpalatable but necessary lesson has been read to the descendants of the original Khalsa, the sons of the robber chiefs, who pulled down the pillars of the Mahometan Empire, that they must remain as peaceful subjects liable to the same rule as their neighbours, or not remain at all: that the possession of Forts, Cannon and Troops of armed men are the privileges of Government alone and quite incompatible with the position of good subjects. The equally unpalatable lesson has been read to them, and practically inculcated, that the producer of the rich gifts of the soil has rights as well as the consumer, that the World was not made for an upstart and ignorant Aristocracy, and that, under a centralizing and paternal Government, strong to put down internal commotion, strong to meet foreign incursions, while all will be maintained in their just rights, none will be allowed to trench upon the rights of others.

Such are the leading provisions, which have been made for the welfare of the people who have been transferred to British rule, meaning by the people the agricultural and commercial population, the sinews of the strength of a nation, and who ought to be the first care of an enlightened Government. In their eyes, in their unbought exclamations let the question of the popularity of the British Government be read, and those, that read truly, will find that the rule of Great Britain has been hailed as a blessing, and that, in spite of all its failings and shortcomings, it is still so esteemed. We care not for, we seek not the approbation of, the aristocratical spawn, the sons of the freebooters, who have been sent back to their hereditary duties of the plough by the operation of the new system. As we seek not an opinion on the purity of the British Parliament from the sinecurist, and borough-monger, so we ask not the good opinion of the Provincial Governor, who has been relieved of the charge of Provinces, which he was utterly unable to manage to the advantage of the people, or the seditious Priest, who has been compelled to disgorge the Revenues of the State, which he had misappropriated. The memory of former exactions is still fresh in the recollection of all; the blessing of peace within the borders, and of protection from personal violence is one, that is fully estimated by the generation, which has felt the misery of their absence, though little thought of, if not entirely forgotten by those, who never saw their fields harried, who never wept over their plundered homestead. But the rule of Great Britain conveys higher and more positive blessings, and we may feel confident, that the impartial administration of Justice, and the extension of the means of civilization, bringing plenty and

enlightenment in their train, will be appreciated as benefits by the children's children of those who trembled at the distant echo of our artillery, long after the memory of the time of the Sikhs, and the eighty years of confusion subsequent to the upbreaking of the Mahometan Empire have passed away, or are handed down by grey beards as the annals of the past. And the names of John Lawrence and his faithful followers in the noble but arduous and mighty work of bringing order and harmony out of the chaos of anarchy, which has resulted from the despotism and misrule of unnumbered ages, will be enshrined in the memories of a grateful posterity.

HOSHYARPÚR IN THE PANJÁB, 1847.

I wrote the above in 1847, just forty years ago, and to the best of my knowledge have never read it since: as I read it now, the green fields and luxuriant Mango-groves of my beautiful District, Hoshyarpúr, my first charge, rise up in my memory, and all my old friends seem moving around me, although, without doubt, with rare exceptions, all those, with whom I then held converse, have long ago been consumed on the funeral pile, if Hindu, or put away in their narrow shallow graves, if Mahometan. Those were the Patriarchal days of British Rule in India, when the solitary District Officer dwelt alone among his people without guards, and by personal influence, a compound of love and fear, maintained his authority, and, when the time came for such a Ruler to leave his District, tears were shed by both the Ruler and the people. Things are changed now, and we have entered the legal period: the law is administered, but there is scant sympathy betwixt the Ruler and the people.

And the people have changed. In the District above described no one had seen an Englishman before, and the people, with whom the Ruler came into contact, were Indians pure and simple, and the Chiefs and Nobles of that period had no varnish of a half civilization. I have sat holding friendly intercourse with Priests, who had killed every one of their female blood-relations for many generations, and yet were a good kind of fellows, sociable and civil, and I have conversed with a great Sovereign, who allowed neither Prostitute, nor Post Office, nor Liquor Shop, nor Butcher's Shop in his dominions, and could not see the sin of Female Infanticide, or the innocence of eating Beef.

Twenty years later, in 1867, I left India suddenly, under domestic affliction, losing Pension, and the prospect of high Office, and possible honours, and my last effort was to give my opinion whether the assertion was correct which had been made by the present Prime Minister, the Marquis of Salisbury, in Parliament, that in the estimation of the Natives, the English system of Government in India possessed no superiority over that of the Native States. I remarked that I had commenced my career in 1844, in the midst of Native States, and had come

into contact with the decaying, but not extinct, elements of Native Government. I had traversed the whole of the Panjáb in the first year of annexation, including Kashmír, being on intimate terms with the Sovereign of that country. At another period of my career I was well acquainted with the independent Chiefs of Bundlekand, and the subject of the respective merits and demerits of Native Government had been constantly under my consideration.

I freely admitted the blots and blemishes of our Anglicized system, the over-centralisation, the influx of very inferior Englishmen, and the consequent partial exclusion of Natives from ordinary posts, and the crushing of all enthusiasm and talent by closing the higher ranks of Office against the Natives, which was a Political necessity for holding the country. Having lived through the period of the great Sepoy Mutiny, I knew that the Empire had been maintained by the fact, that every important post was held by an Englishman, who would die at his post, but who could make no compromise with a rebel.

The hungry class of Native Officials, who long for a lazy, easy-going life, such as that of a Member of a Native Council, or the petty Ruler of a fat District, would greatly prefer the re-introduction of a Native State; but I doubted very much, whether the owner and cultivator of land, and the better commercial and manufacturing classes, would entertain the same preference. A feeling of Nationality might incline them in that direction, but when it came to the point, they would draw back. Sir Dinkur Rao told me that, if the people of Agra were annexed this year to a Native State, they would be sorry for it two years hence. The worst type of a British administration is preferable to the best-governed Native State. The British system will probably improve, and at any rate endure some little time: the Native system, if good for the moment by the accident of one good Ruler, or able Prime Minister, will relapse in a few years to a worse state by the demise of the one, or the expulsion of the other.

In a Native State there is no distinction between the Legislative and the Executive-Power: there is no Legislature at all, no inviolate Courts of Justice: little attempt at Education, no complete religious freedom: no certain property in land, no enlightened commercial principles, not one of the civilized elements of Civil Government. It is reported by the Political Agent of Central India, that in the large kingdom ruled over by Maharaja Holkar, there is no written Code of law, and the decrees of Judicial Officers are reversed at pleasure by the Head of the Executive.

Since the annexation of Oudh hundreds of cultivators have flocked back to their Native villages from the English Districts, in which they had taken refuge. This certainly suggests in some degree the estimation of a very numerous class of Natives.

Admitting that the highest stations under Government are closed

to Natives, it must be recollected that Government Service is not everything, that under British rule a career is open to the Merchant, the Manufacturer, the Lawyer, the Landed Proprietor, and the Contractor, and many other honourable and lucrative Professions.

If we cannot attempt to give India as good a Government as lies within our power, we had better take to our ships. What would be said in Europe, if we allowed India to be governed on low principles, as a kind of "culture-enterprize," such as the Dutch maintain in Java. We must act up to our lights and the Genius of our Institutions. I have heard the Penal Code abused, but, if we are to have a Criminal Law at all, it is as well to have one based on sound principles and set out with logical accuracy.

In Europe India and the British rule have become synonymous. Is nothing to be said in the cause of morality when a comparison is made between the two systems? Those, who, during the last twenty years, have seen the Augæan stables of the Palaces of Delhi, Lahore, and Lucknow, emptied and exposed to public gaze, may perhaps doubt as to the excellence of pure Native institutions. Let the Pension List of a newly-annexed Province, such as the Panjáb, be examined, and the varieties of licentious, adulterous, and incestuous connexions be considered, the issue of which have to be provided for. Let the trail left behind by an extinct Native State of courtezans, fiddlers, astrologers, priests, dancers, and still lower grades of infamy, be examined. In the last Census of these Provinces, two thousand eunuchs are reported; perhaps in the next decade, owing to the extinction of the palaces of Delhi and Lucknow, this wretched class may cease to exist.

And it is in vain to say that Delhi and Lucknow are exceptionally bad; where all depends on the accident of one irresponsible Ruler, and there are no recognized principles, all may be equally bad. When there is the happy accident of an honest and able minister, the fate of Dinkur Rao and Salar Jung is always to be anticipated.

I do not, in conclusion, admit that, in the estimation of right-thinking Natives, or of Natives, who are able to form an opinion at all, there can be a general well-grounded preference for a Native State of the ordinary type; nor do I think that, after admitting all our shortcomings, there can be any doubt as to the vast superiority of the British system, and I write this without any object but that of recording my opinion on the eve of leaving India for ever.

Another twenty years have passed away since I wrote this, and freed from all connection with India, and with nothing to hope for from the authorities, who rule India, and still less to thank them for (as I served the State faithfully for a quarter of a century less by a few weeks, both in times of peace and times of war, and got

nothing, not even a Pension), I have had my attention constantly fixed on the subject of our duty to British India. I visited the French Provinces in Algeria and Tunisia, and looked carefully into their system. I went down to the Caspian Sea to find out how Russia managed her affairs in Trans-Caucasia, and I studied by careful reading her methods in her Provinces on the Oxus. Twice have I carefully considered the Turkish system of domination on the spot at the interval of thirty years, in Constantinople, Palestine, and Egypt, recording my experiences in each case, which will be found in this volume.

I have had leisure to make myself better acquainted with the whole of India than was possible, when wholly occupied in the affairs of one portion. The result which I have arrived at is that, in spite of all its faults, all its shortcomings, all the selfish prejudices of the British interloper, all the crude aspirations of the Native Pseudo-Patriot, at no period of her long history has India had so sympathetic, so self-restrained, and so well-intentioned a Government: under no other European or Asiatic Ruler could the hard but necessary lessons of Law-abiding, Religious Toleration, Commercial Freedom, Individual Liberty, and Impartial Justice be learnt, and, until that lesson has been thoroughly learnt, any scheme of Political Independence can be nothing but a dream of Blood, Confusion, and Destruction of all Moral and Material Progress.

LONDON, 1887.

P.S. I subjoin extracts from the last Reports of Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Viceroy of Central India, who received his training under our system in the Panjáb:

"Gwalior and Indore are exactly those, in which the rulers spend the least on administration and most neglect all those requirements which we specially associate with progress and civilization. In Gwalior hardly anything is devoted to education, sanitation, or dispensaries, and there is scarcely a metalled road in Gwalior territory, which has not been directly constructed by English engineers. To maintain certain roads in his territories which the British Government considers essential for the commerce of the country and military requirements, the Maharajah gives an annual grant of 50,000 rupees, but this is practically less than we are compelled to spend on repairs on the single road from Agra to Indore, which mostly passes within Gwalior territory, and which was until the construction of the railway the principal line of communication between Bombay and Northern India. It is still a road of much military and commercial importance, and having been freed of transit dues forms a check on the exorbitant rates levied on through traffic by Gwalior and Indore."

The section relating to Gwalior refers to still more serious matters:

"Those districts of His Highness Scindiah, that are under the direct control of his officials, give little cause for trouble or complaint to the

Government, although the administration is lax and apathetic. Those, however, which are given in Jagír to his great courtiers are constant sources of anxiety. Neglected by the grantees, who reside at the Capital, they are made over to rack-renting agents, who support their authority by Afghan and Mekráni mercenaries, who are the scourge of the country-side. I have lately been able to deal a blow, which will be long felt in Malwa, at one of these evil communities. Damodar Panth, the agent of the Sirdar Appa Sahib Angria, one of the principal nobles of the Maharaja, has long been notorious for his open encouragement and support of crime in his master's Jagír of Neori. Having sufficient proof of his complicity in numerous cases of dacoity and robbery, I have, with the full consent of the Maharaja, caused his arrest, and he is now being tried on these serious charges, while the bands of dacoits which had been allowed with impunity to plunder that part of Malwa, finding their shelter in Neori, are being broken up. In one serious case in which the people of a Gwalior village on the Bhopál border destroyed boundary-marks and assaulted the British boundary officials, I have been compelled to impose a fine of 1000 rupees, as an example was urgently required."

In the adjoining State of Indore the principal evil noted is the perversion or miscarriage of justice:

"I have had during the past year to remonstrate with the Durbar on many occasions and in strong terms against actions, which appeared to me to have been taken against individuals unjustly and in defiance of the commonest principles of justice and equity. Chief among these cases is a suit, which has been wilfully protracted for many months against opium-merchants of high character and position, on whom fanciful claims as indebted to the confiscated estate of an ancient minister of the Durbar have been made. Against the procedure followed in this case I have had several times to protest. The judicial administration of Indore must be held to be deteriorating and not improving. The reforms instituted by Sir Madhava Rao are being gradually abandoned from motives of false economy. The separate district judges appointed have been reduced, and judicial and executive functions have again been entrusted to the charge of overworked and incompetent Nazims. If I am unable to say much that is good of the two great Mahratta States, included in Central India, this is no matter for surprise. In the Rajpút States, which abound in Central India, and which are rather oligarchical than autocratic, there is on the part of the chiefs a far more kindly and unselfish attitude towards the brotherhood and the people generally than in a Marátha State, the despotic egoism of which is fatal to all progress and civilization. The Ruler considers the soil of the State as his own; the people are his slaves; the entire revenue is his private pocket money, to hoard, lavish, or waste, without any right of remonstrance or complaint on the part of his subjects. The disease of such government is chronic and intolerable. It is impossible that they can be other than evil, and it is a false and foolish policy to use towards them the language of false compliment and to pretend that they are other than irretrievably bad, until a higher civilization and the example of the British Government shall have demonstrated that the rights of princes have no existence apart from the rights of the people."

CHAPTER V.

MODERN INDIGENOUS LITERATURE OF BRITISH INDIA.

UNDER the provisions of Act XXV. of 1867 (of British India) it was enacted that all books printed in India should be registered, and quarterly returns made to the Government by the eight subordinate Governments and Administrations. Some of these find their way to English Libraries. The interest of these returns is twofold, political and literary: it is with the latter aspect alone that I propose to occupy myself.

British India presents a phenomenon quite unparalleled in ancient or modern times: a Press entirely free (so long as no offence is committed against public morals or private character) in a country deprived of the smallest portion of political freedom, with the additional complication of multiplicity of religious beliefs and plurality of languages and written Characters. An imperfectly educated people, entirely devoid of the critical faculty or the means of testing the truth of statements, swallow what they read, and the understanding of the reading portion of the community would be pretty well confused, if they took in even a small portion of the annual supply of printed matter.

The subjects may once for all be divided into:

I. Biography.
II. Fiction (including Drama).
III. History, often connected with the foregoing.
IV. Linguistic knowledge.
V. Law and general administration.
VI. Medicine.
VII. Poetry.
VIII. Philosophy.
IX. Religion.
X. Science.
XI. Mathematics.
XII. Logic.
XIII. Geography.
XIV. Politics.
XV. Voyages and Travels.

There is a very large proportion of very indifferent poetry of a bombastic, turgid, and namby-pamby style, such as a man of taste

would reject, and tinged occasionally with indecencies, which a man of delicacy would decline to read. We believe that in the early literary stages of all nations poetry has preceded prose, and poetry of a jingling and monotonous character.

The works are either original, or translations, or reprints: they are printed or lithographed either at the expense of the State, private individuals, or speculating publishers: at many different places, in editions of various sizes, but of fair execution, and at moderate prices: such a thing as an *édition de luxe* is unknown. In some cases the books are illustrated by wood-cuts: some books are bilingual, or even trilingual.

I now proceed to review each Province separately.

The Panjáb. I have before me the catalogues of 1871 and 1872 and a review on the former by the Director of Public Instruction. The languages used are English, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, and the Vernaculars of the Province, Pashtu for the Trans-Indus Districts, old Panjábi or Gurmúkhi, Hindustáni or Urdu, and Hindi. This Province extends from the River Indus to the Jamna, and comprises a population of nineteen millions, all in the enjoyment of an ancient Oriental civilization, and professing the Mahometan faith of the two types, Shia and Suni, or the Hindu cult, with its Sikh variety, and (to a very limited extent) Christianity in its two developments of Protestantism and Popery. It may be proper to remark, that in this Province there is a prolific Government Press for printing Reports and treatises connected with the Administration: there is an active and all-pervading State-Education Department, issuing Educational works: and there are several independent bodies of Protestant Missionaries, who consider it part of their method to work the Press so as to get at the millions. Thus in 1871 no less than three hundred and thirty-four works were published, and in 1872 two hundred and eighty-two works.

In these practical days the title of a prose work conveys a fair idea of the subject of the volume; but it was not so formerly in England, and it is not so now in India. The fanciful and grotesque names entered in the catalogues are quite useless as guides to the subject, even to those, who from a knowledge of the language know very well the meaning of the words.

It may be added that there was a large number of works which came under the head of Periodicals, as the Press throws off not only newspapers but magazines, reports of learned Societies, series of publications: the people of India are highly imitative, and readily adopt the prevailing fashion of the Ruling Power in this particular.

Anything, that approaches so nearly the deepest interests of the human race as the religious cord, which attaches them to the unknown future and the imperfectly comprehended Creator and Ruler of the Universe, must always awaken the deepest sympathy and

respect of those, who reflect seriously on man, his thoughts, and his actions. These catalogues bring into striking contrast the phases of human belief of people living under the same Government in the nineteenth century, and very much resembling one another in ordinary occupation. Thus our eyes fall in the same five minutes on the following amazing sentences, indicating to what different pitches of belief men can be tuned.

The Little Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

Confraternity Rules of the Blessed Virgin.

Pangs of the Gopi in the absence of Krishna described.

Attacks by Mahometans on the Christian religion.

A Brahmo periodical.

Miracles performed by a saint named Abdul Kádir Gilaus.

Religious controversy between Shia and Suni.

Talismanic effect of different portions of the Korán.

Three religious books of the Sikhs.

The story of Krishna and a Gopi, whose thumb-ornament he had stolen.

Verses in praise of a saint named Furíd.

Prayers to Hari, a name of Krishna.

Tenets of the religion of Mahomet.

Mahomet's night journey to heaven.

Praise of Mahomet, the heavenly light that shone on his face.

Prayers of the Sikhs.

An elegy on the death of the Imam.

Adventures of Rama.

Story of Potiphar's wife and Joseph.

The marriage of Krishna and Rukmani.

Prayers in verse (Mahometan).

The golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, a Protestant Hindi tract.

Story of Joseph versified from the Korán.

An address of Govind Singh to the Emperor Aurungzéb.

Prophecies of Mahomet.

The Gospel of St. Mark.

Pilgrim's Progress.

Religious ceremonies of Mahometans.

Translation of the Acts of the Apostles.

Condition of man after death according to Mahometans.

Gospel of St. John in Urdu.

Life of Mahomet from a Christian point of view (not very flattering).

The heading of "Religion" comprises the most numerous entries, and the above selection taken at random shows the nature of the works published: a great deal of the poetry is connected with Religion: the remainder being composed of inane love-songs, often bordering on the indecent.

Of biography and fiction, which go so far to educate a people to higher aspirations, there is absolutely nothing. The great legends of the nation, which might be re-set in a fashion to suit the altered civilization of the century, and play the part of the Chansons de Roland and the Legende d'Arthur in Europe, are still buried in the mass of ridiculous and often indecent absurdities. Of History there is just the germ of better things: a sketch of the history of the Mahometans to the fall of the Abbasides; a history of Kashmír from an industrial point of view: and a history of one of the districts of the Panjáb.

The publication of linguistic knowledge emanates from the Education Department, and those of general administration from the Government Press: they are typical of the Anglo-Indian mode of handling these departments, and rather out of sympathy with the feelings of the people.

It is doubtful whether, from an intellectual or religious point of view, much is gained to the interest of mankind by the sudden and wide expansion given to the Mahometan type of publications, which are of the worst literary and moral style; but the advantages of a free Press must be taken with its corresponding disadvantages. We must be liberal all round. It is also worthy of remark that there are no books or pamphlets on political subjects whatsoever: this development remains for the next generation. I wish that I could notice in this Province collections of indigenous ballads, such as float from mouth to mouth among the people. I should liked to have seen Vocabularies of local words and idioms, collections of proverbs or lists of tribes and races, collected from the Brahmans, and places of pilgrimage. I wish that I could have found books of local legends; tales of the mountains and rivers. Those who have lived long among the people, know how necessary it is to have the mind strung as it were to the pitch of the popular feelings: touched gently by the skilful hand, the chords then give out that strange music, which is found in the legends and ballads of an ancient people.

I pass now to the great Province, miscalled the North-Western, that occupies the region which lies betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jamna, and the adjoining Districts on both sides. Here the people speak and write the Urdu or camp-language, known as Hindustáni, in its perfection, and alongside of it is the Hindi and Braj Bhakka. Both the Urdu and Hindi are strong Vernaculars, capable of great development.

The out-turn of publications during the year 1872 amounts to 243, amidst a population of thirty-one millions, partly Hindu, partly Mahometan, with a few Christians, rich and comfortable, and with some very large cities of world-wide repute, such as Banáras and Agra. An elaborate State-Education system embraces the whole community. No provincial Report accompanies the dry

registers. I meet with works in Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic and English. A late Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was one of the most enlightened patrons of learning that India has ever known, and himself a distinguished author and Oriental scholar. Among the residents and contributors to the works of the year are Syud Ahmed Khan Bahádar, C.S.I., and Siva Pershad, C.S.I. The names of the following books suggest conflicting thoughts.

A pleasing account of Mahomet, Urdu.
A Treatise on Arabic Grammar, Urdu.
Translation of the Mahabhárat, Hindi.
History of the Andamans (the Convict Settlement), Urdu.
Practical Surgery, Urdu.
Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, Urdu.
War of the Goddess Chandi with the Giants, Sanskrit.
Technical forms used by a Fakír, Urdu.
Ceremonial of Mahometan Burials, Urdu.
The object of second Marriage, Urdu.
Rules for Letter-writing, Urdu and Persian.
Treatise on Astrology, Sanskrit.
Poems in praise of Mahomet and other saints, Urdu.
Vaccination, Hindi.
The Pious Orphan, English.
A Treatise on Logic, Sanskrit.
Poems of Shirín, Nasir Ali, etc., Persian, Urdu.
The Koran, Arabic, Persian and Urdu.
Treatise on Electro-plating, Urdu.
The Dart of Love, an amorous Poem, Urdu.
A Hand-book of Etiquette, Arabic.
Repentance, Faith and the Gospel, English.
Verses in praise of Vishnu, Hindi.

Directions for purification from defilements contracted by Births and Deaths, Sanskrit, 1000 copies, an unusually large edition for this Province.

Story of Krishna and the Gopi, Hindi, 1,000 copies.

Stanzas in praise of the God Siva, Sanskrit and Hindi, 500 copies.

To the above must be added numerous official publications of the Government in the different departments, educational treatises, pamphlets of the Civil Engineering College, and numerous excellent periodicals.

It must needs be, that the tares should grow up with the wheat. But the juxtaposition of astrology with photography, the most ancient delusion with the latest practical discovery, of Krishna with Mahomet and Paul, of rules regarding purification with vaccination, suggests subjects for deep and anxious reflection. Did such material facilities for propagating error ever exist in any

country at any previous period of the World's history, as are now supplied by a free Press in British India? One political treatise appears in the Province; but the name *Narcissus*, and the language, English, take from it all interest, as it is probably the outburst of a splenetic Briton, who could not get the job done which he desired.

I pass on to British Barma, and I find thirteen publications amidst a population of two and a half millions, speaking the Barmese language and Buddhist in Religion, and lying outside of the great current of civilization. The following works are suggestive.

Songs in praise of the New Umbrella for the Dagon Pagoda, Barmese	...	300 copies at Rs. 2 each.
Religious exhortations, having regard to the transitory nature of Life, Pali, Barmese	... ...	350 ,, ,,
A vocabulary, Barmese	... ...	1000 ,, ,,
Body and Mind, Pali	... ...	1200 ,, at Re. 1 each.
Religion, Pali, Barmese	... ...	500 ,, ,,
Prince Woojaya, Fiction, Barmese.	...	500 ,, ,,
Barmese Common Prayers, Barmese	...	1000 ,, at Rs. 2 each.

Here we have the spectacle of a nation being aroused from the sleep of centuries by the diffusion of such extraordinary intellectual food as the praise of a new umbrella, and a treatise on body and mind: the large issues and high price suggest a brisk demand for the wares.

For the Central Provinces the returns of three quarters of 1872 only have come to hand; these Provinces contain a population of nine millions, speaking the Maráthi and Hindi languages, chiefly Hindu, in the centre of India, and lying on the very high road of civilization, being in contact with all the great Provinces of British India. The returns show five publications, including

A collection of Incantations, Rules for astrological calculations, 500 copies at Rs. 3-2 per copy.

All the rest are issues from the Educational Press. So the only use made in this province of the Press by private individuals has been to propagate the debasing practices of Incantation and Astrology.

I now come to that vast Province, which has been more than a century under British rule, with a population of sixty-six millions, Hindu and Mahometan, with the vast Anglo-English metropolis of Calcutta, and the two cities of Patna and Dacca. The wealth of a portion of this Province is enormous: the extent of civilization and Education in parts is very considerable; but there is not wealth or civilization everywhere: and some outlying districts are behind the rest of India. The returns are exceedingly bulky, and no general Report for the whole Province has reached me. There cannot be less

than 1200 entries in these registers, and the issues of many of the publications are counted by thousands, and in some instances tens of thousands. It is clear, that the Press is exercising in this Province a very important influence for good or evil. The languages employed are Bangáli, Assámi, English, Urdu, Uriya, Sanskrit, Santal, Persian, Arabic. I am glad to find that the Bangáli works preponderate greatly: it is a strong healthy Vernacular, capable of unlimited development, but it is by no means uniform, and I find notices of a dialect for Mahometans, and the books written for the peasants are unintelligible to the educated classes. No doubt in this Province the action of the State through the Educational Department, of the great Missionary bodies, and of the European residents of Calcutta, is very considerable, and Calcutta may in this sense be said to be half of Bangál. The periodicals are very numerous. A great number of the educated Bangáli have entirely adopted the English mode of thinking, and with that have lost influence over their uneducated countrymen, who look upon them with suspicion and aversion. A portion of the reading community are clearly highly advanced. There is no absence of moral works of the semi-Oriental class; but what shall be said of the following orient pearls, at random strung?

Five letters written in prose and verse, by a Hindu Lady, four to her husband and one to another person, Bangáli.

A tale, illustrating the effects of covetousness. The story of a man, who earned much money by enticing away respectable females from their homes for immoral purposes. He was convicted and sentenced to death. There are indecent passages. Bangáli, 500 copies.

Lamentations of a woman over the death of her first-born and the intemperate habits of a much-loved husband. A touching prayer to Queen Victoria to put a stop to the sale of spirits, Bangáli, 100 copies.

A collection of 100 songs: those bearing on Krishna are many of them disgustingly obscene, Bangáli. 300 copies distributed gratis.

Lamentation of young women long separated from their husbands. A most indecent and immoral poetical effusion, calculated to exercise a very baneful influence upon female readers in particular, Bangáli, 500 copies, three annas per copy.

A book of instructions given by Mahomet, 1000 copies.

The Hindu Pantheon, illustrated with 21 beautiful photographs and explanatory accounts in English, by an Englishman, 50 copies at £2 10*s.* per copy.

Conversations on theology between a Major in the Army and a High Church Clergyman, English, 50 copies.

A caricature on Municipalities, showing that they are obstacles to progress, by an Englishman, English, 1000 copies.

Gita Govinda, a well-known book, a great deal of it very obscene, Sanskrit, 1000 copies, 8 annas.

Seven hundred verses and a long hymn, in praise of the Goddess Dúrga, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

An interesting collection of prayers and hymns of the Brahma Samáj, English and Bangáli.

Monthly Journal of the Society for preserving the ancient Religion of India, 700 copies.

A poetical love-tale, with much that is indecent, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

Tranlations of the Meghaduta or Cloud Messenger, Bangáli.

A treatise on the evils of Polygamy, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

A treatise on the religious duties of the followers of Islam, 1000 copies.

A description of Krishna, Uriya, 500 copies.

Collection of short essays, by native female writers, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

A Novel designed to inculcate female chastity, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

An obscene Drama, Bangáli, 500 copies.

Lives of the Apostles and early saints of the Christian Church, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

A Novel, showing how a certain man and a widow, being prevented by Hindu law from getting married, committed suicide in the hope of marrying each other in the next world, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

Songs addressed by the God Krishna to his wife to soothe her wounded feelings, Bangáli, 750 copies.

An adaptation of Pope's Essay on Man, Bangáli, 250 copies.

Nil Durpan, a drama designed to show the oppression practised by Indigo Planters, Bangáli, 1100 copies.

Discourse expository of Brahmoism from the Adi Brahma Samáj Press, Bangáli, 500 copies.

A translation of the Mahabhárata, Bangáli, 2000 copies.

Christian Tracts, Bangáli, 5000 copies.

Verses on the eight sentiments or emotions. Contains much that is indecent, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

Description of the distress of young women married to old Kúlin Brahmans, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

The religious exercises enjoined by Brahmoism, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

An attempt to show the sufficiency of intuition as a religious guide, Bangáli, 500 copies.

A collection of proverbs, English, 1000 copies.

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Urdu, 2000 copies.

Poem describing the loves of Krishna, Uriya, 1000 copies.

Poem representing a goose as employed to carry messages from

the Milkmaids to the God Krishna, Sanskrit and Bangáli, 1000 copies.

Songs descriptive of Krishna's dalliances, Uriya, 1000 copies.

Translation of Thomas à Kempis's Imitation of Christ, Bangáli, 500 copies.

Lament in verse on the death of Lord Mayo, and description of his funeral, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

A book detailing the infidelity of wives. Obscene from beginning to end, Bangáli, 1000 copies. Another book, even worse, obscene throughout, 2000 copies.

The difficulties of a man, who has to please two wives, Bangáli, 1000 copies.

Rewards and punishments in a future state, the praise of those who engage in warfare against Infidels, 1000 copies.

Roman Catholic Hymns for children, English, 500 copies.

A collection of Religious Mantra, Sanskrit, 1100 copies.

A treatise against Atheism, Buddhism and Idolatry, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

A defence of Polygamy, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

After deducting the contributions of the State and Missionary Presses, such is a fair sample of the out-turn of the literature of the Bangáli in the year 1872. The application of an Act, analogous to Lord Campbell's in England, is necessary in many cases, and may possibly have been had recourse to. But the policy of the Government of India is, Gallio-like, not to care for such things, and the entire absence of political brochures justifies the wisdom of the *poco curante* policy, not however a very moral one.

I come now to the little protected kingdom of Maisúr in the centre of the Madras Presidency with a population of one million, chiefly Hindu. The out-turn of publications for 1872 amounted to 50 works. This Province lies out of the busy highway of civilization. The languages employed are Karnáta, Sanskrit, English, Tamil, Persian and Urdu. Here also we find:

Verses in praise of Vishnu, Sanskrit and Karnáta, 1000 copies.

Prayers to Ganesha, Karnáta, 1000 copies.

Morality, Karnáta, 2000 copies.

Catechism of Wesleyan Methodists, Karnáta, 8000 copies.

Stories about Rama, Sitá, and the Gopi, Karnáta, 4500 copies.

The Life of Mahomet, Urdu, 500 copies.

The thousand names of Vishnu, Sanskrit, 2000 copies.

Thus we find that in this small Province the great genius of the Press is with few exceptions yoked to the car of Idolatry: it may, indeed, be said, of the vast majority of the issues of the Maisúr Press, that it would have been better for mankind, that the power of distributing knowledge in a readable form had not existed.

The returns from the Madras Province come next under review. About 330 works were registered in the English, Sanskrit, Tamil,

Telugu, Malayálim, Karnáta, Persian, and Urdu languages. The State and the Missionary bodies have extensively influenced the out-turn of this Province. The population amounts to thirty-one millions, Hindu chiefly, with some Mahometans, and a large number of Christians. The town of Madras is the administrative and intellectual centre of the Peninsula. The population is distinct and separate from the Northern Provinces of India, in custom, sentiment and language. The Tamil is a strong and superior Vernacular, capable of unlimited development. Setting aside for the time the State and Missionary publications, which are homogeneous with those of other Provinces of British India, it is interesting to watch the tendencies of the native intellect and aspirations as evidenced in the still small voice of the Press.

Strings of spiritual Pearls, a book of sacred lyrics, verses and dramatic acts; but whether in the praise of Christianity, Krishna, or Mahomet is uncertain, Tamil.

History of the sixty-three devotees of Siva, also a book of lyrics, Tamil, 1000 copies.

A Satirical farce, abounding in obscene language and matter, Tamil, 1250 copies.

The story of Rama in beautiful verse, Telugu, 1000 copies.

A love tale of the daughter of a king and her tutor, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

Verses in praise of Siva. The writer runs downs ignorance, Telugu, 1000 copies.

Tract on the various matters of meritorious devotions, Malayálim, 2000 copies.

Morning, noon, and evening prayers for Brahmans, Sanskrit, 600 copies.

Tract advocating idol-worship, and the truth of the incarnations of God, Tamil, 400 copies.

Astrology, Tamil, 1050 copies to be distributed gratis.

Monthly Magazine for the Hindu, treating of religious and sectarian matters, Tamil, 600 copies.

Collection of proverbs, not in good taste, Tamil.

Book of sacred verses in praise of the Virgin Mary, with comment or paraphrase, Tamil, 1000 copies.

Astrology and divination, for popular use, and commanding a ready sale, Telugu, 1,000 copies.

Translations of the Mahabhárata, Tamil and Telugu.

Tracts in verse in honour of Siva, Tamil, 500 copies.

Hymns in praise of Vishnu, original work 300 years old, with a modern commentary, Sanskrit, 300 copies.

A coloured photograph of an idol and the assembly of Brahmans chanting the Veda at a feast, 500 copies.

Tract denouncing Christianity, and finding fault with the use of animal food and intoxicating drinks, Tamil, 500 copies.

Illustrated edition of legendary tales of the sixty-three Siva devotees. Some of the illustrations have shocked the feelings of the followers of Vishnu, Tamil, 1000 copies.

Marriage of Siva and Parvati, entertaining and erotic, Telugu, 1000 copies.

Marriage of Krishna and Rukmani. Poems, said to be four centuries old, Telugu, 1500 copies.

Astronomy, the horoscope expanded. The author lived 1900 years ago, Sanskrit, 2500 copies.

Melodies on the adventures of Krishna, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

A standard work on amatory poetry, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

A prose tale of a demon with 1000 heads, Telugu, 1000 copies.

A century of easy verses in praise of the Man-Lion Avatar of Vishnu, Telugu, 2000 copies.

I have passed over endless prose and poetical works on Vishnu and Siva. The Mahometans are silent in this Province, and the Hindu idolatry monopolizes the Press, with a sprinkling (not excessive) of indecent erotics; the religious works of the Hindu insensibly glide into obscene details.

The last Province on our list is that of Bombay, small in area and heterogeneous in population, but presumed to be advanced in civilization. The returns for only three quarters of the year 1872 have reached us; but the out-turn of the year may be estimated at 365 works. The population of the Province amounts to fourteen millions, Hindu, Mahometans, Christians, Jews, with an important Parsi element. The languages used are Urdu, Persian, Arabic, English, Gujaráti, Kachchi, Sanskrit, Maráthi, Karnáta, Sindhi, Pahlavi, Zend, and Portuguese. Of the living Vernaculars, the Maráthi, Gujaráti and Sindhi are strong languages of the great Arian stock, quite capable of holding their own, and susceptible of development: of the other languages mentioned, some are aliens, some extinct, and some weak Vernaculars, which may, probably, in the struggle for linguistic life, that accompanies an epoch of literary development, be absorbed by their stronger neighbours.

The State, the Missionary bodies, and the British community have great influence here: there is a freer intercourse with the coasts of Asia and Africa: a large community of Parsi aliens have become domiciled, still preserving a distinct Religion and distinct customs, though they have sacrificed their Vernacular. I might therefore have expected a better class of works from the independent Press of this Province. I find however the following:

Legendary sketch of the founder of a school of the Vedant philosophy, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Translation of Gil Blas, Maráthi, 1000 copies.

Bhagavat Purán, the sports of Krishna, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Story of a virtuous and loving wife, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Prayers and hymns addressed to Jain Saints, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Lamentation of the Gopi for the absence of Krishna, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

String of pearls, a compilation of hymns to Jain saints, in Sanskrit, Urdu, Gujaráti, and Magadhi, 1000 copies.

Legendary account of Wallabha, Gujaráti, 3000 copies.

Praise of the River Godávari, Sanskrit, 1000 copies.

Exposure of jugglers' tricks, to undeceive people from their belief in magical arts, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Poems describing the miseries of young women married to too young, or too old, husbands, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Proverbs, Maráthi, 500 copies.

Divination, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Drama of the marriage of Siva with Parvati, Sanskrit and Maráthi, 1000 copies.

The seven different ways of reading the Koran, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, 1000 copies.

Legendary account of a Mahometan Saint, Urdu, 1500 copies.

Poetical Riddles, amusing and witty, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

The Scriptures of the Zoroastrians, Pahlavi and Zend, in Gujaráti written-character, 500 copies.

A farce with a tragical conclusion, Maráthi, 1000 copies.

Poem descriptive of the amours of Krishna with the Gopi, Gujaráti, 1200 copies.

Collection of pleasing songs, chiefly amorous, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Genealogy of Brahman families, useful in contracting marriages, Maráthi, 300 copies.

Shah Namah, the ancient Parsi Kings, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Drama of Hatim Tai, Urdu, in Gujaráti character, 500 copies.

Popular and joyous songs for festival days, Gujaráti, 500 copies.

Poems by Kabír, Gujaráti, 500 copies.

Drama by Kesar Wijaya, a very superior work, free from vulgarisms or indecencies, Gujaráti, 700 copies.

Prayers of a Zoroastrian, Gujaráti, 2000 copies.

Description of the misfortunes prognosticated by the fall of a house-lizard, a superstitious book, Sanskrit and Maráthi, 750 copies.

Calendar, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

The voice of the people. Songs lamenting the misrule and miseries of the people of the Kachch State, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.

Lament of a poetess for the absence of her beloved husband, Maráthi, 400 copies.

The light of religious elements of the Jain faith, Gujaráti, 550 copies.

Praise of the goddess Kali, Gujaráti, 500 copies.

The Mirror of Health, a medical work, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.
Highly amusing farces and stories, Gujaráti, 1200 copies.
Tract to warn against swindlers, Gujaráti, 1600 copies.
Poem on separation from the beloved, Gujaráti, 1000 copies.
Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar adapted, Maráthi, 1000 copies.

In conclusion I must suggest certain improvements which might be made in the mechanism of the returns. The subject is one of great importance, and each Government and Administration should call upon the head of the Educational Department to give a general *resumé* of the publications of the year, much in the manner adopted by the Panjáb Government. The books should themselves be inspected by competent officers, and opinions given as to the style of the work, both as to language and mode of treatment. Where the contents are decidedly obscene, due warning should be given to the publisher, or proceedings taken under the Code of Criminal Procedure. Copies of these returns are supplied to the learned Societies of the Continent, and it will be a scandal, if this blemish be not removed. Inquiry should be made from the publisher, and notice taken of the rapidity, with which large editions are exhausted, and a system of pecuniary rewards in some shape or other for deserving works should be part of the Educational system of each Province. Authors of merit are proverbially in want of pecuniary assistance, and enterprising publishers are deserving of assistance from the State. And the net should make a clean sweep, and take in all fish. I look in vain for the publications of the Text-Societies of Calcutta and Bombay: were there no issues of their valuable series in 1872?

When I consider the whole subject with reference to the intellectual state of the nation, feelings of humiliation cannot fail to arise. How is it that indecent erotics and discordant religious dogma have monopolized a free Press? It is really a question, whether the Anglo-Indian Government is doing what is just to the people in allowing the wholesale propagation of so much error. The wonderful art of printing, which had remained unrevealed to the Latins and Greeks, was granted to European nations just at the moment, when the state of their intellectual progress enabled them to make a good use of it. But all the slowly-elaborated discoveries of Europe, including those of lithography and photography, are suddenly poured into the lap of a nation deficient in moral culture, which has not undergone the discipline of self-government, and which is unshackled by the control of a superior power. No nation up to this time has been placed in such circumstances. The Anglo-Saxon takes with him his principles of self-government and self-respect. The inferior races of Europe (I will not specify them) are kept in subjection by the censorship of absolute monarchs, who with their advisers are influenced by the public opinion of other nations and their own feelings of self-

respect. The absolute Governments of the first half of this century would have placed nearly the whole of the independent publications of India on the Index Expurgatorius, either as contrary to morals or to true faith, as established by law. The great constitutional question then arises: Is the Doctrine of a free Press of universal application, and for the real good of a people backward in intellectual and moral development?

Still we have reason to be proud and to be thankful, that there are absolutely no diatribes against the Government in the form of permanent literature. The newspaper Press is also free, and its contents are not unnoticed by the local authorities, but prosecutions under the Press Act are rare, if not non-existent. Mark the contrast from the Ireland of the eighteenth century. The *sæva indignatio* of pseudo-patriots, who could not get the place for which they sued, the factious outpourings of statesmen waiting to be bribed, the hostility of religious sectarians intolerant of each other's proper rights, are absolutely non-existent under a strong Government, which maintains the civil and religious freedom of all classes. Even the keener and more manly hostility of the Ireland of the nineteenth century is absent also. There may come a time when the ruling authorities of India will look back on the returns of the literature of 1872 with regret, and would be willing to compound by the presence of obscenity and idolatry for the absence of political rancour and rebel incendiarism.

LONDON, 1873.

That time has arrived, and with it the abuse of the liberty of a free Press against the great Government, which alone among European and Asiatic States tolerates its existence. Would any person in his senses wish to gag the Press of Ireland? why then do so in India? The warlike classes of India cannot read: the class, which reads Newspapers, cannot fight: at any rate a wise Ruler wishes to hear what the people say. To stifle a free Press is to deprive a rattlesnake of its warning rattle, without removing the sting: at any rate it relieves a man's conscience to abuse the Government. Since 1876 Books of impure tendency are not registered, so the evil complained of, though it still exists, is not exposed to view.

LONDON, 1887.

CHAPTER VI.

NOTICE OF THE SCHOLARS WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE EXTENSION OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGES OF BRITISH INDIA DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS.

Professor Monier Williams, of Oxford, in the course of his speech at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society in May, 1878, remarked on the scant interest shown in Oriental studies by the University Commissioners, and by the University itself. It is true that there is not in England, as in France and Russia, a special School for Instruction in the living Oriental languages: but I think I can show, that the out-turn of work done by volunteer scholars during the last thirty years is most creditable. Many of their names are either unknown in Europe, or have not received that honour, of which they are deserving.

My attention has been more particularly attracted to this subject in the course of the preparation of my "Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies." Such a book could not have been compiled thirty years ago, simply because the material had not been worked out by many scores of workmen, acting without any communication with each other. I further drew attention to the amount of good work done by Continental scholars, and gave their names, in the Indian Section of the Oriental Congress at Florence last September, remarking that, as regards British India, the English scholars, who had laboured so nobly, had simply done their duty; while to the Continental scholars should be awarded the higher meed of having worked from love of Science: "Non lucri causâ, sed artis."

English, French, Germans, Swiss, Danes, Norwegians, Dutch, Hungarians, and citizens of the United States of America, have severally contributed to this great work. Some have been servants of the State in the Civil, Military, or Educational Department; others have been Missionaries of all denominations. We have, also, some excellent native scholars. In one or more instances scholars like Rask, Csoma de Körös, and Westergaard visited India solely for the love of Science.

My remarks are at present restricted to the Modern Languages of

the East Indies, with their handmaids Palæography and Archæ... Much has been done for Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali, a... little for Kawi; but the day of the tyranny of dead langua... is past both in England and India, and it has been discovered, that the Vernaculars are worthy of the study devoted to them, and are much more important to the well-being of the people. Education of the masses in their respective Vernaculars, and administration of justice in the colloquial languages of the people, are recognized as a first duty. English, Arabic, and Persian, may be valuable as vehicles of Science, Literature, and Religion, and as instruments of secondary Education; but what are they when weighed in the balance with such magnificent Vernaculars as Hindi, Bangáli, Maráthi, Tamil, Telugu, and Barmese, having a wider area of currency than nearly any European language, possessing already an amount of indigenous literature, susceptible of a much more extensive development, and destined also to be the vehicle of a new culture, and, perhaps, of a new Religion?

I begin my survey from Bombay, and proceed to cast a net over the whole of India. It is impossible to mention all the works of each author; as my object is to bring before the public certain names, and to indicate the branch of the subject to which they have devoted themselves.

In Bombay, the *Indian Antiquary*, edited by Mr. Burgess, has brought together many excellent scholars in the linguistic and palæographic field, viz. Mr. Fleet, Mr. Sinclair, Dr. Bühler, Dr. Gerson da Cunha, and Professors Bhandarkar, Kielhorn and Shanker Pandurung. The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has other able contributors; still it may be regretted that there is no sufficient Grammar of the Gujaráti or Maráthi languages, and no good Dictionary of the former: we require something better than the Gujaráti Grammar and Dictionary of Shapurji Edalji, or the Grammar of Maráthi published anonymously. Dr. Gerson da Cunha is about to publish a Grammar of Kánkani, which has been provisionally classed by me as a dialect of Maráthi, subject to correction, if need be, from so good an authority.

Of Sindhi we have a Grammar by Dr. Trumpp of Munich, of high order as a linguistic work on the comparative method: he has also published a Sindhi Reader. A good Dictionary is required.

Of Balúchi we have a Grammar in the Makráni dialect by Major Mockler, and Grammatical notes of the Sulimáni dialect, spoken in the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Panjáb, by Mr. Gladstone. There are also grammatical notes on the Makrán dialect in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Pearse. A good deal is, however, still required.

The Bráhu population is intermixed with the Balúchi, but we have no original information as to the Brahúi language, beyond the

matical notes of Major Leech of 1838, followed up by Professor n, and of Dr. Bellew in his work, "From the Indus to the ris." Captain Nicholson, of the Staff Corps, has, however, published a translation of an English book in this language, a copy of which I forwarded to Dr. Trumpp, who published an important Grammatical Note in German, which has been rendered accessible to English scholars by Dr. Theodore Duka.

For the Pashtu language we have capital scholars: Major Raverty, Dr. Trumpp, Dr. Bellew, Professor Bernhard Dorn of St. Petersburg, and the Rev. T. Hughes of Peshâwar. Nothing further seems required but to study their books.

Of the mysterious language of the Káfirs all that is known has been supplied by Sir A. Burnes, Sir H. Lumsden, Dr. Trumpp, and Dr. Kuhn.

Of the Ghálcha language spoken along the steppes of the Pamir in Wakhan and Sir-i-Kol, we have Grammatical notes by the late Mr. Shaw in the Journal of the Bangál Asiatic Society of the highest interest, and contributions by M. Ujfalvy, of Paris.

Dr. Leitner was the first to bring to notice the dialects of Dardistan: Mr. Drew, General Cunningham, and Dr. Trumpp have added to our knowledge in this respect.

Mr. Shaw has also done good service in describing the form of the Turkí language spoken in East Turkistan, which has now again passed under the Empire of China.

Considering how well the valley of Kashmír is known, we are glad that Mr. Wade has published a Grammar of this most important language. We have Vocabularies supplied by Major Leech, Mr. Bowring, and Mr. Edgeworth; some of whom, however, had never visited the valley, and who, therefore, picked up their knowledge from exiles. Latterly we have something more genuine from Dr. Elmslie, Mr. Drew, and Dr. Bühler, who promised a Grammar. A pressure should be brought to bear upon the Maharaja for a Comparative Grammar and Dictionary of the dialects of the Hills. The four Gospels have been translated by Mr. Wade.

Entering upon the Panjáb proper, we find that there is no Grammar, worth so calling, of the language, and a question may be raised, whether the Panjábi is not a dialect of Hindi. At any rate, we have it on the authority of Dr. Trumpp, who has translated the Granth, that the Granth of Guru Govind is actually in Hindi, and that the Granth of Nanak is not in the Panjábi, as we now know that language. Mr. Beames, of the Civil Service, comes to our aid with his excellent Comparative Grammar of the Modern Arian languages of India, in which, on the comparative method, he disposes of the chief Sanskritic Vernaculars. Of the Hindi language we have a complete Grammar by Mr. Kellogg, and a dictionary by Mr. Bate. Dr. Hoernle has written on the subject of the Eastern form of Hindi; Mr. Grierson has published a Grammar

number of enlightened scholars. Few Europeans, it is true, have made the modern languages of India the object of their studies: but the late M. Garcin de Tassy for twenty-seven years published an Annual Report of the progress made in the study of the Hindi language; while M. Vinson has contributed to the knowledge of the Dravidian languages, Tamil being the Vernacular of the French settlement of Pondicherry.

The necessity of Translations of the whole or of portions of the Holy Scriptures into the languages of India has greatly increased, and many excellent Versions, in various languages hitherto unwritten, have become the standard of purity and elegance, from which the new literature will form itself. The convenience to linguists of these independent Translations of the same Texts in languages totally differing in structure, can hardly be estimated at its full value. Thus Mr. Burnell, following the lead of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, has attempted the Translation into certain dialects of South India of the Parable of the Sower, but this is hardly of sufficient length to illustrate fully the Vocabulary and structure of a language: the Translation of one of the Gospels by a missionary, who uses it daily in his schools and place of worship, with the further test of its being used by the missionaries of rival bodies, is the best, and most sufficient exemplar of a language, that could be imagined.

My own conclusion is, that having the support of the Government of India, together with the unselfish labour of the servants of the State, the missionaries and the scholars of Europe, we need not trouble ourselves with what appears to us the supineness of the English Universities, who, by reserving to certain branches of knowledge the funds, which were intended for the advance of knowledge *as a whole*, have not done what has been done by many and smaller Universities in Continental Europe. There can be no doubt, that, up to the present time, the Modern Languages of British India have not received from our Universities the support they would have had, had their value been at all known by the educated people of this country.

1879.

A certain amount of progress has been made since, and the Universities are commencing slowly to recognize their duty. Considering the obvious meaning of the word "University," and the position, which Great Britain occupies towards its great Dependencies, and Colonies, and the ample revenues of the Colleges, and the University, it is to be hoped, that they will rise to the level of their great position; and make their curriculum of study more practical, and their opportunities and facilities of teaching and acquiring knowledge universal.

1887.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIGIN OF PLACE-NAMES IN BRITISH INDIA.

THE Rev. Isaac Taylor has carried through several editions a practical treatise on the origin of Place-Names, or, as he calls it, Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography. As on such a subject it is safest to argue from the known to the unknown, he has wisely commenced by a study of Place-Names in the New World, the language, history, and origin of which can be identified beyond doubt, as being the creatures of yesterday. A marvellous tale is unfolded even within that short period, and a clue is given to the principles, the tendencies, the affections, the weaknesses, and the unintelligible errors, that have directed and accompanied the nomenclature of regions which were unknown and unnamed in the time of the Plantagenets. My object in noticing the subject is to induce some one to apply the process, which has been worked out by him as regards North America and Europe, to Asia, and more especially to British India.

How much do those, whose career in India is over, for whom that wonderful country is enveloped with the romance of the Past and the Unforgotten, regret that in the course of the quarter of a century, during which they were hurrying hither and thither, and engaged from morn to eve in work, which has left little or no trace behind, wish that they had found leisure to store-up in common-place books all that came under their observation regarding the Ethnology and Language and Religion and other kindred subjects, of India! The most casual observer and the shortest visitor must have been struck by the multiplicity and strangeness of the names of places in India; but, until this book had appeared, there was no model, on which the information collected could be arranged, and it may not have occurred to many to reflect what a vast store of historical, ethnical, and philological, information lies hidden under the uncouth and unintelligible sounds, by which, according to the common consent of the inhabitants, the physical features and the local divisions of Province, District, Town, Village, and Hamlet, are known.

And yet it has been thoroughly admitted and acknowledged from the earliest times, that names were not originally given at haphazard, that they were not fortuitous concurrences of syllables; on the contrary, we find that in the earliest records, that have come down to us, an attempt to assign rightly or wrongly a meaning to particular nomenclature, and to account for not obvious names. Poetry and fiction, myth and tradition, were called upon for assistance. Thus in Genesis the name of Bethel is explained by the story of Jacob's Ladder, though the obvious meaning of the word was not hard to divine; and the Sanskrit poets delighted to account for names, even for such a simple one as Gangá, by a fanciful legend; nor were the more fastidious tastes of Virgil and Horace free from the infection, for while the former connects in most beautiful lines the name of Caieta, the modern Gaiëta, with the legendary Nurse of Æneas, the latter has immortalised the tale of Europa, and surrounded with a halo of semi-truth the legend of the origin of the name of our Continent.

"Tua sectus orbis
Nomina ducet."

Forty years ago, in most of the Reports of the Settlements of Land-Revenue in Upper India, an attempt was made to explain the meanings of the names of places, political divisions, and physical features; and with some success, for in truth the meaning of a large proportion of such names is obvious. A few were explained by scholars, a few more by fanciful stories or traditions of the country-side; but a considerable residuum remained, words which had in course of ages lost their initial and final letters, been inverted, or transposed, whose consonants had in the lips of men been unconsciously changed by the action of Grimm's law; whose vowels had been absorbed, or altered by laws of accentuation, which have not yet been fairly worked out. Yet, if once a sufficiency of facts were collected; if the character of neighbouring names were collated and contrasted; if the recurrence of similar names in whole, or part, in other parts of the country, and in other combinations, were duly weighed; no doubt the number of unexplained sounds might be largely reduced. This work commends itself to an ingenious and order-loving intellect, even if the elaborated result went no further than to explain the phenomena of the names existing; but to any one, who has studied Mr. Taylor's book, and who has entered on the subject with the zeal and penetration, which it deserves, it will soon appear how very much lies beyond. The dry bones in the cabinet of the geologist may appear to the unlearned to be nothing but orderly arranged fossils; but to the initiated they can be clothed with flesh, and from them he is able to conjure back past periods of the World, which have left no other trace. So to the scientific philologist the names of places, which have lived from century

to century on the lips of men, if rightly arranged, and rightly interpreted, cannot fail to disclose strange ethnological and political facts which were unwittingly entrusted to their keeping; and tribes, which have long since been extinct out of the land, have left behind them traces more enduring than their hill-fastnesses, more deeply incised on the face of the country, than their deep dykes, and more enduring than their coins. The pre-historic animals, slowly traversing the soft sands, left marks of their feet impressed on a surface, which has since hardened into rock, and which tells of the existence of animal life with a force beyond the reach of argument to gainsay; and, in like manner, savage and migrating tribes in the early annals of mankind placed their phonetic impress on certain spots in their own peculiar combination of syllables, which have been severally adopted by the more civilized races, which have succeeded to their inheritance.

This fact is most fully exemplified in North America, and, if ever there had been an opportunity for making a clean sweep of the Past and commencing afresh on a *tabula rasa*, it was, when the Western colonists landed in the New World. In the fulness of their civilization, the heirs of all the ages, and the dispensers at pleasure of the treasury of names of ancient and modern Europe, the British colonists have founded a new Jerusalem, a new Rome, a new Tyre, and a new Troy; but they have been no more able to oust the indigenous names of mountain and stream from their lists of names, than they been able to banish the redskin from their streets. Thus, side by side on their maps with the most celebrated names of Europe and Asia, whose composition can be traced back to illustrious Indo-European pedigrees, we have Niagara, Potomac, Ottawa, Rappahannok, Susquehanna, Arkansas, Wisconsin, and Michigan, which smack of the backwoods and hunting-grounds, and of a Vocabulary and dialect, as far removed from the great Arian family as the Chinese.

And more than this: we have, as it were, come upon the settling of the composite materials of American nomenclature while in solution, and, in the freshness of contemporary knowledge, can assign with certainty the different elements to their proper origin, and, as it were, confirm the truth of the well-known colonization of the country by referring to the names of the locations, or, reversing the process, make the heterogeneous nomenclature intelligible by applying the unquestioned facts of history to it. This is the exceeding value of the American exemplar, for it raises a mere theory, or hypothesis, to the rank of a scientific process, and encourages us to place the Name-lists of another world (for India is, indeed, a world of its own) in the crucible, in the certainty of obtaining results equally satisfactory. But in dealing with the remote periods of Indian civilization we can only use one process; we have the names, and from them must evolve by careful linguistic

discrimination historical facts, and re-unite lost pages of a Nation's Annals.

We can safely arrive at this conclusion, that there are certain natural laws, which underlie the structure of human society, and the effects of which will surely crop out and leave traces, as being based on the simple and indigenous tendencies of mankind, on the general fitness of things, and the pressing necessities of rough life, which have led and will ever lead new colonizers over the same track. Thus, in fixing the name, which is done on the spur of the moment, of a tract, or of a township, or of a hamlet, or the separated portion of a village, reference will be had, first, to the rising and setting sun, the points of the compass, the upland and lowland, the river and mountain, the marsh and lake, the forest and desert, the wild animals of earth, air, or water; second, to the name of the tribe, the great men of the tribe, the tutelary deity of the tribe; third, to War, Peace, Plague, Famine, Death, the Temple, or the Place of Sepulture, or Cremation, and other events of local interest, which, as time passes and civilization increases, will multiply.

Few settlements drop down on an entirely virgin soil: on the early settlement of Abraham in Canaan he found two layers of previous occupiers of the soil. Those, who are unacquainted with Asia, can form no conception of the desolation and extirpation caused by Famine, War, Invasion; the new-comers are usually unable to efface the footprints of their predecessors; some wretched hewers of wood and drawers of water, abject and servile survivors of the massacre, or the expulsion, remain, and they have their revenge in keeping alive the nomenclature of their forefathers. Wave after wave of population has swept over India from the great portals of the North-West; the Brahman and Rajpút are as much aliens and immigrants as the most modern swarm of Mahometans; but Time has given a sanctity to their occupation, and their predecessors and victims, the numerous non-Arian races, have been swept aside, and have perished from the page of history and have for centuries been forgotten. Few new-comers have been bold enough to supersede existing names; at the best they have but added an alternative name, which has sometimes overridden, and sometimes succumbed to the old one. In Holy Writ, Ephrata is sometimes coupled with Bethlehem, and Hebron is particularized as Kirjath Arba; and here a remark of Mr. Taylor is most apposite. "In "many instances the original import of such names has faded away, "or has become disguised in the lapse of ages; nevertheless the "primeval meaning may be recoverable, and, whenever it is "recovered, we have gained a symbol, that may prove itself to be "full-fraught with instruction; for it may indicate emigrations, "immigrations, the commingling of races by war and conquest, or "by the peaceful processes of commerce; the name of a district or

"a town may speak to us of events which written history has failed "to commemorate." And again, "There are many nations, which "have left no written records, and whose history would be a blank "volume, or nearly so, were it not that, in the places, where they "have sojourned, they have left traces of their migration sufficient "to enable us to re-construct the main outline of their history. "The hills, valleys, and rivers are in fact the only writing-tablets, "on which unlettered nations have been able to inscribe their "annals. Mountains and rivers still murmur the voices of nations "long denationalized or extirpated."

The book before me is divided into seventeen chapters, and prefixed to it is a map of the British Isles, showing by colours the proportion of settlements of Kelt, Saxon, Dane, and Norwegian, as arrived at by a careful analysis of the names of the locations. Appended to the volume is a list of some of the chief substantial components of local names, and two excellent indices, one of local names, the other of matters, without which the value of a work of this character would be greatly diminished. I propose now cursorily to survey those Chapters, and on arriving at the last on onomatology, to enter fully into the method and apply it to British India.

The first Chapter is on the significancy of names, and is an exordium to the work. It is justly remarked that, "what has "been affirmed by the botanist as to the flora of limited districts "may be said, with little abatement, concerning local names, that "they survive the catastrophes which overthrow Empires, and that 'they outlive devastations which are fatal to almost everything 'else. Invading hosts may trample down or extirpate whatever 'grows upon a soil, except its wild flowers and the names of those 'sites where man has found a home." How true is this! How often n the Indian jungle ruined wells and forsaken homesteads are ome upon, which have a name and nothing else; how faithfully a ame clings to a township, or a valley, or a country-side, when the rigin of the name has long since been forgotten! The usual rigin of names is derived either from the physical features, or he historical associations of the locality, and in the course of ages, hanges have been wrought in both particulars, and the name, ghtly interpreted, lets in a flood of light. How comes it, for stance, that one of the most Northern Counties in Scotland is lled "Sutherland," but that it was so named as a dependency of orway? How comes a portion of Kent and Sussex to be called the Weald," but that it was once covered by a thick and impenetrable forest?

The second Chapter goes fully over what may be called the Tertiary Period, namely, that portion of the subject, which falls entirely within historic times, such as the settlement of North America and Australia. The Secondary Period may be said to

comprise the strata of names, which are capable of solution by reference to well-known languages, and to the Primary must be relegated that portion of the Name-list of a Country, which belongs to the dim twilight period of the settlement of the earlier races. It will be found, that this division of the subject will be readily applicable to any new country, to which the inquiry may be extended, for it may at once be stated, that but a corner of the vast area, to which inquiry extends, has been occupied. It is not pretended that, as regards any Country, except the British Isles, more than a general survey is attempted: if, indeed, information has been statistically arranged in France and Germany, what of the rest of Europe, of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania? But on the other hand it may be safely contended, that such a forecast of the subject has been made, as will greatly facilitate the labour of those who follow, and such principles have been laid down, as will tend to prevent future labours in the same field from being haphazard, erroneous, and fruitless.

Chapter III. treats of the ethnological value of local names, and applies to the method of research, illustrated and tested in Chapter II. as regards the modern names of North America to the more obscure periods of history in the older continent of Europe, and Chapter IV. treats exhaustively of the primely important branch of the subject, "the Names of Nations." The value of this one Chapter can scarcely be overstated, and its perusal will at once tempt the reader to go deeper into the subject by opening out new vistas of thought, ranging in order, scattered information, long since possessed, but not appreciated, and convincing most unmistakably of the importance of the subject.

Chapters V. to IX. treat in succession of the different races, or nationalities, which have left their mark on the Name-lists of Western Europe, to which geographical expression the subject is now narrowed. First in order come the Phenicians, then the Arabs, both being aliens from another Continent. The subject seems thenceforth to shrink into still narrower territorial limits, and to restrict itself to the regions occupied at different periods of their history by Anglo-Saxons, Northmen of all kinds, and, at the dawn of historical knowledge, by the Kelts. No doubt it was of importance, or even of necessity, to narrow the subject, but it indicates by the exclusion of the Græco-Latin, Slavonic, and Lettish races how large a portion of even the Indo-Germanic or Arian Family is left unaccounted for.

Chapter X., which is headed "The historic value of local names," does, indeed, give all that can be collected of the period of Roman occupation, and of the marks, which that great conquering, but not colonizing, people left upon subject countries. The Normans passed lightly over the ground, and left traces only in castles and abbeys and military or civil stations; the Saxons colonized in the

proper sense by the extirpation, or entire subjection, of the Kelts; the Romans did in their times very much what the Normans did at a later period, and what the English now do in India. It may be a matter of sentimental regret, that in our haughty and supercilious disdain for the people, and carelessness for our own reputation, we have never introduced any of the Imperial terms into the plastic Urdu, such as road, castle, bridge, railway, telegraph, king or queen. The Romans were wiser or more fortunate in their generation, and have left the words, Strata, Castra, Pons, Hospitium, Colonia, Portus, and others as legacies to all time and all nations, but no place of human habitation bears a Roman name.

Chapter XI. treats exclusively of the street-names of London, which, however curious and interesting to the local archæologist, are deficient in interest to the cosmopolitan reader. This is more than compensated for by the intense interest of Chapters XII. and XIII., which treat of historic and sacred sites, and, as far as they go, bring out an abundance of very interesting facts, although they obviously only go over a small portion of the ground, which might be traversed, for many a name now unintelligible records some forgotten event, or some deserted shrine.

Chapter XIV. opens out a still more surprising view of the subject, for it shows how the physical changes of the globe are attested by local names. The sea has retired in some places, rivers have ceased to be navigable; a town, which was once a naval station, and a commercial port, is, perhaps, some distance inland; marshes have been dried up, or perhaps have extended themselves; in some rare instances mountains have sprung up, or have subsided; climate changes have altered the products, or the fauna and flora of a country, and the names of the places, when scientifically analyzed, testify to a state of physical affairs, which is no longer applicable.

Reserving Chapter XV., we now pass to Chapter XVI., which in an exhaustive manner shows what words are derived from places; "All local names," our author says, "were once words; we have "made these words, so long dumb, once more speak out their mean- "ing, and declare the lessons which they have to teach. We now "come to the converse proposition. *Many words were once local* "*names*; we find these words in all the stages of the process of "metamorphosis, some unchanged, some so altered as to be scarcely "recognizable." It is possible, that there may be words in the Vernacular, or the dead languages of India, which, if properly examined, may give up an origin of this kind, in addition to those which have become notorious, and have found their way into European languages. Of these we select some familiar instances as illustrations. The word "nektarine" is most conclusively traced back to the superlative of the word "nek" or good, being the best of "peaches." The "peach" itself is from the Latin

"Persicus," being a Persian fruit. The "damson" hails from Damascus, as well as the "Damask Rose." The "tamarind" is clearly "the fruit of India." Indigo, gamboge, calico, Kashmír are too obvious to be more than alluded to. In this Chapter we have the whole subject discussed at very great length, but it is foreign to the main object of the volume under review.

Chapters XV. and XVII. go over the ground of the greatest interest to future investigators, for in the first the "changes and errors" are detailed, which have come to light in past times, and in the second, the principles, and method, of Scientific Onomatology are laid down; and on both these subjects I must make some remarks, before I proceed to apply the principles of some of the preceding Chapters to Indian investigations.

I will first remark on the subject of Changes and Errors. Any person with the most superficial knowledge of the Science of Language must be aware of the wear and tear, which all words have undergone, as they have been handed down from mouth to mouth of succeeding generations. The names of places, if they have not suffered to the same extent as ordinary words, have nevertheless yielded to the all-conquering influences of time: and, as Mr. Taylor states, "The influences are of two kinds. The first is simply "phonetic. A conquering nation finds it difficult to pronounce cer- "tain vocables which enter into the names used by the conquered "people, and changes consequently arise, which break the ancient "names into harmony with the phonetic laws of the language "used by the conquerors. Many illustrations of this process may "be found in Doomsday-book. The inquisitors seem to have been "slow to catch the pronunciation of the Saxon names, and were "moreover ignorant of their etymologies, and we meet con- "sequently with many ludicrous transformations. We have "now to consider a class of corruptions which have arisen "from a totally different cause. Men have felt a natural desire "to assign a plausible meaning to names, to make them, in "fact, no longer sounds, but words. This instructive causativeness "of the human mind, this perpetual endeavour to find a reason, or "a plausible explanation, for everything, has corrupted many of "the words, which we have in daily use, and a large allowance for "this source of error must be made, when we are investigating the "original forms of ancient names. No cause has been more fruitful "in producing corruptions than popular attempts to explain from "the Vernacular, and bring into harmony with a supposed "etymology, names, whose real explanation is to be sought in some "language known only to the learned. Names, significant in the "Vernacular, are constructed out of the ruins of the ancient unin- "telligible names, just as we find the modern village of Mesopo- "tamia built of bricks stamped with the Cuneiform legend of "Nebuchadnezzar."

Of the first influence we have notable instances in India: the town of "Thanésar" was formerly "Sthanésvara," "the seat of "Siva;" "Banáras" can be traced to "Varanási," the junction of the rivers "Varana" and "Asi;" "Lakhnau" to "Laknávati;" "Oudh" to "Ajodya," "the unconquerable one;" "Kanój" to "Kanyakubja," and so on to any extent. Of the second influence, we have instances in the alleged origin of the names of "Láhor" and "Kasúr" in "Lava" and "Kusa," the two sons of "Rama." The law of phonetic change has been carefully laid down as between certain branches of the Indo-European Family of languages, but it is capable of further expansion as regards other branches of other families. Mr. Taylor furnishes some memorable examples of the changes of names. Conspicuous among these are "Istambúl" for "Constantinople," "εἰς τὰν πόλιν" and "Stanko" for Cos, εἰς τὰν κῶ. The whole of this Chapter is full of linguistic anecdotes of marvellous interest and piquancy.

I now proceed to Chapter XVII., which, though the conclusion of Mr. Taylor's work, would be the starting-point of any hardy adventurer, who is ready to open virgin soil. Certain principles are worked out, which must be attended to if the subject is to be treated scientifically, and with any hope of permanent results. Any other method will lead to startling absurdities, or vague and unmeaning guesses.

Firstly. It must be an article of faith, that local names are never in any single instance arbitrary sounds, but, however fragmentary the portion, that has come down to us, there is a meaning to be extracted from it, if we can only get at it; this discovery was easy enough in the newly-constituted societies of North America and Australia, but is one of extreme difficulty in Europe, and, perhaps, it is in many cases wholly impossible in India, and the rest of Asia, in the present state of our linguistic knowledge.

Secondly. The next requisite is to ascertain the language, in which the name was given; this matter must be settled by geographical and historical considerations.

Thirdly. The earliest documentary form of the name must be ascertained, and, if two or more Characters are in use, or have been used, it is of importance, that the names should be set down with the minutest accuracy in all.

Fourthly. If, as is often the case in India, the name has never heretofore been reduced to writing of a permanent or accessible Character, endeavour must be made to record it correctly on the analogy of similar names, bearing in mind the laws of phonetic change, to which reference has been made.

Fifthly. Attempts at interpretation must then be made, bearing in mind the grammatical structure of words, and the syntactical arrangement of the language to which the word is attributed.

Sixthly. Consideration must be had to the possibly discovered

interpretation of other names in the neighbourhood, bearing in mind the possible immigration at different epochs, of races and languages, all of which have left their mark within limited areas.

Seventhly. The linguistic result may be tested by topographical or physical considerations; if the interpretation brings out physical features, is it confirmed by the facts? If, on the other hand, historical features are indicated, are they confirmed by independent history, should such exist? Much must, indeed, depend upon happy guesses, or bold presumptions, verified by subsequent corroborating proofs, but the method proposed is at least safe and scientific, and, as far as the lapse of years, and the confusion caused by the domination of races and languages during long periods of ignorance will permit, a successful one.

Eighthly. A scientific analysis of names of places will surely lead to the establishment of this fact, that in far the greater number there are two component elements, which, for the sake of convenience, may be called the adjectival, and substantival elements respectively, and it is of the essence of some languages to present the substantival element in the form of a Suffix, and in others of a Prefix to the adjectival element; the word generally means road, bridge, ford, boundary, island, river, mountain, valley, dwelling, or enclosure, as the case may be, qualified by a personal or descriptive word, denoting the possessor, the builder, or the relative position, antiquity, excellence, or other characteristic feature.

We will illustrate this position by quoting a few Teutonic Suffixes, and Keltic Prefixes, for in England, by a singular chance, we have the two practices side by side: A Teutonic location is known by the terminations of "ham," "ton," "hurst," "ley," "worth," "by," "den," "don," "combe," "sted," "borough," "thorpe," "cote," "stoke," "set," "thwaite," "holt," "bourne," "hill," "shiels," "stow," "wick," "fell," "law," "ey," "stone," "beck": on the other hand a Keltic location is identified by "aber," "inver," "ath," "bally," "kil," "llan," "ben," "glen," "strath," "loch," "innis," "inch." A full enumeration of adjectival forms would obviously partake of the character of a Dictionary, but they may be grouped generally under one of the following heads: I. Relative magnitude. II. Relative position. III. Relative age. IV. Numerals. V. Natural productions or features, such as animals, trees, rivers, rocks, minerals, and fruits. VI. Names implying excellence or the reverse. VII. Configuration. VIII. Colour. IX. Caste, religion or tribe. X. Historical event.

It must be remembered, that sometimes there is a consciousness of the meaning of the name, at other times the meaning is so entirely forgotten, that it is repeated in another language, as the "*River Avon*," the "*River Esk*," "*Mon Gibello*," "*Pen-hill*," "*Wansbeck-water*," and many other *hybrid* compounds. It often may be a question, whether the name is the record of a person or an event;

thus centuries hence it may be a question, whether the name Victoria scattered so profusely over the world, records a victory, or a sovereign, or a State, or a railway-station, or the name of the wife of some local authority.

How strangely names are altered merely by the rendering of the words from one language to another, is illustrated by the travels of Fa Hian and the other Chinese pilgrims, who visited India for the purpose of local inquiries. Being men of learning and piety, they took the greatest pains to record the names of places and shrines correctly, and yet their works present a linguistic puzzle owing to the peculiarities of the Chinese language.

In extracting a meaning out of hitherto meaningless words; in awakening up echoes of history, which have long since been silent; in conjuring up traditions, and in starting delightful ethnical theories, there is great danger, and the greatest caution must be used as to the conclusions drawn, and especially in regard to the branch of the subject, which relates to personages, who have often a mythical, or eponymic existence. "This phrase is used to convey the sug-"gestion that a personal name has been evolved by popular specu-"lation to account for some geographical term, the true meaning of "which has not been understood." In the annals of every country there have existed the wildest absurdities: France is said to have taken its name from a fabulous son of Hector, and Britain from "Brutus," a son of Æneas. The atmosphere of the Indian world is impregnated with the wildest notions, independent of all shackles of Chronology, or Probability, or Geography. But there may be germs of truth lying hidden amidst a mass of traditional rubbish, and they are worth the trouble of extracting.

I proceed to throw out suggestions for applying the principles, worked out for a portion of Western Europe, to the virgin field of India. As regards Upper India betwixt the rivers Karamnása, and the Indus, I can say without fear of contradiction, that a list of every Hamlet, Village, Town, Subdivision, Province, Mountain, River, and Lake, can be supplied from the Offices of Government in two distinct Characters, the Arabic and the Nágari, thus limiting the field of error by a system of checks. Many of these names have been reduced to writing for many hundreds of years, and appear in archaic forms in Sanskrit words. Much attention to the subject has been paid in different Districts, but the information has never been collected together and grouped, and no serious scientific attempt has been made to solve the meaning of those names, which have not yielded to the first attempt. It may be said that hundreds of the same names appear in every District, and some are repeated scores of times. Assuming roughly, that there are sixty Districts in the two great Provinces of Northern India, and allowing an average of one thousand villages to a District, we have an accumulation of sixty thousand Names, which

might be collected, arranged alphabetically, and brought under the examination of the scholar. The number might be reduced, perhaps, to one-half, by allowing for repetition of the same or similar names, and from the reduced number many may be deducted of well-known and obvious derivation; a certain proportion will yield to a little scholarly consideration, and there will remain over a formidable residuum, of battered, clipped, and unintelligible counters, on the face of which no legend can be deciphered. This is the work, which has to be done, and to which I invite the attention of those, who have the necessary knowledge and acumen, and can find the leisure.

It has been already stated that an intelligent knowledge of the language, in which the name was probably originally composed, is an essential feature of the inquiry. Without pretending to exhaust the subject, I may note the possible linguistic vehicles of every name in Northern India.

I. The non-Arian languages, which have little or no literature, and which are spoken only by people in the lowest stage of culture and social position; and yet these languages take precedence of all others in antiquity, and it may possibly be found, that the first comers had the privilege of naming for ever all the great physical features of the Country, and many of the most ancient settlements. In fact they occupy the position of the Keltic or pre-Keltic races in Europe, the settlers with regard to whose existence there is no doubt, but with regard to whom history is silent, and the successive tides of whose immigration can only be detected by careful analysis of traces which they have left, just as the ripple-marked slabs of sandstone record the tidal flow of the primeval Ocean.

II. The great Arian Family of languages, of which Sanskrit is the oldest and most finished type, occupy the Secondary Period. It is not pretended, that Sanskrit ever was a spoken language, but its place was occupied by Vernaculars of many forms and varieties, but resembling each other in grammatical structure. The chief among these are the Hindi, of which the Urdu or Hindustáni is a dialect of a date subsequent to the Mahometan dominion; the Assámi, the Bangáli, the Panjábi, and Nepáli: add to these Pashtu or Afghán of the Iráni Branch; and, turning Southward, Uriya, Gujaráti, Maráthi, and Sindhi. If the inquiry be extended to the Southern portions of the Indian Peninsula, consideration will have to be paid to the Dravidian Family of languages, consisting of Tamil, Malayálim, Karnáta, and Telugu. This great period, though not recorded in contemporary history, is well supplied with annals and legends, and literary documents.

III. We now come to the Historic or Tertiary Period, which divides itself into two portions, during the former of which the languages, into which new and larger life was infused by the Mahometan propagandism, predominated. By a singular chance

the three languages of this category belong to essentially different Families, and the degree of their separation is one, that cannot be indicated by any measure of time within human knowledge or speculation. Admitting that mankind sprang from a single pair, it is not easy to speculate at what distant period, the Persian, a member of the Arian Family, the Arabic, a member of the Semitic Family, and the Turki, a member of the Altaic Family, separated; yet all these poured into India with different degrees of profusion within the Historic Period, and, though the organic structure of the three is essentially different, they were all spoken by the conquering races, and have left their traces in the great lingua franca. The latter portion of this period is occupied by European languages, the Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch.

Thus much about languages; but cognizance must be taken of another great feature in the History of India. In Europe, by fair means or foul, by reason, interest, colonization, or the sword, the Christian Religion has succeeded in stamping out the ancient Religions of the older world; whatever of the early Semitic cults the Phenicians introduced into their European Colonies; whatever were the beauties or defects of the great and romantic State-worships of Greece and Rome; whatever was the savagery of the Scandinavians, or the cruelty of the Druidical rites among the old Norse and the Kelt; they have all long since perished. The great monotheistic idea of the Arabian Prophet made an analogous clean sweep of Fire-worship and all the Fetichisms of North Africa and West Asia as far as the Indus. But in India no such clean sweep has been made. As wave upon wave the new races were imported, or the new ideas were wrought out, they had, with some local and temporary exceptions, leave to expand, and have left their mark. Religious Tolerance has ever been the common law of India. We have: I. The primeval cult of the aborigines, or earliest immigrants, by whatever name they are known. Often superficially ranged among the Hindu, they differ from them essentially, and the time has come, when their language and Religion must be recognized. II. The great Brahminical polytheistic system. III. The great heresy of Buddha and the subsequent Jain development. IV. The great monotheistic dogma of Mahomet. V. The Christian Faith. With the exception of the last, all these Religious persuasions have left their mark on the nomenclature of Indian places.

A third feature is that of Races: in Europe we read of the Phenician, the Teuton, the Hellene, the Latin, the Iberian, the Northman, the Sláv, and the Kelt; all have left their mark, and many others, to mention whose names there is not space; without the historic knowledge of some, many names would have been unintelligible; of others the names themselves form the basis of

historical hypothesis. So it is in India; the student must avail himself of the ethnological knowledge accumulated during the last half century. The very names, by which some of the Provinces are known, or have in days bygone been known, the very name of India, are suggestive of historical facts. One of the results of this investigation into the meanings of names would be the preparation of maps showing by spots the comparatively sparse, or excessive, sprinkling of names of a particular race or language in particular localities. In the book under review some very striking features of the extent of the Saxon and Danish Colonies in Britain have been exhibited by the contrivance of maps prepared in the mode above described.

I now proceed to notice the most familiar of the substantival elements in Indian names. Prefixes are rare, but some few may be noted of an obvious character, and many more may come to light upon a close analysis of non-Arian names, which have, by lapse of time or perversion of articulation, been robbed of terminal, medial, and initial letters, and have hardened into rough monosyllables, or suffered capricious transposition of their composing letters. I note "Kilah," "Derah," "Chak," "Serái." The Suffixes are more numerous, and the list may be considerably enlarged. I note "bás," "abád," "kót," "patan," "púr," "garh" or "griha," "ganj," "kand," "pet," "goun" or "gong," "shahr," "serái," "nagar," "bazár," "ghát," "pind," "tál." Human nature is true to itself in all countries, and these words represent precisely the class of objects, which, a few pages back, appeared clothed in a Teutonic or Keltic dress.

I propose now to give some instances of names to illustrate each period, commencing with the latest, or Tertiary, where all is historically certain. Of the European names some are pure and unmixed with indigenous elements; some are hybrids: of the first kind are Fort William, Fort St. George, Victoria Fort, names derived from England direct: Dalhousie, Amherst, Auckland Bay, Port Canning, Fort Hastings, Wellesley Province, Montgomery, named after Governors: French Rocks, Porto Nuovo, Port Blair, Diamond Harbour, False Point, Palmyra Point, explain themselves. I myself named a tract of newly-recovered land in the District of Hoshyarpúr in the Panjáb, which I am as little likely ever to see again, as ever to forget, with the name of London, and as such it will go to posterity, explaining its own imperial origin, unless some jealous successor has changed the name to Snooks-abád or Smith-púr.

As specimens of the hybrids I give Abbotabád, Campbell-púr, Revell-ganj, Morell-ganj, Kydd-ganj, Custganj, Larkins-ganj, Barrack-púr, Edwardes-abád, George-ghar, Captain-ganj, Frazerpét, Bird-púr, Bankipúr, Malcolm-pet, etc., etc. From a linguistic point of view, there is nothing unusual or incorrect in these com-

binations; but what shall be said of the native name for Barrackpúr, "Achának," from Job Charnock, the first English inhabitant!

There is a great variety in the form of the names used to indicate Provinces, or large tracts of country: there is one set of Rohil-kand, Bandal-kand, Bhagél-kand, and another Rájpút-ána, Bhatti-ána, Hari-ána, and a third Afghánistán, Belúchistán, Hindustán, Sistán; there are archaic names such as Anga, Banga, Karnáta, Dakshina, Bhárata-Varsha, Mahárástra. All these are tribal, national, or political names; but beneath them come names, which can be traced back to physical features, such as Dún, Doár, Kohistán, Doáb, Ma-war-al-Nahr (the two latter reminding us of Mesopotamia and Peræa), Antarbed, Bar, Thál, Panjáb, Panjnad, Sind, Ságar, Sirhind.

Then comes another class of names, in which the evidence of artificial composition is most marked; such as the well-known names for the four great Doábs of the Panjáb, which are actually formed by a combination of the initial letters of their respective rivers: thus the country betwixt the rivers Bías and Satlaj is called the "Bist" Doáb; that betwixt the Bías and Ravi is called the Bari Doáb; that betwixt the Ravi and Chenáb is called the "Rechna" Doáb; that betwixt the Jhelam and Chenáb is called the "Jhach" Doáb. These names were well understood, and accepted by the people, and I am not aware of any country having names so thoroughly based on literary artifice. The same remark applies to the Province of Deraját (the encampments), and the term "Eurasian" for the descendants of people of Europe and Asia.

An interesting Chapter might be written to bring together all the lore connected with the names of Indian rivers and mountains. The five rivers of the Panjáb can all be identified with their Sanskrit names, which contain a meaning, and the Greek version of the names brought back by the historians of Alexander in an Hellenic form. The same may be said with regard to the Jamna, the Gangá, the Gogra, the Gandak, the Chambal, the Sona, which is described in Arrian by the name of "Erannoboas," the Hellenic version of "Hiranyabúja," the other name of the same river, but both equally meaning "Gold."

I come now to the secondary or historic period of names of towns or villages. The Mahometan Rulers ventured upon the fruitless enterprise of giving new names to the ancient cities of India. The Romans dared to re-name Jerusalem as Ælia, and London as Augusta, and we know from History the amount of success which attended their efforts. In some cases, at least, the Mahometan names of the great cities of India are concurrent with the old ones. Thus Dehli is known as Shahjehánabád, and Agra as Akbarabád, and Allahabád is still called Prayág, and Patna is known as Azimabád, and Chittagong as Islamabád, and Aligarh and Coel are

exchangeable terms. Famine, pestilence, and war have periodically depopulated India, and thus new locations have been made on old sites, to which often an ancient name, still clinging to the soil, is vaguely attached in the traditions of the country-side. Here we have an innocent conflict of names, but the same result has in many cases happened from fraud and violence.

Within the Historic period the adjectival portions of the name can be traced to divers reasons.

I. Dynastic. The names of sovereigns speak out in Aurangabád, Ranjítghar, Sulímpúr, Ludiánah, Jaunpúr, and in our own days, Dhulípghar.

II. Official titles, applied by way of compliment, such as Sháhpúr, and the other numerous compounds of Sháh and Rájá: Nawábganj, Wazírabád, Dewánganj, Malikpúr, and Imámganj.

III. Next come the personal names of the founders, the patrons, of which I can give but a specimen: Azimabád, Morádabád, Hoshyárpúr, Derah Fateh Khán, Begampúr, Daranagar, Jaipúr.

IV. Another class owe their names to religious causes, such as Amritsar, Dharampúr, Gurudáspúr, Islámganj, Dharamsála.

V. Next comes the tribal or professional name, though the specification has long ceased to apply. We have Gujerát, and Gujarpúr, Mhairwára, Bainswára, Gorakhpúr, Pathánkót, Gosainganj.

VI. The names of deities, saints, heroes, and temples supply another very large class, and I need only quote Rámpúr, Sitapúr, Hardwár, Sri Rámpúr, Pírnagar, Govindghar.

VII. To record a conquest or a power of successful resistance; of these we have Fatehpúr, Jaffar-abád, Ajyghar, Bijighar, Ferozabád, Ajodya.

VIII. The abundance of particular products is a natural origin to a name, such as Gúl-púr, Ambálá, Bánspúr, Bághpúr, Mahában, Machhli-shahr.

IX. A still more fertile origin of nomenclature may be found in physical features, such as Paháŕpúr, Ghátpúr, Nahrpúr, Daryáabád, Safaidkoh, Dámankoh, Uncha Deh, Himálaya.

X. Then come a vast class of cases, which come under no head, in which the name has been given much on the same principle that the ship-builder names his vessel "Polly" or "Joy." We have Anandpúr, Fáizabád, Basantpúr, Hamírpúr, Bardwán, Chándpúr, Púk Patán, and the ubiquitous analogues of the equally ubiquitous Newton, Newhaven, Newport, indicating the poverty of the wit of the first settlers, unless, perhaps, the name grew insensibly by the same process as the "East-end" and "West-end" of London are now growing.

XI. Of another class of names some have no substantival, and others no adjectival element; of the latter are Ságar, Mandi, Hissar, Kót, Tanda, Serái, Chak; of the latter are Kásí, Hazára.

XII. Lastly, I may note the numerical Prefix: as in Europe there is found Dupont, and Zweibruck, Tres Tabernæ, and Three Bridges, Six Miles End, Sevenoaks, Nine Elms; so India supplies Do Burji, Tri Mukhte, Chár Mangal, Pánch Gaun, Panjáb, Hast Nagar, Dassoah and Daska, Chaurási, Hazára, Lacca Dwipa and Nau Lakki.

Passing on to the primary or prehistoric period, I have no assistance from History, and have to grope my way through the dim light of past years without a Chronicle: in some cases there are linguistic analogies, or well-supported traditions, in others there are ingenious speculations: in a large percentage of cases, hopeless darkness. There is sometimes poetry and sentiment in the names assigned, such as Hasli (the necklace), to the Canal, which meandered through the Bari Doáb; Mála Dwipa, the necklace of islands; Karamnása, the Sin-destroyer, implying that the river so called was a kind of Jordan, in which sinners could wash and be clean; Yár Wifádár, the faithful friend to the Army, which marched down the course of the river, and drank of its waters; Wah, the ejaculation of admiration at the beauty of the spot; Jowála Mukh, the mouth of flame, a correct description of a Naphtha well.

I find analogues to the nomenclature of Europe. The meeting of waters has given names to York and Prayág, and Sangam. I have already alluded to such words as Newton and Neapolis. Shahídganj is analogous to Merthyr Tydvil. There are fanciful derivations, such as Násik from the nose of Suparnakka, there cut off by Rámá; Kaithul from Kapi Sthal; Attok, the hindrance of the river Indus; Pesháwar, the advance guard of India; Nabha, the omphalus, or navel of the Earth, a humble, but original, repetition of the Delphic boast; Rikhi-Kes, where the Ganges fell from the tangled hair of the sage, and Gangá Dwára, where it burst through the portals of the mountains. Even tombs have romantic names, such as Táj Mahál, and Anar-Kalah; the native of India talks of the whole of the World beyond India as Wiláyat, the Province, and *the place of* transportation as Kálipáni, the Black water. Other names occur, such as Bungalow, the solitary house, marked by the boatmen on the River Satlaj, as if the only one in existence, and the two small sacred lakes known as the Eyes of the World. The names of rivers are rarely unique: we find repetitions of Gangá, Swan, Tohi, everywhere, being the shadow of the original term, which meant the river. But time and space would fail us on this interesting subject, and I must cease with this remark, that the name of India had originally a local signification, which was extended by the people of the West into a term for the whole of the known country beyond the Sindh or Indus; thus the term of Asia expanded from the environs of Ephesus so as to include a vast portion of the world; thus the Greeks named the country

of the Jews Palastina, on account of their earlier acquaintance with the Philistines, the most deadly enemies of the Jews.

Other cautions must be given. Words may have worn down to precisely the same form, but from entirely different originals: in England the Suffix wick may in some cases be traced back to vicus and indicate only a village, and in other cases to wic, a bay, where ordinarily bay-salt was formed by the process of evaporation; hence the word has by analogy found its way to places, where only rock-salt is found. So in India the word tope may be traced back to Tapu, and mean an island, or a plantation of trees, or Stupa, and mean a Buddhist tomb. Bahár comes from Vihára, a monastery, and not from the word familiar as spring, and the word Medina may have either a Semitic or an Arian origin. Many a pitfall is open to the unwary from this alternative of two distinct Families of languages brought into constant hybrid connection.

Another snare may arise from too hasty ethnical deductions. The phenomenon of a large majority of the villages bearing the prefix of Saint must, and may probably with correctness, lead to the conclusion, that the district was first colonized by Christians, and in a remote corner of the world out of the passage of great tribes, and the occurrence of great events, like Cornwall, this may possibly hold good, but the North of India has been trodden down periodically by great locus-flights of nations, vast tracts have been occupied, laid waste, abandoned, land has become water, and water become land, the action of the mighty rivers has been such as is not conceivable to those, who have not left Europe; thus wave of population has followed wave, and layer has overlaid layer, extending over a vast period of time. In the time of Alexander the Great there were great and populous kingdoms in India, while Britain was in a state of savagery.

Some definite results may be attained by a percentage analysis of local names within limited areas, as soon as the names have been sorted, and distributed in classes. The occurrence of a vast number of substantival elements must lead to the fair inference of the existing settlement of sites, and boundaries dating back to the particular race, who have left their mark. Moreover, the words used for divisions of Provinces, or clusters of Villages, may lead to results. It is established that the term Hundred was introduced by the Saxon, the Wapentake by the Dane, the Rape by the Norman, and the Canton by the Kelt. May it not be that the local name of Parganah, Tapah, Talúkah, and other similar terms, can be traced back to particular epochs and races?

The Chapters on sacred sites and historic sites are replete with interest all over the old world, which has a History. The names of Battle in Sussex and Battle Flats in Yorkshire record the fact of the triumph of Harold, the son of Godwin, over Harold, the King of Norway, and his own defeat and death a few days after. The

name of Slaughter Bridge near Tintagel Castle in Cornwall tells us where King Arthur traditionally suffered his last defeat. Sanguinetto still marks the spot of Thrasymene. In India we must not connect the numerous compounds of Sekandar with Alexander the Great, any more than the compounds of Dara with Darius; but Ibrahím Lodi, Humáyun, Akbar, Sháh Jehán, Jahánghír, Aurangzíb, Farokhsir, and a host of the great men of former ages have left their names behind them. If we find no Saints recorded, there are no less unmistakable evidences of religious feeling, in the compounds of Siva, Vishnu, Krishna, Arjun, Ráma, Síta, Lakshmi, Devi, Sadh, Gosain, Brahman, Ghazi, Pír, Sayad, and others.

In the thousands of Cities, Villages, and Hamlets of India, a wider field of available inquiry is thrown open than in any other Country, if only the workmen can be found armed with knowledge, patience, and intelligence. Would that I were young to help in this work, as I was "Consule Planco," when I went in to subdue and settle the newly-annexed Districts of the Panjáb. At any rate, from the safe and long-wished-for retreat, where I have time to reflect on much that was not done well, and much that was left undone altogether, I think that I have not done wholly unwell, if, in the service of Ethnology and Philology, I have opened up the road by which younger and more vigorous spirits may advance.

London, November, 1873.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOME RULE IN INDIA.

Among the many *nostra*, which State-quacks have suggested for the cure of the evils of the Anglo-Indian system of Government, none appear more plausible and more reasonable than the application to India of the time-honoured institution of unpaid and honorary Magistrates. The question really cuts deep into the foundations of Government, and touches the secret springs of the art of subordinating the many to the few in the interest of all, which is called Civil Rule. The subject has, however, been handled very superficially: the measure has a very liberal exterior, and is very easily brought into a nominal existence, and thus it has obtained favour in many quarters, and support from many men. As one of the phenomena of the times, it deserves a careful examination.

The Anglo-Indian Government has always set up the character of being conducted on the highest principles, that is to say, for the benefit of the people, the mass of our subjects. In spite of the abuse and contempt, which have been lavished upon the grand old Regulations of Lord Cornwallis, no unprejudiced reader can rise from their perusal without a high idea of the benevolence and wisdom, which dictated them. A great contrast is in this respect presented by the avowed principles and practice of the Dutch Government of Java, a Government essentially on low principles, under which the people went absolutely for nothing, and the energy of the rulers was directed to the expansion of a culture to benefit European speculators, and the shareholders of a Home Company. So deeply ingrained in the spirit and consciences of the Civil servants of British India is the feeling, that the rule of the British can only exist, if it tend to the benefit of India, that it is to that instinct, that is to be traced the resistance, offered by the public servants to the interlopers, towards whom sympathy of education, country, and religion, would naturally have attracted them.

Another feature of the Anglo-Indian system was the entire absence of the aristocratic element, which exerts so powerful an influence in the Mother-Country. A proper subordination of rank

to rank, and grade to grade, in the Official hierarchy, was found to co-exist without difficulty with a complete sense of equality of man with man. Every Englishman considered himself as good as any other Englishman. Even a wider phraseology has been assumed, and the whole community has been grouped upon a European platform. It is only with difficulty, that the social distinctions of the educated and the gently born are maintained, and the distinction between classes is scarcely observed in a community, where every one considers himself just as good as his neighbour, and, finding it convenient to ignore his own antecedents, spares himself the trouble of inquiry as to the birth and education of any one else. The same principle has been extended to natives, and the vulgar theory, that one black man is as good as any other black man, has often been offensively and practically acted upon. Indeed, one of the complaints made by the better classes on the conquest of any new Province is, that the English try to be just to all, but make no distinction of persons. The civilly disposed treats noble and peasant with the same civility, and the man of loose speech and unrestrained hands treats all classes with the same want of sympathy, and with the same disregard.

Till within a few years the idea of associating unpaid and honorary agents in the State machinery of Government never entered into the heads of any one, and, when the convulsion caused by the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 suggested the expediency and necessity of giving the upper classes some interest in the maintenance of British rule, the idea was in some Provinces coldly received, in others it was so rashly worked out, that the experiment has signally failed, and a reform, the germ of which was healthy, has become an object of ridicule from the folly of those, who hastily adopted it.

Emphatically, in India we sit upon a volcano. We neither know, nor do we seem to care, in which direction the next eruption of compressed force will take place: that it will take place before long, there is no doubt. Some sudden spark may set the Empire in a blaze, and, if a European war were raging at the same time, we should be quite unable to cope with difficulties on a grand scale. All the plaster of European civilization will then fall off, and we shall find ourselves in a struggle with races, of whose aspirations, and of whose genius, we are utterly ignorant. This is the vice of our centralizing and delocalizing system.

Whenever I heard the shortcoming of our administration denounced, and with a sigh I was obliged to admit it, the thought has passed through my mind: "How do they manage these things elsewhere?" Given a great people to be governed, and the best intentions on the part of the Rulers, what is the best combination of men and material, of theory and practice, to effect the purpose? Looking inwards for assistance and example, I found nothing but the bitterest prejudices and most selfish class interests on one side, and

the most apathetic indifference or virulent opposition on the other. The great Mother-country, disfigured by insular eccentricities, vaunting absurd customs, which nothing but the lapse of centuries would render tolerable, incapable of organic reforms, and intolerant of alien races and religions, is no more an example for Oriental Administrations than is London in an architectural point of view for cities elsewhere. Looking outwards, my attention was attracted by the institutions of Turkey, the most degraded, but the most orientalized of European monarchies, and those of France, the most recently and most highly organized. With these thoughts in my mind, in 1852 I visited Turkey, and have reasons for believing, that British India is not the most misgoverned country in Asia; and in 1856 and 1857, I visited France, sat in her Courts of Justice, considered her systems, and her Judicial organization.

The Turkish Government have adopted, in their system of managing conquered Provinces, entirely opposite principles. Instead of being rendered subject to all the laws of their Mohametan conquerors, the Christian communities are allowed to govern themselves, and have no relations to the State, except that of paying tribute. Although these communities are not safe from lawless acts of tyranny, and are reminded from time to time, that they are a conquered people, yet they are never interfered with as the citizens of European States are, for the sake of uniformity and good government. Most of their institutions and laws are so completely their own, and administered by themselves, that they might almost be said to form independent republics in the midst of a Military Empire. Moreover, the Heads of each nationality are in the pay of the Government, and find their own interest and their own dignity in maintaining the existing state of affairs, and under ordinary circumstances would be the first to convey intelligence of an impending storm. Such a system of rule is incompatible with the high notions of a Christian Government, which looks upon subject nations as solemn trusts committed to their charge in the great interests of humanity.

When I examined the French Institutions, I discovered that the men, who planted the foundation of the legal system, were not lawyers, who looked on Courts as preserves for their sport and profit, but citizens and statesmen. The great curse of all Courts is the delays, the expenses and the distance to be travelled by litigants and witnesses. So much also depends upon local inspection, and special knowledge: so much may be done to stay a suit in initio by a few words of conciliation, by a correct expounding of the law, or a mild reasoning with wrong-headed persons. Parties, once committed to a struggle, forget the origin of the affair in the excitement of the struggle. The pugnacious feelings of a man are excited, and he unblushingly exposes the secrets of his family; he makes disingenuous suppressions of the truth, or hazards through

a hireling spokesman downright falsehood. Cases of an entangled nature arise, which none but those, whose daily life is spent on them, can satisfactorily decide. The Assembly recognized these wants, and instituted: I. Juges des Paix. II. Conseil des Prud'hommes. III. Tribunal de Commerce. IV. Conseil de Famille. It is to these that the attention of the Indian Legislature requires more particularly to be drawn, for in all attempts at "conciliation," in all effective use of "experts," "municipal institutions," or "family organizations," we are sadly deficient.

Is there no way in which the people of India can be employed to their own profit in the task of self-government? Are there no details of the Executive and Judicial machine, which can safely be trusted to Honorary agency? Can no assistance be derived from the general public? Much every way, but that assistance must be sought for in a manner suitable to the habits of the people, and in a mode, which harmonizes with those institutions which we introduced, and to those principles of good government which we cannot as Christians abandon. I proceed to enumerate them.

I. Municipal organizations for executive duties. II. City and rural Councils for the expression of opinions, and representation of grievances. III. Honorary Police Officers. IV. Arbitrators under the guidance of Civil Courts and Jurors. V. Assessors in Criminal Trials. VI. Jurors for discovery of local customs, or definement of landmarks. VII. Tribunals of Commerce. VIII. Honorary Boards of City Magistrates. IX. Honorary Registrars of Deeds. X. Councils for adjudications of trade disputes. XI. Councils of conciliation in family quarrels.

It must be remembered, that in India there are no educated classes living on the capital realized by their ancestors. The Service of the Government is the aspiration of the educated classes, and the remainder live by petty trades and manufactures, or by agriculture. It is true, that every one seems to find unlimited leisure for holidays and pilgrimages, but this arises from the uneconomic distribution of labour, and the fact, that at least three men are found doing the work which might be well done by one. The more wealthy classes are generally very luxurious and very lazy, and, as a rule, entirely devoid of public spirit. Power, if desired at all, is coveted as an instrument of oppression, an engine of revenge, or a means of unlawful gain. It must also not be forgotten, that in India race has trodden out, or rather trodden down, race, religion has jostled with religion, and the community itself, like the language which it uses, and the dress which it wears, is made up of heterogeneous elements, which no time or art ever will weld or fuse together. Thus, in any attempt to make use of the people, we are met with irreconcilable claims of dignity, and inextinguishable animosities and contentions. A new element of discord is flung into a family by the unexpected and uncoveted

elevation of one member to an unsuitable dignity, leading to false accusations, bribery, anonymous petitions, and even midnight assassinations. The gaols of some districts hold prisoners, who might never have erred, but for this additional poison introduced into the body corporate.

I proceed to notice in detail the functions, which may be entrusted to honorary agents.

I. Municipalities. In every city or town there is the germ of this organization, which has only to be regulated and developed. We must neither be deceived by the snare of the reformed corporations of England, nor by the degraded shadow, which has been allowed to survive in such countries as Turkey. It has been remarked by a writer well acquainted with the subject, that the municipal institutions of Turkey amounted to little more than an arrangement for facilitating the collection of the taxes. Fiscal convenience was the end and object of the institution. Each district or town was assessed to pay a certain amount, and the re-partition of that was left to the Municipality. The system was, therefore, too intimately connected with a bad system of taxation to become the means of training a nation to freedom and justice. The alien ruler allied himself with the chief people in a league of plunder of the poorer classes. We must start therefore on the basis, that the Municipality has nothing to do with *Imperial taxation, or the administration of Justice*. The principle should be that of election of a limited number, with reference to the peculiar size and constitution of the community for a fixed period. No hereditary claim should be admitted. The members must be of good character and repute, in full possession of their faculties, resident, and in tolerable circumstances. Their duties should be to provide for the conservancy of the town, and be the mouth-piece and representative of their fellow-citizens. Byelaws for their guidance should be drawn up, steering clear of the two rocks of slavish subservience to the Officers of Government and complete independence. Gradually, as the art of self-government is learnt, and liberty is distinguished from licence, the reins should be relaxed, and the influence of the local Officer be felt more by advice than by orders, and in this way the next generation may be trained.

By such a Municipality would be arranged the form, which local rating is to assume, and the mode of collection: penalties would be enforced on their prosecution. The assessments for the Municipal Police, being a contribution to the Police fund of the Province, must be fixed for the year in consultation with the Officers of Government, but the remainder should be spent at the discretion of the Committee, subject to a formal audit and report. Conservancy, improvement, and ornamentation of streets, erection of public buildings, and the numerous petty details, which vex the hearts of Magistrates, should be made over to the Municipal body, who

will communicate freely but demi-officially with the Magistrate, upon whose intelligence, forbearance, and knowledge of mankind, much will depend. Unless there are funds to spend, such a body is not required. If they are properly constituted, the members should be allowed free scope to work, and not be crushed, or humiliated. At the same time there should be no plundering, no civil jobbing, no oppression of the lower classes, and, if the lethargy of the upper classes induce a stagnation, the Officers of Government must resume those powers, which were delegated neither to be abused, nor to be neglected.

II. But another and more crying want will be supplied by such Municipalities. As already remarked, we daily walk upon volcanoes: we neither know the feelings of the subject millions nor do we care. It would be ludicrous, if it were not dangerous, to read the reports of some District-Officer vouching, as if by inspiration, for the opinions of the hundreds of thousands, whom he is supposed to represent. Round each European community, like flies round the honey-pot, flutter and bask a few select sycophants and toadies, who represent to the official eye the general Public. As well-dressed natives, with a conventional fawn and flatter, they get access to the Ruler, to urge their own or their neighbour's cases. At odd times, they feel the direction, in which the Court-wind blows, and trim their sails accordingly. Thus are accounted for the inconsistent opinions forwarded at different times from the same locality, being the reflection of the same thing through different coloured glasses. Moreover, there are subjects, on which the best natives would give wrong opinions, or partial opinions. Let us reflect on the suggestions with regard to Polygamy, Divorce, or the treatment of women, which a Mahometan Deputy-Collector of lax morality would tender, or the advice with regard to Rent-rates, which would be gleaned from a council of landowners. The only remedy to this evil is to hold periodical City and Provincial Councils in each District, for the expression of opinions, and the representation of grievances. The city Municipalities and the village Headmen, as legally constituted, should be convened annually, and oftener if required, to form the common Council of the District, or subdivision of District. The new measure should be propounded and explained. The secret grievance, long gnawing the vitals of the community, would be boldly spoken out, or guessed from the murmurings. The corrupt Official would then, by general acclamation, be denounced; many a mistaken idea would be removed both on the side of the governors and the governed, and even, where the State-Official could not concede a cherished wish, or yield to a deep-rooted antipathy, still he could explain the motives, and ask for toleration to a measure, in which concurrence was hopeless.

III. I now pass to the honorary Police-Officer. The organi-

zation of the Police has been of one great, though indirect, advantage, in that it has drawn a distinct line of severance betwixt the Executive Police duties of the public prosecutor and the judicial duties of the Magistrate or Judge. They were too much blended in olden times, although essentially different. It is the duty of the Policeman to take *passive* cognizance of every offence, and to report it in his diary, and to take active cognizance of certain offences, in which the State, as the representative of Society, determines to prosecute. So also it is the duty of the general public to give information to the Police of the occurrence of certain offences, and to assist the Police under all circumstances. Then it often happens, that the people have the knowledge without the power or inclination to act, while the Police who have the power are deficient in knowledge. Moreover, under the new procedure the proceedings of the Police are brief and simple: he records no deposition, and hazards no opinion as to the guilt of the offender. The chief qualifications of a Police-Officer are honesty, intelligence, and local knowledge, and these are often found in the person of the Rural Notable, who is to be met with in every District, though under different designations. He is one of the people, but slightly in advance of his neighbours. Under the old regime he occupied a position of considerable importance, which he often abused, but under our levelling system he has been reduced below what is his due, and has lost a sphere of great usefulness. Such an individual vested with Police-powers and remunerated by an annual payment, supplies the hiatus, which yawns between the stipendiary Police and the people. Nothing escapes his ken, and the real history of each mysterious occurrence, which baffles the alien detective, cannot long escape the influential denizen with his secret channels of information. I am, therefore, in favour of this measure, but the selection must be cautious. If the class of men do not exist, they cannot be created. Where they do exist, the precise duties must be explained. They must know what they may, or may not, do, and they must be carefully watched and loyally supported by the District-Officer. The snare must be avoided of attempting to encourage a cheap Police in this way. It is not economy, but efficiency, which is sought for by the measure: a wise forbearance should be exercised, and technical errors be overlooked, if essential justice has been done.

IV. Arbitration has always been had recourse to in our Civil Courts, and provision is made to remunerate the arbitrators, who are withdrawn from their proper duties. Under native rule this is the only machinery for the adjudication of disputes: under our rule it is a very favourite one; but when the Court undertakes to execute the award of arbitrators, it must have some guarantee for the correctness of the decisions. The evil report, which has attached to this mode of employing Honorary agents, has arisen

from the unskilful and careless handling of arbitrators by judicial officers. It is not enough to make over the case to parties, whose names are suggested by the litigants; but the issues must be carefully drawn, and the matter to be disposed of by the arbitrators must be set before them distinctly, and they must understand, that beyond these points they must not go, and that their award must be so framed, as to be capable of execution by the Court. With these precautions their awards should be final, except on proof of corruption or mis-direction. The greatest care should be taken to relieve the arbitrators from the irksomeness of long journeys and long delays, and the services of the same persons should not be repeatedly pressed; and never should distinguished and respectable individuals be called upon against their wishes to arbitrate in the petty concerns of their humbler neighbours.

V. As Assessors and Jurors in Criminal cases, the better classes can be employed with great advantage to themselves and to the cause of justice. By the Code of Criminal Procedure provisions have been made, and one or other of these two alternatives must be adopted by every Sessions Judge. When jurors are made use of, their verdict is final, and here is the difficulty. Grave doubts are entertained of the entire suitability of juries, even where centuries and generations have made them part of our common law and common life; but the people of this country are timid, ignorant, and superstitious, and when juries are employed, we must take account for the escape of many an undoubted offender. With assessors there is not the same risk. When well-handled by the presiding Judge, they form an important link between the witnesses and the Judge, the interpreters of many an imperfectly understood phrase, the suggestors of many a clinching question. The greatest pains should be taken to prevent their labours becoming irksome to juror or assessor, and some remuneration should be given, when real loss has been incurred. As a rule, the natives of this country can always find leisure for a holiday or a wedding, and should be taught that every good citizen must serve his country.

VI. Jurors to be convened occasionally for other purposes, and the discharge of duties, which no one but themselves can adequately perform. When a local custom has to be discovered, or a Family or Tribal law has to be placed beyond doubt, this can be only effected by the convening of the notables of the neighbourhood in sufficient number so as to secure notoriety, knowledge, and impartiality.

VII. I now pass to Tribunals of Commerce. In no particular does the type of an ancient civilization appear more conspicuous than in the mercantile relations of the people of India. Principles of book-keeping, laws of bankruptcy, partnership, and agency, a boundless system of credit and exchange, force themselves on the notice of the Judge charged with the trial of civil suits. It is

much doubted, whether intricate cases involving questions of mercantile law are disposed of in a manner, that is creditable to the Judge, or satisfactory to the parties. Often cases are kept back from the Courts, and attempts made to work out a private compromise. It is, therefore, most expedient, that Tribunals of Commerce should be constituted in all marts and entrepôts of commerce. A list of notable citizens of unblemished commercial reputation should be prepared, and a certain number each year should form the Tribunal, which should act in concert with the Civil Judge of the city without any independent jurisdiction. For instance, when a suit has been lodged in the Court, the issues should be carefully drawn, and the case then made over to the Tribunal, who would forward their award to the Court to be embodied into a Decree: thus, the advantage of local knowledge and judicial exactness would be combined. Where the unpaid agent fails, is in want of system and exactness; where the paid Judge fails, is in want of local knowledge and patience in unravelling complicated accounts.

VIII. Against any employment of individuals as Honorary Magistrates, and Honorary Civil Judges, I protest. The absurdities, which have been perpetrated in this direction, baffle all description. There is something on the first blush of the scheme so liberal, so practical, so English-like: visions are called up of the Country-Squire, not that he has always proved impeccable, when the case before him involved the atrocious crime of poaching. But ever since the time that Lord Canning, himself sprung from the people, went in for aristocratic principles, the cry has been taken up by many popularity-hunting politicians, who in their own country would be democrats. Thus, it has happened, that in the Panjáb and Oude, the wolves have been formally vested with judicial power over the sheep, and many a Jaghírdar and Talúkdar, who had a few years before been shorn of powers to injure, which he had abused, found himself legally vested with powers Criminal, Civil, and (Heaven save the mark!) Revenue, over the unfortunate people, who by their ill-luck fell under his black shadow. The time may come when both the classes, above alluded to, may be extinct. If it be asked, what is the difference between a Jaghírdar and a Talúkdar, it may be replied, that it is something like the difference betwixt a crocodile and an alligator, the same ravenous power, but a slightly different snout and a differently shaped, though equally capacious, jaw and belly. *Alieni appetens sui profusus*, is the motto of this class. They are ignorant, selfish, indolent, and have not any qualification for the distribution of Justice, which, if done at all, is done by corrupt underlings. Yet while the greatest pains were being taken to improve the administration of Justice, by the examination of Government-Servants, and the introduction of Codes of law, at the same time these savages

were vested with powers and jurisdictions formed for their amusement, or gratification, or glorification. So over-sanguine were the partizans of this measure, that in the reports of a Province, famous for fulsome praise, I find that an actual change in the appearance of the people owing to this measure is vouched for as visible to the naked eye. One native Magistrate was praised for the efficient discharge of his duties during a period, at the close of which he had not actually been invested. One kindly old Honorary Civil Magistrate, at a loss how to decide a Civil suit, ordered a Decree for the plaintiff, and an order on his own treasurer to reimburse the defendant. Everything was gradually becoming Honorary, up to the time of the advent of Lord Lawrence, a Viceroy of very different experiences, and sentiments. I believe that the tide turned, just when Honorary School-Masters were about to be appointed. The next step would have been Honorary Surgeons and Vaccinators. The extreme left of this school proposed something like the abolition of all fixed Tribunals, and the substitution of migratory Courts composed of white-robed agriculturists convened under shady groves to sweep up the petty disputes of the vicinage, and pass on. Common sense and a sense of ridicule triumphed, and these schemes have been abandoned. Some of these Honorary Officials died; some were dismissed for gross misconduct, or for political misdemeanor; and I understand that the number was not added to. It is asserted that all the loud-mouthed champions of an injured Rája, the men who write little volumes in defence of Native States, and in abuse of the British Government, invariably are found to have native domestic ties. I cannot vouch for this by an exhaustive examination, but I can lay down another axiom, that the advocates of these wild schemes of Honorary agencies, and making over to the people to do gratuitously work for the performance of which they are highly paid themselves, are generally busy triflers, with vast arrears of business, which they ought to have got through.

The truth seems to be that, so long as we collect the State-Revenue, we are bound to provide the best machinery for the administration of Justice that is available; we are bound to seek out, and train in our schools and colleges, natives of good family, good education, and good repute, to pay them well, treat them well, control them well, give them a good day's wages for a good day's work, receive them with honour and respect, and excite them to secure a good name among their fellow-countrymen. Unpaid labour is notoriously bad labour; unskilled labour is notoriously bad labour also. It is idle to suppose, that it takes years to qualify a man to be a surgeon, or a school-master, and that any one is good enough to dispense Justice. How little they know of the difficulty, who say so! Honest men have openly declined to undertake honorary duties, which must, if properly discharged, occupy a great

deal of their time. Dishonest men will jump at such duties from the indirect advantages, especially as regards coercing or frightening the agriculturists, which they anticipate. I trust that this policy has worked itself out, never again to be had recourse to.

These remarks apply to the rural jurisdictions, which have been carried out for the express benefit of particular individuals, without the least consideration for judicial fitness. In cities and towns, however, there are sometimes found men of respectability and education, who, having retired from active business, are not unwilling to lend themselves to the service of Government, and constitute a Board of Magistrates for the disposal of petty cases. Their numbers secure honesty, the immediate presence of the Magistrate prevents abuse of power: the residence in cities guarantees a certain degree of education, respectability, and character. This measure differs *in toto* from the vesting a single ignorant jungle-savage with power, at a distance from control, over the very people, who require being protected from him.

IX. The idea of a Honorary Registrarship of Deeds has been suggested, but it appears to be just one of those duties, which should be entrusted to a paid agency only, because, unless honesty and accuracy are secured, the object of registration is lost, and the dispute is transferred from the question of the truth of the transaction to the correctness of the Register. It is a mistake to suppose, that in any part of the world people will be found to discharge any routine duty for strangers gratuitously. The Honorary Registrar would certainly, before very long, require an unauthorized remuneration to induce him to discharge his duties. Why not allow him fees at once? Then, if fees are allowed, there is no difference between him and any other stipendiary. If the real meaning of the movement be to induce respectable members of the non-official classes to undertake the duties of Registrar on the authorized remuneration, there can be no objection, but such an employment is not Honorary.

X. A Court of Industrial Judges, or, in other words, a Council for the adjudication of trade-disputes, should be established in every large manufacturing town, to assist the Civil Judge in settling disputes betwixt workmen and masters. A difference composed by advice is better than a strife decided by a judgment. The Council should be elective, and composed of masters and workmen, and formed of two chambers. The former should assemble in private for the purpose of conciliation, and the latter in public to adjudicate in those cases, where the friendly attempts of the first chamber have failed. It often happens, that disputes with regard to wages or apprentices arise, which are entirely unintelligible to the ordinary Court, but which are capable of easy solution, if brought before such a tribunal as I now propose.

XI. Councils of conciliation for Family-quarrels.

Numerous are the cases of discord in a family, which should never see the light, but which, under the unfeeling policy of the Anglo-Indian Courts, are brought at once into the broad glare of the Court amidst the shame of the litigants, and the derision of the by-standers. Numerous are the cases of doubt and difficulty, especially in the family of the widow, the minor, and the issue of double or ill-assorted marriages, where the voice of legitimate authority is required to compose the strife, and arrange for the future. The sudden death of the head of the house sets rival wives, the mothers of rival families, by the ears. Step-son is rancorous against step-mother. Each demands more, and gets less than his own right. The village or quarter of the town is scandalized at the curtain being raised, that screened the privacy of a respectable citizen, whose body, if a Mahometan, is still feasting the jackals in the adjoining cemetery, or whose ashes, if a Hindu, are still tied up in a napkin, preparatory to their transport to the Ganges. Respectable men with tears in their eyes have sought the advice of the English Judge in such hard cases, and sought it in vain. There is no alternative betwixt dragging into Court the wife of their father, or submitting to be deprived of the jewels and paraphernalia of their own deceased mother. The accounts of the firm have to be laid open in full Court before half-brothers can relax the grip on each other's throat, which commenced on the death of their parent. The minor is plundered from want of system in his household. No dowry is forthcoming for the orphan-girl. For the settlement of such difficulties the admirable institution of Family-Councils presents a ready remedy. Composed of the agnates and cognates of the family, it should be convened by the Judge. All attempts to deceive them will fall through: ordinarily they will have the credit of the family at heart, and even supposing that they could not get the litigants of the family to agree to their award, still their recorded opinion of what is right, and their discovery of the value of the property, will furnish the regular Courts with materials for a proper Decree.

There may be other occasions, on which the assistance of the people may be solicited and obtained in the management of civil affairs: but it must always be in subordination to the constituted Tribunals, and acting as an auxiliary, and not as an independent, agency. I do not say that, as the people are habituated to self-government, they may not be entrusted with larger powers. I see with satisfaction that natives are members of the Council of the Provinces, and of the Council of the Empire. I am glad to hear of their forming themselves into associations, and assembling to discuss political questions. I am glad to hear of their establishing organs of public opinion, and availing themselves of all the constitutional methods of influencing, checking, and advising the Government. I rejoice to see them in high Office, members of the

highest Court of Judicature, and filling numerous stipendiary Offices in every part of the Empire. What I object to is the tempting them by sinister motives to discharge the sacred duties of a Judge gratuitously. It was officially reported, that one Honorary Judge did not like the trouble of deciding civil suits: he did not object to decide Revenue cases: probably he was a party concerned in them. Analyze the motives of any one of the petty Chiefs, whom impulsive Governors have turned into Magistrates, Civil Judges, and Police Officers, and they may be generally reduced to a wish to increase their own importance, and feather their own nests.

I have the liveliest sympathy with the unrepresented people of India, scattered in their thousands of villages, congregated in their hundreds of towns. Belonging to a school now dying out, I have spent years among the people, and learnt to love and respect them: they have no horses or elephants to lend to the Englishman, no banquets or dances to invite them to; they make no great show at a Durbar, but they are the people, whose interests should be dear to us. My heart's desire is to see them educated and elevated, and in due time they will see things more clearly than they do now. But the improvement must be upwards. With the hereditary scoundrel, who, gross, vicious, cowardly, ignorant, selfish, pitiless, places his bloated person betwixt the Government and the people, I wish to have nothing to do. In times past he may have had his use, but the present belongs to the industrious agriculturist, the enterprising merchant, the men of education, and the men of character.

And nowhere in the French institutions do we find the black spot, which disgraced our own, the distinction betwixt man and man, the enactment of one law for one class of British subjects, and a second for one less favoured. The French have introduced the best systems in their power, and enforce it alike on all, circumcised or uncircumcised, whether a citizen or a stranger. It is taking the very lowest view of our position in India to have such a care for the Anglo-Saxon only amidst the great family of nations. Let the American citizen, the French, the German settler, take his chance, but the Yorkshireman and Irishman be protected. It is a low view to care only for the white faces (including some very yellow ones, by courtesy European British subjects), and not to remember, that this country was given to us, that we might deal justly with the vast indigenous population, and give them the very best, cheapest, and simplest forms of Justice, that Science can suggest, or energy work out.

CALCUTTA, 1865.

CHAPTER IX.

DETUR DIGNIORI, OR THE MODE OF DISPENSING PUBLIC PATRONAGE IN INDIA.

EXAMINATION is the order of the day; it is the particular feature, perhaps snare, of the last half of the nineteenth century. In its two developments, either as competition based on a maximum, or qualifications based on a minimum, it has gradually inserted itself into every department of the State, civil or military, home or colonial. I expect that, before long, the principle will invade even domestic privacy, and that servants generally, partners probably, and wives possibly, will be selected with reference to tests, evidenced by certificates, and that all mankind in the great arena in the world will be docketed as good, indifferent, or bad: a great many false outward shows will no doubt be unmasked, but on the other hand much modest, but undemonstrative, merit will thus be trampled on.

I am a radical reformer by training and conviction, and never oppose the idea of the age, so long as it is not opposed to morality or religion. The real revolutionist is your obstinate conservative, who, by opposing inevitable progress, brings on a catastrophe: by floating on the advance wave of reform and progress, but with the rudder firm in hand, much may be done to prevent a popular idea being exaggerated into a burlesque, or shrivelled up into dry form. We cannot lay this monster, which is the result of the Educational fervour of the last fifty years: let us try to control it. We may find a good servant, where there would certainly have been a bad master.

Is competition then a snare? Is the trouble taken by Government to secure qualified employés thrown away? Have the fool, the inert, the nephew of my uncle, the brother of my wife, the good sort of young man, to whose relations I am indebted, the fellow who plays the flute, the younger son who has outrun the constable, a right to a monopoly of the good things of Office? These are the questions before us; if any one denies the right alluded to in the latter question, he must affirm, more or less, the principle laid down in the former, for there are but three roads,

Seniority, Patronage, Merit. Now Seniority implies a beginning from one of the two other sources, it can only deal with men in Office, and no Government could be carried on on its principles only. Patronage soon degenerates into nepotism; it has almost become synonymous for it. Merit can only be ascertained by some sort of test, that of examination for aspirants, and of practical official life for employés. All the rest is chance.

There is nothing new under the sun, and the opponents of the new principle, failing in argument, have been glad to attack it by making it appear ludicrous; and a volume upon the Chinese, published by Mr. Meadows in 1856, in which we find scores of things discussed, which have no connection with China, gave them the opportunity. It appears, that in China there has always existed a regular system of examinations for public posts, which are in consequence monopolized by a certain literary Caste, and moreover the tests are not practical, but dogmatical. Commissioner Yeh boasted that he knew "Taoli," and that that was enough. Now this is the exaggerated phase of the system, and is useful only as teaching us what to avoid. At any rate, the idea was not borrowed from the Chinese; if ever there was a popular movement, it is this. In every society, in every variety of human affairs, there are always two parties, those who are in, and those who are out; only a certain portion of mankind can enjoy the good things of the world, and to those, who are in possession, it appears the simplest thing, that this should be the case. But to those, who are out of possession, it is always a mystery, a grievance, and a secret thorn, and periodically causes a great up-heaving of discontented spirits. In former days the "out" party were content to do their best to get themselves "in," but the spread of Education has produced another cry, and at a meeting in London in 1857, it was openly asserted, that it was a right of the people to have all posts under Government thrown open to public competition, and the abuse of Parliamentary influence once and for ever abandoned. The beneficial effect, which such a measure would have on the spread of Education, was mentioned as an incidental advantage; but the posts under Government were claimed as the inheritance of Great Britain's sons, without favour or prejudice, and it was pointed out, that Government would be better served by the introduction of better men.

Many things have combined to strengthen the general feeling: the disasters in the Crimea exposed beyond power of defence the unsatisfactory mode in which appointments in every Department in Great Britain were filled up. The telegram received by Lord Raglan, and cruelly divulged, "Take care of Dowb," will never be forgotten. The increase of Parliamentary corruption was traced to the same cause: unfit men were appointed, because a pressure was brought to bear upon Ministers by their supporters. At the same time the

patronage of India had to be disposed of, and a very different cause produced the same result. By degrees the Army has been infected, and all the professional branches have been thrown open, and, if this state of things continue, for the fools, who are now in course of gestation, or who are still under age, it will be no easy matter to win a living; for hereafter, if a man's wits do not help him, he may be pretty certain, that his friends cannot. Now as it is a received fact, that every family has one fool at least, if not more, we must expect, that there will be a large body of malcontents with the new idea.

But there is no peace for the wicked, even after they have entered their profession; for the idea of the age has not only embittered the sweets of a nomination by insisting on a certified efficiency, but it has fenced round promotion in the junior grades in a most insufferable way. The Commander-in-Chief in England, and the Governor-General in India, have done this wrong to the Army and Civil Service, and most unpleasant and irksome it is to have to study, when a few years ago the only duty was to draw pay. But as yet open competition has not invaded the ranks of the Service, and a minimum qualification is still deemed sufficient, but the Public has great faith in the system of unrestricted competition: it has steadily made its way: every year brought over some new converts from the ranks of those, by whom it had been at first opposed: it has proved itself to be stronger than all Parliaments and all Governments, superior in short to all the influences which could be brought to bear against it. An Order in Council dated May 21, 1855, was passed, appointing a Civil Service Commission to conduct examinations of all young men proposed to be appointed to junior situations in the Civil Establishments. Nomination was to remain as before with the heads of departments, but dependent on a certified qualification, and moreover a period of probation would be passed in all cases, during which conduct and capacity were to be submitted to tests. Provision was made, that, when persons of mature years and *special* qualifications were appointed, the Chief of the Department must formally record the fact, which would justify an exemption from examination. In March, 1856, the first Report of the Civil Service Commissioners was presented to Parliament. Their report most entirely justifies the measure, and it presents a curious insight into official life, and a sufficient exposure of official prejudices. The Commissioners had great difficulties to contend with in their desire to keep all departments in harmony, for, though the Chiefs were all with them, the hungry underlings, with their imperfectly educated sons and nephews, opposed, as far as they dared. The cry was raised, that there would be a risk of not getting such gentlemanly men, and that school-proficiency was not the only test: this was especially amusing, as the very same cry was raised by the opponents of the

principle of competition as regards the Civil Service of India; from which we gather that all those, who are in possession of place and power, are, by courtesy of official parlance, gentlemanly. However, the small end of the wedge was got well in, and out of 1078 persons nominated to hold places under Government, 309, or nearly one-third, were rejected, for bad spelling, bad writing, and bad arithmetic, and the Commissioners in the Appendix supply some charming specimens of the proficiency of Parliamentary nominees. They remark, that the frequent occurrence in candidates of deficiency in the simplest elements of knowledge arises from the fact, that many of the inferior appointments are made without personal knowledge of the fitness of the party, on the recommendation of some person, who is desirous not of supplying the public with a useful officer, but of making a competent provision for a friend. This reads like bitter irony and hidden satire. I remember the case of an Undergraduate of Oxford who passed in Theology and Philosophy (Heaven save the mark!) and was plucked in Arithmetic.

The Order in Council expressly excluded competitive examinations, confining the measure entirely to the certified minimum, but some of the Chiefs of Departments were more liberal than the collective Council, and the Secretary for the Colonies expressed a wish that, when vacancies occurred for a writership in Ceylon, several candidates should contend, that the best qualified might be appointed. The Commissioners remark, that both in the competitive examination for clerks in their own and other Offices, those who had succeeded in obtaining the appointments possessed higher attainments than those who had come in on nomination, and that if it were adopted as the usual course to nominate several candidates, to compete for each vacancy, the expectation of the ordeal would act most beneficially upon the education and industry of those young men, who were looking forward to public employment.

These examinations were conducted both in London and the Provinces: the age of candidates was fixed with reference to the nature of the duty: the health was certified by a Medical Officer, and the character by some respectable person, but the responsibility of this last most difficult subject rested with the head of the particular department under the system of nomination. Each department submitted their own scheme of examination, yet in the opinion of the Commissioners, after making every allowance for difference of standard, a common ground for one general examination might be attained, which should be indispensable to all, and which should serve as a species of matriculation, tending rather to exclude candidates who do not possess necessary qualification, than to designate absolutely the candidate considered to be best fitted for a particular vacancy. All that the Commissioners require of the candidates, and really they could not ask for less, is:

I. To write a good hand. II. To spell correctly. III. To write a simple letter grammatically. IV. To be conversant with the elementary portions of Arithmetic. The "specialities" of each department would only be inquired into, when the indispensable qualification standard had been reached. I really think, that the Commissioners could not have required less, and might well be blamed for not having demanded more, of the elegant and dapper young men, who fill the public offices in England. They certainly are not paid highly, nor do they work very energetically. I have viewed with admiration, in some of the public Offices, the calm and self-satisfied air of the Official, the smoothly-shaved chin, the neat necktie, the irreproachable costume, the easy way, in which he turns over the leaves of his book, or deigns to commit his views to foolscap, with occasional refreshment from his sandwich-box, a glance at the broad sheet of the *Times*, or a chat with his neighbours in the adjoining curtained partition, and I wondered how such a man would comport himself, if his destiny had doomed him to grow a red beard, while hunting down rebels in Oudh, or to sit in shirt sleeves with the thermometer at one hundred, judging the subject millions in the Panjáb. I have been puzzled in England to find out exactly the limit betwixt the mere copyist, the Bábu of the Indian Office, and the intellectual workman. In India the Official, defined as a clerk, is, however respectable, admitted to be socially inferior, can be sent for, and, if necessary, kept standing; but the roughest and readiest of non-regulation Officials could not have the heart to keep standing, or speak curtly to, one of the gentlemanly young clerks of the Home Offices.

I now proceed to notice briefly the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of disqualifications. There can be but one opinion on the merits of this Order, that, when a young man has entered a profession, he should qualify himself for the proper performance of his duties, and as human flesh is weak in the Army as elsewhere, the only way to test that qualification is by examination, which is to be strictly practical and professional, and to take place on the occasion of rising from one grade to another. There is no pretence, that an Officer should be a bookworm or a scholar, or a mathematical genius: all that is required is, that he should be in reality, as well as name, a soldier in the same sense as his contemporaries are lawyers, clergymen, and sailors. It is an index of the perverted state of public opinion in some quarters, that even this proposition encountered opposition. Louder and deeper were the expressions of dissatisfaction against the rules with regard to filling up all Staff appointments in future. The exposure in the Crimea has at least been productive of some advantage.

I pass over with a brief notice the movement made by the Universities in favour of what is called Middle Class Examinations,

and the examinations held by the Society of Arts. However much they are abused and laughed at, they will not be laughed down, for their object is to certify merit and qualification. The great majority of the world are not dispensers of patronage, and they know not therefore the pressure brought to bear by interested parties, and the difficulty experienced in selecting fit men. A young man has no antecedents to refer to, and he has but his ingenuous countenance, and the too partial recommendation of his instructor, to bring forward, until these opportunities were offered him of submitting his qualifications to the test of an impartial examination. It is another strange sign of the times, that such benevolent and unselfish exertions in the favour of friendless youths should have encountered censure. The only real objection is a political one, and one which is honestly entertained by those, who regard the movement from a different point of view. They dread the disturbing effect on the national character, they deprecate the idea, that the poorer classes should be tempted to leave their own sphere and their own callings, and consider a petty Government Office as the summum bonum of existence. No measure indeed could be more degrading to the independent spirit of a nation, than that the posts of clerks and tidewaiters should have the character of an order of merit. We know how completely the independence of the French people has been swamped by the legion of small civil posts in the gift of the Minister, and in the Eurasian community we have another notable instance of the degeneracy, which is the heritage of a race, which has nothing but official servitude to look to, and the monopoly of suckling clerks, and docketing despatches. However, the object of these voluntary examinations is different: they are correctly described as mere matters of business, and it is simply proposed to find out, and certify who are really educated for the duties of certain known positions in life.

I turn to India. I have dwelt upon purely English subjects advisedly. I believe that the Mother-Country furnishes the very best example to us, that the more Anglicized we are, and the less that we have of Anglo-Indianism, the better. In every measure we seek for the freshness of the British opinion, and not the prejudices of the Indian bureau. I really regard with pity those amongst us, who have never visited Great Britain for a quarter of a century, and who are as antiquated in their ideas as in their shirt-collars. It should be the policy of Government to insist upon a furlough being taken by its servants after each decade, and on the veteran making his bow, when he has served his time. It is positively as dishonest for a Civilian to cling to India after his term of twenty-five years is past, as for a lessee to refuse to vacate a house, when his lease has expired.

Now as regards the subject of Examinations in India, we have the great advantage of the example having been shown by the

Government of England. In spite of the inveterate nepotism of the upper ten thousand, and the deep-set corruption of constitutional Governments, the battle has been won; the qualification minimum has been asserted, and the competition maximum talked about. The necessity of a probational term after appointment, and the demand for increased proficiency at each grade of official rank, have been established, and specially in the Foreign Office, as regards Attachés and Consuls. In India we have no permanent interests to combat, no electioneering services to reward: we have the pick of the native educated classes looking to nothing better than State employ: if Government will but prescribe the rules, there will be no trouble in carrying them out.

And as the higher Offices of the State must in a conquered country be held only by genuine Englishmen, the Imperial Parliament have decided, that in the Civil and Medical Departments the annual vacancies shall be filled up by open competition of the flower of the British youth. Since the assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty, the Civil Service Commissioners, whose report as regards the Home Civil Service we have noticed above, have been entrusted with the duty.

No mere pedagogues, or Assistant Secretaries, were consulted on the best mode of churning the intellect of England, and extracting its cream; no narrow curriculum was fixed; neither a happy knack of stringing together Latin Hexameters, nor a stupendous and instinctive grasp of figures and symbols (which is one of the most wondrous gifts conceded to man), nor a facility of appropriating a foreign idiom and pronunciation, nor a power of philosophic reasoning, were to be the sole stepping-stones to success: by a nice graduation, and careful valuation of each particular accomplishment, it was hoped to discover in what quarter could be found the good intellects, improved by good education. A limited number are selected according to the number of marks which they obtain, and at the end of a year of probation they have to undergo a second examination in the specialities of the service, into which they have been introduced. Those who pass this second test, and satisfy the Commissioners as to their being of sound bodily health, and good moral character, are admitted to the Civil Service of India: one only omission is that every candidate should have to pass through a Riding School. During the Mutinies in Northern India, at one Station the Civilians had to take to their horses, and one young Competitioner (who afterwards rose to be a Lieutenant-Governor) attempted to mount the horse, lent by a friend, from the wrong side of the animal. He had not been accustomed to horse-exercise.

No impartial person can doubt as to the success of the scheme. Though not born in the purple of Leadenhall Street, or sprung from the loins of a Director, I admit in my own case the original sin of nomination, and I regret it. I could have wished to have

deserved, as well as to have borne off, the palm. I look with unmixed satisfaction on the

"Juvenum recens Examen, Eois timendum Partibus."

Of the detractors of the new birth, and the fond regrettors of the old families, I ask, "Cet sang était-il si pur?" Is there any virtue in a clique of relations spreading over a country? Look around, and mark how some families have sat down like locusts on a Province, how every official change indicates a move on the family chess-board: even the miserable pawns, which were only meant to be taken off, are pushed forward into places where they never ought to be, were they not covered by parti-coloured knights, or smiled upon by queens. In one Province to my own knowledge the Governor had provided for relations to the amount of salary of £10,000 per annum, and when remonstrated with, said, that he was not worse than an English Bishop. When he was knighted, it was suggested that he should take the motto of: "He gave his own sea-guts to his own sea-mews." Are men the worse because they have graduated at the University, or been called to the Bar; because their intellects are strung and their faculties developed? Must India be governed by a succession of lads brought up under a coop, and thrust unfledged into the market, trained in the narrow groove that suited the views of the examiner or the trainer, instead of the broad groove of the intellectual education of the day?

Under the old system it was a strange sight that met the gaze of the youth, whose career was suddenly diverted from the great arena of the English world to the narrow path which is trodden by the Indian Civilian? What a strange collection of half-men half-boys were assembled at the India House to undergo, what appeared to an Etonian in the Sixth Form a farce, but to many there present was a serious passage of arms? They appeared with their trainers, and knew a little of everything. When the Examiners complimented me for my knowledge of the Greek Testament, I innocently answered, that I had read that book in the Fourth Form five years ago. Then came the more lengthy farce of Haileybury, where men were by courtesy styled Highly Distinguished, who certainly have never been considered so since. Lastly the mockery of the College of Fort William, which was only passed, when the student had become indebted to every Calcutta tradesman: he then proceeded up-country, and found, to his surprise, that he had everything worth knowing to learn, and some never did learn.

And perhaps (but I write doubtingly) those, who have thus entered into the land of Goshen by their own merits, by the test of election, will be inclined, as far as in them lies, to war against the prevailing sin of the age, nepotism. They have tasted themselves of the sweetness of the bread earned by their own labours, let them not deny it others. It seems so just to provide for rela-

tions, forgetting that it is well to do so from your own resources, but not at the expense of the public: this is the weak side of most men, but I have no patience with those, who exercise their amiable feelings of pity, charity, and general benevolence at the cost of the people, while the credit attaches to themselves. The evil is known in many phases. A late Commander-in-Chief openly stated, that the patronage of the Army was his private property, forgetting that it was a sacred trust. A late Governor in his farewell address said, that he had never attended to the claims of patronage, yet his warmest admirers admit, that they could not have said so for him: he used to say that it was not an abuse of patronage to provide for relations, if they were fit: but are they fit? that is the rub. As it was formerly, with each new local potentate up sprang a new clique of relations: sons and daughters marry, and the Gazette notes the fact, as well as the column of domestic events: men get promotion, because their wife is sister to the wife of somebody at Headquarters, degrading for him, if he has any proud feeling of self-esteem, and depressing for the enthusiastic and hard-working man, who has no friend at Court. At one time everybody in a locality answered to the name of "Mac": at another time you might fancy, from the prevalence of the Doric idiom, that you were in Tipperary.

I write not as one, who has a grievance, who has been disappointed in the battle of life, and, therefore, looks at snug family arrangements with a jaundiced eye; I am not the stern Patriot, who could not get the place for which I sued, for, in fact, I got everything about ten years before I had a right to it. I write deliberately, that there should be a self-denying ordinance; it should be the object of a wise and just Government to destroy class interests, to place Trojan and Tyrian on the same level, to polish by instruction, to test by examination, to promote by merit, to eliminate the fool, the dotard, the worn-out, and hoist the flag of "Detur Digniori." If a close service is allowed to continue, it must be so, only, because it is fit to do so. Recruited by competition, kept up to the mark by periodical tests, encouraged by judicious patronage, it should be weeded by the compulsory removal of those, who are fit for nothing, the very halt and lame of the profession. Pity them not. Every profession abounds with such men, but they do not bear the light, they shrink away into obscurity. Who pities the high and dry Divine, the unsuccessful Doctor, the bloated half-pay Captain, the briefless Barrister? We have swept away the sinecure, but left the men eminently calculated to fill such posts, and no other: out of every ten there is at least a third "fruges consumere nati," and I have heard a Governor express the very great difficulty, which he had to provide for such men. The Panjáb had flourished, because the system of Government was strictly eclectic, and because the Governor was strong enough to eject every man, who failed to

maintain the required standard, and because he had then an abyss, into which he could plunge his rejected, namely, the Government of the North-West Provinces, and the native line regiments. How matters are now managed, I am anxious to know, when each factory has to consume its own smoke.

Vested rights are no longer spoken of, and there is a subdued feeling on the subject of the claims of seniority. Matters are changed since the time of that famous Civilian, who offered to compromise with the Court of Directors, and take £500 per annum to do nothing in England, instead of £1000 on the same terms in India, thereby being a manifest benefactor to the people of India. But in truth I believe, that the time is come to throw open the service entirely: it is not wise to make another close guild and shut out men of mature intellect, and approved capacity in other walks of life, who find that India is their calling. I instance especially barristers, who have acquired the language, and merchants; but there must necessarily be a limit with regard to age, and, as is the case in the English Offices, such an appointment must be made very deliberately, on certified qualification. To those public servants, who have a real interest in their duties, how welcome would be the co-operation of men with wider experience, more special knowledge, and enlarged English views! For one class of public servants the new order of things will be fatal. I allude to the present uncovenanted employés, who are for the most part educated in this country, or Eurasians by birth. They have helped to raise a storm, and will be caught in the whirlwind: as long as the ranks of the Civil Service were recruited by patronage, and as long as seniority kept all to a dull level, there was room for a grievance, and a semblance of liberality in the proposition to substitute alleged efficiency for certified inefficiency. But the class of men, whom every ship now lands in India, owe nothing to favour: they are strong on the very points, in which the Uncovenanted thought themselves strong, and strongest where the Uncovenanted are necessarily weak, in the advantages of English education. If these men are kept up to their promise by periodical tests, and promoted by merit, it will be a hopeless task to compete with them, and the more that India is governed from home, the more numerous will be the supplies of men qualified for employment. As yet the value of the appointments, and the nature of the duties, are but imperfectly appreciated in England: the cotton of the Company's bales still sticks in our beards, and socially the Indian civilian has to yield to his brothers in the English Bar or the Church, though the advantage is on his side as regards income. But this cloud will soon clear up, and things will appear as they really are.

The number of the Covenanted Civil Service might be reduced to the smallest figure, that political necessities allow. We must

recollect, that we may have to cope with Mutinies and Rebellions. If in 1857 the high and important posts had been held by Natives, they might have vacillated, been time-servers, and not thrown themselves heart and soul into our cause. It is simply because Lord Canning had the entire resources of the State at his disposal, that he triumphed. Every Public Officer was ready to die at his post: we know that the state of affairs in the Independent States was very different. Even the crafty old fox Maharája Guláb Singh of Kashmír carefully counted the cost, and his grandson will do the same. Having limited the number of the Covenanted Civil Service, every other post should be given to a Native or a Eurasian: we should have no inferior Europeans, and uneducated needy adventurers from Great Britain. Talleyrand talked wittily of "Cet Monstre terrible, un père de famille." So it is in British India: the father of six sons piteously begs the Lieutenant-Governor to put one of them into an Office, that he may eat a piece of bread: thus I have known instances of men, who had failed for the Civil Service, coming out, and receiving posts even better paid than those who succeeded. Thus, in some Provinces, Royal Families have been established, occupying the fat of the land. At the time of the death of Lord Elgin, it was stated that, when a vacancy occurred, he never asked the nature of the duties, but only the amount of the salary, and he appointed a man to the Court of Appeal of a Province, who had never tried a case, with a lofty contempt for qualifications.

It is a highly honourable feature of the Indian Services that so many individuals have devoted themselves with success to scientific, literary, and antiquarian pursuits: in Botany, Numismatology, and Philology, there have been worthy representatives, and such labours are highly to be encouraged; but, when individuals devote their whole time and talents to such studies, and neglect the prosaic duties, for the discharge of which they are paid, I have no hesitation in saying, that they depart from the strict path of honesty. There have been some notable instances. Colonel Sleeman narrates that a Magistrate, wishing to find time to translate the "Henriade" into English verse, directed his Police not to send in any reports: this must be an extreme case. I have always considered, that it is fatal to a Civil Officer to have an absorbing taste, and it is proverbial, that a man who plays the fiddle goes sooner or later to the bad. John Lord Lawrence was by no means a Philistine, but I recollect his once refusing to promote a man to be a Commissioner, because he had a photographing machine, and he looked with an eye of disfavour on a man, who had given £100 for a Cremona violin. The Official, who is too fond of the fishing-rod, and the hunting-spear, should receive a caution.

The famous "Scorpion Rules," originating in Bangál, spread over the whole of British India, and have been productive of the

most satisfactory results. To their introduction there were many opponents, and many doubters, and a Lieutenant-Governor to the last disapproved of them, under the idea, that many excellent Officers would fail to pass the standard. His views were founded upon a mistaken idea of the nature of the examination. It was intended to be, and is, strictly professional, without room for book learning, pedantry, feats of memory, or mere cramming: the best practical proof of the suitability of the rules is, that in the long run all have passed, and the best proof of the advantage to be derived therefrom is, that the men of the last ten years are better grounded, and better officers, than those of the preceding period. There was a good deal of jibbing, and refusing the collar at the first start, but at last all took to the draught, and as there are two standards, it has been necessary to restrain parties from passing both at once. Promotion is, or ought to be, regulated by the report of these examinations, and, if a man wishes to distinguish himself above his fellows, he now has the opportunity. I maintain that, with rare exceptions, the first boy at the Public School is the first throughout life, supposing that he has won that position in fair fight over worthy rivals: for what led him at school to contend for honour, but that feeling, immortalized by Homer, of always desiring to be the best, and that feeling, if not allowed to be choked by the good things of the world, or trampled out by neglect, will not desert him. It has been remarked, that no doubt self-tuition is sufficient for great minds; what great men conquer for themselves nourishes the mind, the rest is but lumber. But it is a palpable error to suppose, that all will educate themselves; the majority, who range about mediocrity, have to be educated by force; thence the necessity of stimulants, of periodical refreshers, and the justification of the measure for continuing the period of pupilage far into manhood.

The natural and logical deduction from what I have described is, that all Natives in the service of the State should be selected according to merit. The scheme has been either purposely misunderstood, or hastily condemned, and has been classed with certain other measures of an unpractical and pedagoguish character. When a man hires a cook, he certainly requires, that his dinner should be served up properly, and if that test fail, no feelings of benevolence would induce the master to keep the servant: when a particular weapon is introduced in the Army, soldiers are placed in a school, and required to obtain a proficiency in its use, and promotion, or reward, fall to the lot of the most proficient. The printer would not keep a devil, who could not do the work of his craft; the tradesman would not keep a shop-boy, or the merchant a clerk, unless he were fit and continued to be fit. Already the Government are at a disadvantage as regards individual members of the community; for if an employé is dismissed from a private

situation, there is nothing for it but to look about for work elsewhere, but, if the Government exert such a power, there is a howl set up by interested parties, as if some prescriptive right had been acquired. It is notorious, that Government is less well served than private concerns, in spite of regular salaries and pensions, and the delays and inefficiency and often gross carelessness of public employés are a favourite theme of comment. And yet, when attempts are made to secure the introduction of fit men, to train and instruct those already in service, to weed out incapables, a cry is raised against the movement. So inconsistent and imperfectly informed is the Public, that it appears as useless to try and impress clearly on minds pre-occupied by interested prejudices, the objects of the movement, as to write distinctly on paper, which has been scribbled over with a pencil, and yet the system I advocate is founded on human interests and sympathies.

Be it always recorded in praise of native candidates for employ, that as an educated class they are superior to the European or Eurasian of the country: while an English clerk cannot express himself correctly or simply in any letter, so that all heads of departments have to draft their own letters on the commonest subjects, the native clerk of the lowest stamp can read and write correctly one, if not two, languages, is well versed in arithmetic, and can write from dictation, and draw up grammatical, and even elegantly expressed, reports. It is not generally known, that India is governed by *Dictation*: the Public Official sits surrounded by Native Clerks, who record his brief verbal orders in Proceedings or Mandates, and bring them to him for signature and seal. There are certain classes who live by the pen, and who, from tuition at home or at school arrive at this stage, and, if employed in a Government Office, will keep at this stage for the whole of their lives. As to general Education, literary tastes, expanded notions, they have them not, but to a certain extent they form a guild, and it is not easy for a stranger trained in another groove to find a place among them. This is the real impediment to the introduction of the Christian element among the native employés, as the acquirements obtained in Mission and Government schools are unpractical: there is no question about Religion. The Hindu and Mahometan sit side by side, and so might the Christian, if he were only fit: in the English branch of a Public Office he is generally to be found, but in the Vernacular rarely. A guild, once formed of the literary classes, has a tendency to perpetuate itself and exclude intruders. The sons and nephews of Public employés arrive soon at the minimum stage, and have lived from the earliest days among Officials; when vacancies occur, they are pushed forward, and, as the European Officers are constantly being changed, certain families or cliques become all powerful, and the real masters of the position. Perhaps every ten years comes a clearance, a feud springs up

betwixt two rival factions, who carry out an internecine war, or things get too bad to last, or some reckless reformer makes a clean sweep: after a short time the waves close in again, and, as there is no understood system of promotion, no legitimate test of proficiency, matters become very much as before. Trains of employés follow Officials from District to District; the relations of patron and client become established, and men, ejected for gross misconduct in one District, without difficulty secure employment in the next. This is most lamentable.

The appointments held by natives in the Civil Department are very numerous and very much coveted, as they are considered to give a status in society, and certainly secure regular pay, a certain degree of power, and a pension; longing eyes have been cast upon them by the Educational Department, who would gladly make them the prizes of their Colleges, and by the Missionaries, which I very much regret, as tending to throw a doubt upon the purity of motive of converts. Up to a very late period not only have there existed no rules as to the disposal of this patronage, but no books, from which candidates could obtain elementary knowledge so as to enable them to secure a footing, or more particular knowledge so as to justify promotion. This want has now been supplied, there exist a sufficiency of Vernacular treatises suitable to every department of the Public Service. Moreover, the spectacle of the European and native high Officials being submitted to annual examinations, has not been without its effect: the Government in this has reversed the ordinary proverb of experimenting upon the inferior parties for the instruction of the superiors. No native underling can now object to those Scorpion-rules, under which the conquering race itself has smarted.

Individual attempts were made to introduce professional examinations, by which some legitimate channel for promotion might be marked out, and a spirit of emulation roused. They were successful, graduated certificates of proficiency were distributed, a class of apprentices formed; those who were wise in their own conceits, were roused to some hazy idea of their own ignorance, and the general results were such as to justify the experiment. A blow was struck at nepotism and patronage, and, while official knowledge ceased to be a mystery, and the Service was thrown open to all, a certain degree of independence was secured to the Official; for while his conduct was testified to, from year to year, by entries in the character book, his capacity was placed beyond doubt by his annually renewed certificate. I maintain that men are men all over the world, influenced by the same passions, led by the same prejudices, encouraged by the same hopes, controlled by the same fears, and that, if Government wish to be well served, it must be careful in the selection of good agents. The storm that overspread the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb in 1857, swept away all, the just

and the unjust, the creature of favour, and the successful adventurer. Certificates of proficiency neither kept back men from rebellion, nor did they save their necks from the gallows: as a rule, the efficient servants of Government joined the rebels, the stolid fools remained loyal. Most lamentable fallings away are on record in every District, and compilers of Vernacular treatises came under the sharp discipline of the Special Commissioners. Rebellion appeared to infect individuals, like the small-pox, or other epidemic, for those, who did remain firm, could no more explain, why they did so, than those who rebelled.

The Examination enjoined is strictly professional. There are departmental Colleges for Engineers at Rúrki, for Surgeons at Agra and Calcutta, there are normal schools for the training of schoolmasters, musquetry schools for soldiers: the same is recommended for civil employés. It is not proposed to open all posts to public competition, but to restrict selection to certain classes, which would be recruited annually by qualification examinations, to be held in each District. As in England, so in India, age, health, and character should be considered; neither caste, nationality nor religion, have ever been either an advantage or impediment in the Civil Department, and whoever says that they have, is imperfectly informed. There should be two standards of Examination, the ordinary, and the special, the latter being modified to suit the particular department of the Service, and all graduates of Government or Missionary schools being considered to have passed the former. Thus would at once the object of all parties be gained: the Government would be well served, merit would be rewarded, and honesty be considered the best policy, when nepotism and favouritism are put down. The legitimate demands of the educationalist and the Missionary would be met by granting a fair field and no favour, the lists being thrown open, and the secrets of the profession made known by means of Vernacular Text-books. The Civil Service Commissioners remark, that they appreciate the great advantage of an Examination not merely as a test of literary merit, but as affording an insight into the disposition and character of the party examined under a somewhat trying ordeal; and the opportunity afforded to a young man of distinguishing himself in the presence of his superiors, with whom rests the power of elevating his social position, is not one of the least advantages. Those, who habitually search for talent, and delight in being the discoverer and promoter of intellectual ability in others, will not be sorry to be periodically made acquainted with the natural gifts and acquired attainments of their official subordinates: with the dullard, who has neither talent nor ambition, and for the unpatriotic Official, who tries not to develope, or excite these feelings, I have no sympathy. Not only must the entry into the Service be dependent on certified fitness, but promotion from grade to grade must depend upon similar conditions.

There was a time when we could afford to be virtuously indignant at the Special Commissions which have been convened in France, outside the ordinary Courts, to punish political offenders. They are no more a part of the French, than of the Anglo-Indian system. We must no longer judge harshly the Russian, the Austrian, the French, or Italian Government, for they have all gone through the fiery baptism of revolution, massacre, plunder and insult. In France few have not had relations killed, either by the people, or the Sovereign: in the ups and downs of politics many classes have tasted power, and hope to taste it again, have had to run for their lives, have seen their houses smoking, have heard their females shrieking, and fear the same thing again. We Englishmen, in the calm still water of a settled Constitution, have never known this, and we wonder why Sovereigns imprison, execute, banish and confiscate. We wonder why peoples writhe, revolt, massacre, and plunder. *The iron has now entered into our own souls.* The Austrian Haynau and Radetsky do but represent Nicolson and Havelock. Metternich is but another Dalhousie, and Gortschakoff on the Caucasus did but act as John Lawrence in the Panjáb. We inconsistently sympathize with Schamyl, Kossuth, and Abdul Kádir, while we execrate the Emperor of Dehli, Tantia Tópi, and Diwán Mulráj, forgetting that private crime always accompanies public excitement, for the passions of men become then uncontrolled.

We can never in India criticize Special Commissions again. In the moment of triumph after an internecine struggle, in the hour of revenge (God forgive the word), the Anglo-Indian and the Eurasian forgot the moderation of the Christian, and the cry was for judicial massacre. It was hard for those, who arrived in each ship from England with feelings less keenly strung, to restrain the evil passions, which invoked the name of Justice, and blended the name of Christianity with the most wholesale destruction. For those, who fell by the sword, in the siege, on the battle-field, or in the skirmish, I have not one word to say; for those mutinous soldiers, who, foiled in their mutiny, were brought to that stake, on which they wished to impale their officers and the European population, I have nothing to urge: they had ceased to be men, and became wild beasts, and were drowned in rivers, hunted across the country, hung in tens and twenties, disposed of by scores at evening shooting parties, and got rid of: for every one that perished, a hundred lives of the peaceful community were saved; for with arms in their hands, murder and rapine had become their only business. But sad is the story of the dreary Reign of Terror, while the Special Commissions lasted, the imperfect investigation, the prejudiced Court, the indecent haste, no confronting of the accused with the witnesses, no time for exculpation, for the gallows were opposite the window. We were indeed struggling not only for power, but for life, and atrocious crimes had been committed, and many came

under condemnation justly. But for the simple herd, the ferrymen, who plied their boat at the wrong time, the peasants, who had newly-coined copper coins on their person, the dishonest messengers who appropriated the Government cash, the unhappy "suspected," whose witnesses were afraid to come and clear him, for these, and many like them, when the great Book of Judgment is unrolled, it will only *then* be known, why they were sentenced, and for what crime they died.

AMRITSAR, JUNE, 1859.

While carrying this reprint through the Press, twenty-eight years after it was written, I was summoned to attend an Annual Dinner of the old Civilians, who had studied at Haileybury College, and propose the health of our Professors, four of whom survived. We assembled eighty in number, the youngest fifty years of age, the oldest past eighty, and we knew that, the College having been extinct for twenty-five years, the day must soon come, when our annual gathering must cease for want of guests to attend at it. At the table sat men, who had transacted the business of Empire in seventeen languages, the Persian, the Pashtu, the Balúchi, the Hindustáni, the Hindi, the Bangáli, the Assámi, the Uriyá, the Maráthi, the Gujaráti, the Sindhi, the Tamil, the Telugu, the Malayálim, the Karnáta, the Barmese, and the Malay: few of them were scholars, most of them totally unknown to fame: few were decorated with honours by a grateful country: none were wealthy, yet all had taken part in ruling great Provinces with Justice, Equity, and success, for the space of a quarter of a century. To not one in that great assembly could the finger of scorn point, that they were even suspected of taking bribes, or plundering Provinces, or acting disloyally to the State. They had been content with their wages, true to their employers, and satisfied with their reward. Out of the number of those, who had left College, one half had perished in India, from disease or accident, or during Mutiny and Rebellion. Not one had ever acted otherwise than as a brave and loyal Englishman: the very idea of a renegade, or a traitor, or one who listened to compromise with the enemy, was never entertained even by a Public Press anxious to find out any blemish, or any failure.

The system of Government, which they administered, was based on Justice, Respect for Property, Personal Liberty, Religious Tolerance, Equality of Man, Free Trade, Free Speech, Free Press, Free Locomotion, Free Agriculture, and Free Manufacture: there were none of those dire defects, which disgraced the Colonial Government of the Cape, of New Zealand, and Australia, where the Natives went for nothing, where their lands were seized, and they themselves reduced to serfage, expatriation, or starvation. The people

of India have increased and multiplied, and grown fat. Hinduism and Mahometanism were never so strong: the area of cultivation has increased, and so have the means of locomotion, and the accumulated capital: the great Pax Britannica has left its mark.

These public servants had done just what the French Governors never had done, and the Russian Governors never can hope to do—*left the people alone*; there had been no over-governing, no attempt to interfere with Private Rights, and Private Life: their duty was to maintain order, and to see that the writs of the Courts of Justice were executed, that violent Crime was trodden down, that the Highways and Rivers were safe to the Traveller, and the right of each man was respected, notwithstanding that over the greater part of India Dual Ownership of Land exists, and has existed for centuries, and that the Governing classes differed from the People in Religion and Customs. They were all in sympathy with the people, and accessible to the very poorest of their subjects, they could speak their language, and had the great grace of independence to stand up for their people against Viceroys, against Soldiers, against Merchants, against Missionaries, and against their own countrymen. Those who are chosen from the foremost ranks of British Schools and Universities by the process of Competition may surpass them in many gifts, but not in Honesty and Independence and Zeal and Sympathy with, and life-lasting Love for their subject people.

LONDON, JUNE, 1887.

P.S. As a last word about India, I would press home two considerations.

First, British India is not only a conquered Province, but its retention is a symbol, or dynamometer of the power of Great Britain: for if we lose it, we lose something more than a Province.

Secondly, the people of India know, that as a body they are vastly superior in intellect and power to the average Englishman, selected from the fourth, fifth, or lower grades of British intellect, that finds his way to India. More than half of these have no culture at all, and none remain beyond the age of fifty. Other Nations may take European culture in supercession of their own. The Indian will only add it as an additional *nuance* of her already many-coloured civilization.

AUGUST, 1887.

CHAPTER X.

RUSSIA.

I. The Abolition of Serfage.
II. The Absorption of the Khanates on the Oxus.*

The subject of the relations of the Russian Empire to the Eastern and Western World is so enormous and complicated, that it is necessary to devote the attention to some particular portion; and it appears to me, that the idea of publishing a study on particular subjects is not an inconvenient one, but worthy of adoption. No part of the policy of Russia is more interesting than that which relates to the emancipation of the serfs, which occupied the first ten years of the reign of Alexander II., and the startling annexation of the whole of the Khanate of Khokand, and portions of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhára, which has rendered remarkable the last ten years of that reign. After careful consideration of the consequences both to Russia and other States, I do not hesitate in pronouncing an opinion, that both these measures have contributed largely to the benefit of mankind in the highest sense, and will compel the impartial historian to write, that Alexander II. has deserved the meed of praise from his contemporaries. It is only within the last few months, that full and trustworthy material has been at the disposal of the public on either of these two subjects: how many of our readers have been able to inform themselves of the effects of the serf-emancipation, and the precise position of Russia in Central Asia?

In a series of the most able articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a French writer has discussed, in a searching and vivisecting way,

* 1. Haxthausen: "*The Russian Empire.*" 2. "*L'Empire des Tsars.*" *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1876. 3. Professor Gregorieff: "*Die Nomaden*": St. Petersburg. 4. Schuyler: "*Turkistan*": 1876. 5. Terantief: "*Russia and England in Central Asia*": 1876. 6. Rawlinson: "*England and Russia in the East*": 1875.

such as a Frenchman only can achieve, the social state of Russia, and the results of the reform of Alexander II. That the facts are in the main correct, is evident from the circumstance, that the articles were recommended to my notice by a Russian noble, when I was studying this great subject at St. Petersburg. Many preconceptions and prejudices are swept away, when I state that in Russia, in the eye of the law, in the year 1876, all classes are equal: though the name is still preserved of noble, priest, peasant, and townsman; yet, by the process of levelling-up and levelling-down, all practical differences have died out. Provincial Councils have been established by Alexander II., in which all classes meet and deliberate: but still each class sends class-representatives, and as yet Russia has not reached the crowning goal of representation of the *whole* community, as in Great Britain and the United States. The Russian Emperor has only dared to advance half-way, and waits till a further social fusion has been made. It is an interesting problem to watch, and when the time comes, as it must soon come, when Russia will demand a constitution, the question then will be, whether the representation is to be of classes, or of the whole nation. The Russian people are preparing to shed blood and treasure to secure a constitution to the Southern Slavs, and will scarcely take less themselves, now that they know their own strength, and universal conscription has accustomed the whole nation to arms.

In Great Russia in the old times, as in all Arian nations, we find traces of the existence of four classes or castes: I., the Soldier or Noble; II., the Priest; III., the Merchant or Townsman; IV., the Agriculturist; the two former formed the upper, the two latter the lower strata of society. In Russia, as time went on, there was a further subdivision. The nobles were divided into hereditary landowners, and life Office-holders. The priesthood was sharply divided into Monastic orders and secular clergy. The merchant class soon established a difference betwixt the great merchant and the petty shopkeeper. Among the agriculturists the peasants on Crown lands found themselves occupying a separate position from those under private landowners. A fifth order sprang into existence from the working of the old law of military conscription, under which the soldier never returned to the position of a serf.

Outside Great Russia and kindred Little Russia were the great Republican military colonies, where there was place neither for serf nor noble, but their separate autonomy and independence has gradually been reduced. Scattered over the nation there exists a class of small freeholders, an intermediate betwixt serf and noble, of uncertain origin, corresponding to the low-whites of the Southern States of North America, and the holder of perpetual assignments of land-revenue and limited landowners in India. It is calculated, that this class counted two or three millions, and they will form the

nucleus of the new class of small landholders, the rural middle class, which is now coming into existence.

Outside again the great Slavonic race, but within the Empire of All the Russias, are the subject and conquered races, in Europe (for Asia is not within the scope of our present remarks), the Samoyed, the Finlander, the Kalmak, the Tartar, Bashkir and other Mahometans, who have preserved their own social system and grades. In another category come the conquered Provinces of Bessarabia, Poland, the Baltic Provinces, the scattered but privileged German colonies, and the Jews.

Let us consider more closely the component parts of Great Russia. There are fifty-five millions of the peasant class, and only five or six millions of nobles, priests, and townsmen. Moreover, in the small so-called towns the residents have not adopted urban habits; they know nothing of the closely-packed tenements of walled towns: in fact, these towns are only the large villages so familiar in India. The town population is estimated at only one-ninth of the whole population: in England it is one-third. Thus it appears that Russia is still an Empire of peasants. Russia and the United States present a strong contrast, being at the extreme poles of civilization. We may add, that this is the feature and misfortune of all Slavonic people, the consequence and cause of their inferiority: they have no accumulated capital, no store of movable wealth, no credit to be the basis of commercial enterprise. Much of the local manufacture is done, as in India, in the villages; and the manufacturing classes are not congregated in towns.

Russia never felt the generous impulse of the Crusades, never underwent the salutary discipline of the feudal system. The Sovereign never had the inducement to give privileges to walled towns, as a counterpoise to the great nobles; nor had the citizens any reason for congregating in towns to protect themselves from feudal oppression. Scarcely a municipality can be said to have existed up to the time of Peter the Great.

Merchants were of old forbidden to purchase land, or even to lend to serf or noble, an admirable device for starving agriculture. Now that the serf is free, the purchase of land is free also; the nobles and the State are no longer the sole owners of the soil, and capital will flow into the land. Under the old system, the distinction betwixt the noble and serf, though belonging to the same nation, professing the same religion, and speaking the same language, was rather that of two distinct nations than of two classes of the same nation. The nobles were not of the type known as such in Teutonic or Latin kingdoms. Successive Sovereigns of the old Rurik and new Romanoff dynasty had studied to debase them, and had succeeded. Their number is inordinate, calculated at six hundred thousand hereditary, and three hundred thousand life-tenures. In such an army there must needs be great variety.

Some of the princes, about forty, are of the old Royal blood of the Rurik dynasty. Prince Gortschakoff, the Chancellor, has in his veins the old Varangian blood of Rurik, which his Sovereign has not. Other princely families are of the old Jagellon dynasty of Lithuania and Poland: others are Tartars, Circassians, or Georgians. All these are of as old and good a stock as any in Europe. Every country in Europe, Greece, Poland, Sweden, Germany, France, and even England, has representatives in the Russian nobility. The division of property among males to the exclusion of females has tended to reduce the wealth of individuals; and the constitution of the official hierarchy has destroyed their independence. There is no material for a House of Peers in the Russian nobility.

The "Chin" or official hierarchy is one of the most wonderful devices for maintaining a system of personal Government in the Sovereign. It has a semi-Chinese appearance, though of purely indigenous growth, having passed through several phases under the late and present dynasty, until in the reign of Peter the Great it assumed its present development of fourteen grades. The use of European names such as Privy Councillor, etc., is merely a blind, and means nothing but a grade. Prince Gortschakoff, and Prince Baryatinsky, the conqueror of Schamyl, are the only representatives of the first grade, and both happen to be lineal descendants of the Rurik dynasty; but that is a mere accident: they might have been Swedes of Finland, Germans of the Baltic Provinces, Tartars of the Volga, or adventurous Frenchmen or Englishmen.

The "Chin" has privileges, or rather had, for all were nobles. By a law of Peter the Great any noble family, that for two generations failed to be represented by members in the "Chin," forfeited their hereditary nobility: thus all were compelled to enter the ranks, for a longer or shorter time. It was ingeniously arranged that every class of the community, including merchants, priests, and opera-singers, should be accommodated with a grade, which of course had a military denomination. Thus a rich merchant and a contre-tenor could be ticketed as a Colonel; and the successful compiler of a dictionary would be, and is actually now, rewarded with the rank of a Major-General, disguised by the name of Councillor of State, which is about the third or fourth grade. Thus the whole community of those above the rank of peasant are graded, and rank is asserted in private life. Ridiculous stories are current of the sledge of a Major-General meeting another sledge in a narrow defile of the Caucasus, and without a moment's pause, pitching the opposing vehicle into a snow-drift; when suddenly out of the overturned vehicle uprose a Lieutenant-General, who quietly repaid the compliment, and continued his journey.

All such baneful classifications of society are ruinous to the independence of a nation. Young men hunt after small posts in the

Public Service instead of following liberal professions. Moreover, the chief privileges of this artificial nobility are gone under the levelling-up and levelling-down processes. Immunity from personal chastisement is now the privilege of every Russian, except as the result of a legal prosecution. Conscription in the army is now extended to all classes without any exception. The right to purchase land is granted to all, and the germs of self-government implanted in each Province are fatal to a centralized Bureaucracy at the capital. Moreover, the voices of those not included in any "Chin," the enfranchised serfs, the millions of peasants, are beginning to be heard.

In one of the palaces of the Tsar is a statue of Alexander II. as the liberator of the serfs. Round him are clustered figures of men and women in the picturesque garments of the country, with hands of gratitude uplifted to him; what may be the inscription in Russian we know not, but in English would be inscribed the grand words:

"Peace has her victories no less renowned than War."

We proceed now, under the guidance of the same talented writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, to examine the question of the serf. It is a singular coincidence that slavery in America and serfage in Europe perished at the same period. It is wonderful, that either institution lasted so long, and it is the glory of Russia, that this great reform was accomplished without the shedding of a drop of blood. Had it been delayed much longer, it would have been asserted by the people, instead of being graciously granted by the Sovereign, and conceded, though unwillingly, by the nobles.

The term by which the millions of serfs were and are known, would seem to be one of insult, but that it is consecrated by usage; it is "Mujik" or "Little Man," the word being a diminutive form of the ordinary rendering of man. He is known by another name also, which is interesting as being historical, that of "Khrestian," for in the time of the Tartar domination, the rural population represented Christianity. The Slavonic peasants of Russia are by far the most numerous race in Europe, occupying in a compact block the largest area in the world. The emancipation of this vast community has been an operation of first-rate importance, and the mode of execution has been without historic parallel, as in all other nations it has been accomplished gradually. Moreover, it has been the first of a series of reforms in the national life, the effects of which will only be felt in the next century: it has not yet produced its fruit, as the serf scarcely yet is conscious of his gigantic, and now unshackled, strength, and until the first year of next century, the entire charges incurred will not have been paid off.

It must be remembered, that the peasants of the Crown were already partially free; the peasants belonging to private individuals

had to pay for their land. The population may be roughly divided thus:

Twenty-two millions Serfs of private persons;
Twenty-two millions Serfs of the Crown;
Two millions belonging to the Appanages of the Imperial Family.

Moreover, the number of serfs was gradually year by year diminishing under the operation of private enfranchisement, and the effect of military service: but it would have required a long lapse of time before it could have died out in this way. One of the great results of the Crimean war was the conviction, that the salvation of the State depended upon immediate action.

It was by no means an ancient institution of Russia; it did not come into existence there until after the system had died out, or been extinguished in blood, in Western Europe. In ancient days the Russian peasant was free, and had a right, once a year, to migrate from the land of one lord to that of another, as the farm servant of modern Europe, or the tenant-at-will of British India. About the year 1593 A.D., in the evil period after the death of Ivan the Terrible, and before the establishment of the House of Romanoff, Baris Godunnoi, in the name of his brother-in-law, Tsar Alexis, issued an order forbidding the annual change of lords by the serfs, and this order was not one of State policy, but of ordinary Police.

The object was to attach him to the soil, to prevent land going out of cultivation by a careless distribution of the scant stock of cultivators; for the Slav had a taste for wandering, and the motive for checking this tendency was purely economic, and in harmony with the general theory of Government of those days. The Cossack republics on the frontier offered a tempting asylum to unsettled spirits, and to runaway serfs. Upon this slender basis the law worked out certain consequences, and the serf gradually became the property of the lord. The Romanoff dynasty confirmed the policy of Baris. Peter the Great bound the chain tighter by regulating the system. Registers were first made in 1720 A.D., and renewed every ten years. He armed the proprietor with Police powers, and serfage became an essential feature of the Russian administration. In a circle radiating from Moscow as a centre, the weight pressed with graduated heaviness; Siberia and the Cossack country were always free. In White Russia, Lithuania and Poland, independent and hostile kingdoms, the same or a similar system had come into existence. It seemed an irony of fate, that the great Slavonic race alone should be subjected to this yoke, while the conquered Provinces of Sweden, Finland, and Roumania and the Tartars were and always have been free.

As may be imagined, the system worked differently in different

places, and there were a variety of local customs: but two principles underlaid them all:

The serf must either render forced labour, or pay *Obrok* by way of compensation for this labour. A serf, wishing to be employed in a manufactory, agreed to pay a sum, and received leave to leave the soil for a term of years. The amount thus paid varied according to circumstances, and ranged from twenty-five to thirty Roubles per annum, about £4 maximum. It is stated, but it seems incredible, that there were merchants with the reputation of being millionnaires, who were still serfs. The serfs of the Crown all paid *Obrok*, which appeared in the form of a land assessment fixed on the community; they became rich and comfortable, and have supplied a type for the details of the great reform.

The system had the merit of being Patriarchal, and the same merit is asserted in favour of the American Prædial Slavery, and the savagery of the Nomad hordes of Central Asia. The effects were injurious to both parties. The male and female serfs were at the mercy of their master. None but nobles could hold land; and, when land was sold, the serfs passed with them, or the land was sold alone, and the serfs remained still the property of a landless lord, showing how entirely different was the result of the measure from what was originally intended. Based upon a cruel injustice against the rights of man, it could not but be bitterly resented, though submitted to; and the wonder is that it was submitted to by a great nation so long.

Alexander I. began by freeing the serfs of the Baltic States. His brother Nicolas did all he could to soften the evil, and he dreamt of abolition, and it is asserted, that in his last days he charged his son to delay the measure no longer. Literature and public opinion even in Russia had long led the way. Tourganeff and the great novel-writers, like Mrs. Beecher Stowe in America, were the prophets of the great measure. Both the national and foreign elements, which ordinarily divide Russia, were united here. In some respects the movement resembled that of the first French Revolution. In former days all impulse had come from above. Peter the Great, and Catharine II., had striven to move the inert mass, and sometimes in vain; here it came from below, and was the first wave of real Slavonic feeling beating against the steps of the throne. It is by bearing in mind the origin of these movements, that we can measure the wondrous change, that separates the Russia of Peter the First from the Russian people of Alexander the Second. Not only do the people know, that they are the movers, but they know why the measure has been hurried on; and an old serf remarked, that Russia was indebted to Napoleon the Third for the abolition of serfage, as, but for the Crimean war, it might still have been deferred for a century.

It is interesting to follow out the way, in which the operation

was performed. An assembly of representatives of the Nobles and Commons would have done nothing. The House of Nobles would have moved the previous question, and the House of Commons would have asserted the right, and refused any terms of compensation. The Emperor convoked Provincial assemblies of the Nobles and laid the measure before them, as one which must be carried into effect. A Royal Commission was appointed to get it into shape, and their recommendation was much more liberal than the Nobles could bear. Court intrigue was used to soften the details. Precedents in other countries were appealed to. Both Austria and Prussia had gone through the same social crisis, but in Russia it was proposed to give the serf better terms than the analogous class had obtained in those countries. Not only were they to be declared free, and grouped in communities, but each male would have a certain amount of land sufficient to support his family. The Conservative party suggested, that the grant of freedom would be sufficient, but what would then have become of the enfranchised millions? They would have become, and would for centuries remain, proletaires, men with no property whatever, a class the most dangerous to the existence of society, the Red Spectre, which periodically frightens France and Continental Europe out of all propriety and self-control.

An Agrarian law was consequently passed, and an expropriation took place, or what the Irish landlords would call a spoliation, for the benefit of the public. The measure was assailed by hard terms, and called Revolution; but at the root of the matter lay the question, to whom did the soil really belong, the absentee Noble, or the resident cultivator? This knotty point has been argued in many languages and many countries, by men blinded by self-interest, and nowhere with greater obliquity of vision than in Ireland and British India. It is in vain to tell the resident cultivator, that the acres, which he and his ancestors have immemorially tilled, and the hut, where he and his fathers were born, are not his very own, though he is ready to pay what is due on them. Landowners must be made to understand, that the resident cultivator has parallel and co-existent rights, which can only be over-ridden at the risk of a rebellion. When the rights of the landowner are so attenuated, that the State has to be called in to enforce them, the State has a right to reflect, whether it is right to risk the stability of the social system to enforce them.

It was fortunate for Russia, that at this really awful crisis of its history there was an impartial absolute Sovereign, assisted by wise councillors, approaching as near to the imaginary earthly providence as human affairs will permit. A compromise was effected. To every community of serfs was assigned a portion of land, for which they must pay the dispossessed proprietor; a maximum and a minimum standard were fixed. The enfranchised community

had the option to purchase the maximum, but was compelled to purchase the minimum, to leave a good title to the proprietor for the remainder. The payment was to be made at once to the proprietor, and, when required, the State contributed to the payment on condition of being reimbursed by carefully graduated instalments of principal and interest.

Such a compromise satisfied neither party. The Noble sulkily submitted, fearing worse things; the serf could not, or would not understand why he was to be deprived of what he called his land. "I am yours," he would say to the lord, "but the land is mine." In fact, the class had been successfully kept in child-like ignorance, and were at the mercy of village democrats, believing that everything was possible to the Tsar and to God. Consequently a feeling of disappointment followed the publication of the details of the measure, and the much-desired emancipation lost half its charms when unaccompanied by possession of *all* the village lands *without* payment. So strangely inequitable are the minds of men, blinded by ignorance and self-interest.

The terms of this great land settlement were, that the peasant (no longer serf) should remain in possession of his house and inclosure, and a portion of the land cultivated by himself, *as his own*, on payment of a sum of money. Those, who had previously abandoned agriculture and paid *Obrok*, were under no such condition. They were at liberty to take service on wages, and swelled the dangerous ranks of the proletariat class: the number of serfs thus emancipated amounted to one and a half million. The remaining agricultural class may thus be disposed of, as they stood approximately on the first day of 1876.

Two millions still occupy the position of temporary serfs, not having paid for their land, from some cause or other: no change is effected in their position yet.

Five and a quarter millions have paid for their land and are free: and of these upwards of four millions have been aided by the State to make their payments.

Two millions in the Western Provinces and Poland were summarily enfranchised, as one of the consequences of the rebellion in 1863.

The operation has proceeded at different rates of speed, and in some Provinces very languidly. In the Trans-Caucasian Provinces the work has been completed: probably the evil was never excessive in those non-Slavonic regions. Either party can compel the other party to complete the transaction: if the terms cannot be arranged amicably, it has to be referred to special Courts: the amount of willingness or unwillingness of either party depends on their idea of the relative advantage or disadvantage to themselves. As would be expected in different localities, a general measure must assume a different aspect in practice. Some serf communities stand aloof,

thinking that the land must fall into their hands some day, but the law compels them, when called upon by the proprietor, to take their minimum; and some day they may repent, when it is too late, of not having availed themselves of the full advantage offered. This was the option of purchasing as much land as would sustain the family, and this amount had to be adjusted according to the relative fertility of each Province. To any one acquainted with the management of land it will at once suggest itself, that this operation over so vast an area was indeed a colossal one, as there were extreme varieties in the value of land and the local customs in different Provinces.

The thirty-four Provinces were divided for this purpose into three parallel zones according to the nature of soil and density of population:

The Northern Zone with the poorest land.
The Central Zone with rich black soil and fertility.
The Steppe Zone with a scant population.

Each zone was subdivided into regions, twenty-nine in all, and a maximum and minimum standard of land assigned for each. The average assignment to each male on the three zones was three or four of the local acres, but in the northern it rose to seven; in the Steppe it mounted still higher to ten, and in the Central it dropped to two or even less. As stated above, payment could only be made gradually, and it will take a long period. The State raised a special loan, and settled with the landowner at once by a tender of so much of this loan. The interest being at six per cent., half a century will have elapsed before the last payment is made, and not till then is the property absolute. On the other hand, the Nobles have been seriously affected in their income by the transaction; their manner of living is altered; their large establishments reduced; the payments made in inconvertible loan paper have added to their embarrassments, and the wonder is, that the State has weathered the great financial difficulty, and nothing but twenty years of profound peace would have enabled it to do so. Seven hundred millions of Roubles, which equals about one hundred million Sterling, has been lent by the State to the peasant proprietors, and more will be required to bring the transaction to an end, but the money is well spent, if it heals this deep and open sore between the two constituent branches of Russian society.

For there is no middle class; the Noble and the peasant proprietors are now, if not hostile, at least with opposing interests, and not united by any bond of sympathy. Both sides, for the present time at least, think that they have been deceived and injured. No doubt in the details of such a complicated transaction there has been room for unbounded rascality on the part of the corrupt servants of the State, who have made fortunes at the expense of

both parties. The Noble feels sore at the loss of position; he is no longer bowed down to and courted; he no longer has his own way in the neighbourhood, unless from force of character, and public estimation, it is yielded to him. The peasant proprietor, on the other hand, feels the loss of the moral and material support of his lord; he has to provide for bad seasons, and think of old age and a rainy day; he has by no means individual power yet, for he is only one of a community on whom all the old responsibility and charges of the landowner are now placed. It is a pleasing fact, that it is not in his nature to bear malice, and the old habit still clings to him of looking to the Noble for friendly assistance, and addressing him in terms of respect. But it must be remembered, that this generation was all born in serfdom, and cannot throw off at once the habits of its youth; a new generation will rise up, ignorant of the ways of serfs, and then will come the struggle. We leave this subject with the impression, that it is one of the greatest events in history, and that the quietness and success, with which it has been accomplished, is a greater triumph than any conquered Province or blood-bought victory.

Great as the revolution has been externally, no internal change has as yet been made in the village community. Land has been immemorially possessed in common, and as the Commune collectively is liable for the State-tax, and the instalments of the redemption-debt, the reins have been drawn tighter by the operation. The Mujik has only exchanged his dependence upon his lord for dependence on the Commune, of which he is scornfully, by the antagonists of the measure, called the serf. Unquestionably, Commune property is the oldest form of property: it is the economic stage next in order to the nomadic or pastoral stage; gradually individuals after long *occupation* began to assert their right to separate possessions. I cannot in the face of history, and my contemporary knowledge of India, consider this community of property to be a speciality of the Slavonic races. It is but a *débris* of a past world, and indicates, that these races have remained in an earlier and lower stage of civilization than their neighbours. Tacitus remarked centuries ago: "Arva per annos mutant, et *super est ager*." In these last words lies the pith of the matter. As long as population does not press upon the area of good land, the system is tolerable; but we shall see lower down, that the Russians are reaching the limits, within which the system can be maintained. The subject is one of intense interest, and it would be profitable to bring the customs of Russia into close comparison with those prevailing in India; but it would exceed my space.

The principle of the Commune is based upon that of a family; it is eminently patriarchal. Before the eyes of those who have been engaged in settlements of land in Northern India, from the Karamnásá to the Indus, will rise up the memory of many such a

picture as the one I propose to describe below, a picture not read in books or expressed in colours, but represented by living figures amidst the simplicity and scenery of Oriental life in India.

The Commune is known as the "Mir," a word which also means "the world." It has a fixed area, and generally one location only: hamlets and scattered farms are unusual. In this area is included the home-lands, the out-field, waste, both arable and uncultivable, and forest. The law of the land is superseded in matters agricultural by the customs having the force of law in the locality. At the head of each village is the "Starosta," or as the word means "old man"; under him are the grey-beards, and tithe-men, all chosen by heads of families; the remuneration is very slight. Villages are associated in groups, and over them is a "Starchina," who formerly was the oldest among the Starosta, but is now elected by the collective heads of houses: his remuneration does not exceed £14—£18. In such an association there are about five or six hundred heads of families, and by them is arranged the tribute of flesh and blood, which the State levies in the form of Military Conscription.

The union of several associate Communes constitutes a Volost or District, at the head of which is the District Chief or Golova, who is elected for three years, subject to the confirmation of the Officers of the State. Several Volost make up a Circle, presided over by an Officer of the State. A union of Circles constitutes a Palatinate, under the control of a Central Imperial Officer, the Minister of Domains.

Each village has a Tribunal, composed of the Starosta, and two assistants, who dispose of petty cases, civil and criminal, and exercise Police powers. The Golova and two assistants form the District Tribunal, whence an appeal lies to the Imperial Courts. The procedure of an inquiry is simple; all the men stand in a circle round the State-Officer, and the matter is disposed of at once. The principle of division of land in the Commune is democratic in the extreme. Every male inhabitant has a right to an equal share in every kind of soil; the arable and meadow land is equally divided; the enjoyment of the remainder is in common. It is obvious, that with every increase or diminution of the population, a variation arises in the size of the shares, which is again seriously affected by the relative fertility, or convenient situation, of the land. In some cases attempt is made to give every shareholder his proportion of every kind of land, and his occupancy is thus broken up into numerous small plots all over the village area. In other cases an attempt is made to proportion the size of the holding to the fertility of the soil: the local customs are endless; among them is one, which is not unknown in India, by which another element of uncertainty and possible fraud is introduced, by substituting in good land a special and shorter measuring-rod for the normal rod of the neighbourhood. Under this system the

number of a man's family became a source of strength and increased abundance, for though all adult males had a claim for their share of land, the members of a family had all a common home, a common board, and a common purse: so also, if a man fell into misfortune and lost everything, nothing could deprive his children of their share in the lands of the Commune.

On the other hand, nothing could be more prejudicial to the advance of good agriculture than these annual partitions, and, as the intelligence of the community advanced, it was found impossible to maintain the strict letter of the law. A periodical partition for a longer or greater term was often adopted, and a certain amount of reserve land set aside to satisfy sudden claims, and a strong feeling began to obtain, that the son should succeed to the father in his particular fields. Upon such a state of things the great operation of abolition of serfage has fallen. The lands of the Commune are no longer what they used to be; a large portion is set aside as the property of the lord, to dispose of as he thinks proper: a heavy annual charge is imposed on the Mujik to free the remainder; and, until this is paid, the Commune must hold together; but there is a marked tendency in families for each member to separate his interests, to such an extent, that the expediency has been proposed of restricting this tendency, so as artificially to prevent the parcelling of the soil, and the break-up of the patriarchial system; as if it were possible to do this in Russia or India, without infringing on liberty, and opposing the natural progress of human development. The break-up of the family system is but a prelude to the break-up of the village system. The Cossack of the Ural presents us the picture of a whole Province held on the principle of a "Mir," that is, all in common. In 1874 no single acre was undivided property, or attached to any particular Stanitza or Cossack village, but yearly allotments were made. Such a system could not have lasted so long, except in comparatively desert regions. The tax of the State fell upon each individual, and it was necessary, therefore, that each should have the means of meeting it. The device of a three years' course of agriculture, and rules as to manuring, were palliatives of a deeply-rooted evil, which can only be cured by long periods of occupancy of twenty or thirty years, and such holdings will glide into separation of interests.

The idea was, that such a system as this would prevent proletarianism, but in practice it has produced it. The meaning of that word is, the production of children; and a premium is, as it were, given to the father of the largest family, and as the culturable area, though extensive, is limited, the risk is run of the population out-running the means of existence, and the Communes becoming pauper-warrens. A State-Commission was appointed to inquire into this question, and has reported against the maintenance of the system of collective property. There are two classes who defend it:

first, the Conservative Slavophile, who consider nothing so good as good old Slavonic customs, *laudator temporis acti*; secondly, the Radical Communist, who approaches the subject from an opposite point, but to whom the very name is a charm: the arguments of the two classes of defenders go far to destroy each other. Two classes also denounce the system: first, the practical agriculturist, who sees with regret the absence of high culture, and the waste of the good gifts of the soil; secondly, the political economist, who fights for individual liberty, and free competition.

Serfage being abolished, every existing evil is attributed to the maintenance of agricultural Communes; but the State holds the individual and the Commune jointly and severally responsible for its ordinary taxation, and the instalment of the purchase-money, and will not relax its iron grasp: the weight of taxation is too heavy to allow of the ordinary method of transferring a defaulting share to a solvent shareholder, as no one will add to the burden under which his back is already bending. This consideration applies equally to Indian coparcenary tenures, and demands deep reflection. It is true, that the Russian is not as yet a full proprietor, until he shall have paid off his debt of purchase, and the Indian proprietor is already free. It is true, that the assessment is comparatively light, but the same great evil lies at the bottom, that such a system works against the industrious, and in favour of the idle and reckless. It will be gathered from the above, that the Russian agrarian community is passing through a great crisis, and it is possible, that the Commune may not survive the strain, or may come out quite changed. Even now there exists a legal power of dissolving a Commune, if two-thirds of the constituent members agree, but few instances have occurred. Land, outside the Commune, and in independence of it, is freely bought, and many individuals are at one and the same time members of the Commune, and owners of property, once belonging to the lord. Thus two systems are working side by side, and it seems scarcely doubtful, which in the long run must triumph: at any rate, it is a problem on the grandest scale, and most interesting to watch, as Russia is passing through the phases of social transformation, which her elder Western sisters accomplished centuries earlier.

I now pass to the second great measure, which has occupied so large a portion of the councils of Alexander II., the advance of Russia to the Oxus, and its establishment in force on the confines of India. Since 1842, when an era of peace was proclaimed by the abandonment of Afghanistan, British India has, in spite of the best intentions of its Rulers, by an uncontrollable law of expansion, advanced from the Jamna to the Khaibar Pass, and occupied the whole length of the navigable Indus from the mountains to the sea. In the interior of India the Provinces of Oudh and Nagpúr have

been absorbed; and on the extreme South-East, new interests have been created by the occupation of the whole Western coast-line of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We seek not to explain, far less to justify, the policy, which in one generation has doubled the British Indian Empire in material strength and resources; but we demand for Russia the same benevolent considerations of motives, the same allowance for circumstances, the same imperious necessity, which compels great Empires to advance in spite of themselves, and allows of no retrograde policy, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. The British in India may congratulate themselves upon having had no Nomad tribes to deal with, upon being hemmed in by impassable mountains, and by seas only passable with their permission. Within this comparatively speaking narrow area is a fertile tract of country, and a teeming population, far exceeding in wealth the whole of Asia put together, if India and China are withdrawn from the calculation.

It is sometimes forgotten, or perhaps entirely unknown, that for more than two hundred years during the reigns of our Plantagenets in England, the great and mighty Russia of our time was subject to the dominion of the Tartars of the Golden Horde on the Volga. It is foreign to our subject to notice that there is some justice in the assertion, that, if you scratch a Russian, the Tartar will appear under the European veneer, for in fact the whole nation is admitted to have been Tartarized, in the same sense that British India, after one hundred years of domination, is becoming "Anglicised." Many Tartars adopted Christianity, and were admitted among the Russian people; certain Districts were occupied by Tartars, still remaining Mahometan. When in due course Russia conquered and annexed the European Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Bakshi Surai in the Crimea, the number of its Tartar subjects was sensibly increased.

Russia, therefore, for many centuries has had relations with Northern Asia in its whole length from the Ural mountains to the river Amúr. Commercial intercourse had always existed across the Steppes; and although no reciprocity was given, the merchant from the Oxus was always hospitably treated in, and welcomed to, the Russian dominions. The wonder is, that the Russian Government for so many scores of years endured the outrageous conduct of the Nomad tribes, which touched their frontier, and the abominable conduct of the settled nations on the Oxus and Jaxartes, in encouraging the intervening Nomads in their acts of lawlessness, without having a shadow of a grievance of their own to complain of. Under the Rurik dynasty Russia was rather an Asiatic than an European Power. Shut in from the West by the Pole and the Swede, with no access to any sea-board, but that of the White Sea, Russia looked to Central Asia for the expansion of her colonies and commerce; but with the accession of the Romanoff dynasty, and notably in the time of Peter the Great, she became an European

Power, and for a century neglected her Asiatic interests under the pressure of new cares.

Professor Gregorieff, in an interesting essay on the relation of Nomad tribes to civilized States, has shown, that such neighbours must be free-booters, and that there is nothing for the civilized State but the alternative of submission to plunder, or establishing a complete authority. In dealing with mountaineers the expedient of frontier forts, and the blockade of the passes, may be adopted with some success; and this, accompanied by occasional expeditions to burn villages, destroy crops, and carry off cattle, is the policy adopted by us on the North-Western, and South-Eastern frontier of British India; but, when vast extents of desert Steppes form the frontier, with a population of three millions, extending over an area of two thousand miles, the problem is wholly different. A long period of peace, bringing with it an accumulation of agricultural wealth, and an increased industrial population, extending the area of civilization, only afforded a more tempting bait to the incursions of the Nomad, and made the evil more intolerable. Great Britain and other civilized States have put down with a high hand the pirate of the sea; it was not likely that a great Power, like Russia, could continue to tolerate the pirate of the land.

When in course of time the Russian frontier had been established beyond the Caucasus, and by a long and costly struggle Schamyl had been subdued and made a captive in 1859, all trouble on the side of Europe was at an end. The first forward step had in 1834, some years before, been made to convert the Caspian Sea into a Russian lake by a fortress at the point of confluence of the river Emba, and the establishment of strong positions on the East coast of the Caspian, even down to the South-East corner, where on the confines of Persia was erected the fortress of Ashuráda. Then gradually Southward from the Government of Siberia, and Eastward from the river Ural, the advance commenced. Forts were, in 1854, erected by the Siberian colonies at Vernoe and Kastek on the River Chu, flowing into Issik Kul, under the Alexandrofsky range; and from the West a dash was made at the point where the River Syr or Jaxartes flows into the Sea of Aral, and Fort No. 1 or Kasala, in 1853, erected there.

All this took place about the same time that the Government of British India was making their great advance North-West, and settling down in strength in the Panjáb, and occupying the right bank of the Indus. It is noteworthy, that both Russia and Great Britain had previously made a forward move, which had ended in disaster. The British advanced prematurely on Afghanistan and had to fall back. The Russians had advanced upon Khiva under Perofski, and had encountered a great disaster. Both nations had now recovered breath; and, urged on by inexorable events, had deliberately set to work to round off a good frontier to their dominions. The British certainly had no eye to the Russians, when they occupied

the Panjáb; and it is only a jaundiced eye, that can view in the Russian advance to the Jaxartes any other than the imperious necessity, that, at certain epochs, controls the advance of superior on inferior nations. Had there been a strong Power on the Oxus, which could control its own subjects, and maintain a decent relation with its neighbours, this advance might never have occurred. Had there been a strong Government in the Panjáb, able to control licentious soldiery, it is quite certain that the British would not have crossed the Satlaj. There was no reason why Russia should not conquer Tartary, if she chose to run the risk of so hazardous a venture. Great Britain and France would have deemed it an impertinence, if any European Power had intervened with advice or protest with regard to their respective advances in India or Algeria. Asia and Africa are still large enough for unlimited expansion of European nations. At any rate it is not our object at this moment to go off ground trodden by many, and many in vain. As no earthly power can at this moment arrest the power of Russia in Central Asia, it is more dignified to make no idle protests, but to note what advantages she has gained.

In three remarkable books lately published there is a flood of light thrown on the subject. One of them is by an intelligent American, who with a good knowledge of Russian, and the advantage of Russian friends, visited the Khanates, and informed himself of the position of the Russians in their new conquests, though subsequent to his visit further additions have been made, and perhaps, while we are writing, a new campaign to annex two more Districts may have been commenced. This book bears upon it the stamp of impartiality. If there is no hostility to the Russians, there is, on the other hand, no desire to mask their failures, or to screen their offences. The second work is by an Officer of the Russian army, who took part in the campaign in Central Asia. It is the work of a thorough-going partizan, and one, who is very ill-informed on matters beyond his own immediate ken, and also is entirely deficient in historical equanimity. It is stated, that the author is one of those literary soldiers,* who are not unknown in India. At one time he was in direct antagonism to General Kaufman, the Governor-General of Tashkend, but it was made worth his while to become the advocate of Russian policy in Central Asia, and the denouncer of the British administration in India. I read with regret some of the reckless attacks on Russia, which appear in England; the appearance in an English dress of a Russian view is both interesting and useful. The third is the well-known volume of Sir Henry Rawlinson. At any rate since the appearance of the works of Schuyler, Terantief, and Rawlinson, there is no more mystery. The precise position of affairs is exposed to the view of all.

* I made his acquaintance at St. Petersburgh in 1876.

After ten years of quiet on this side, occupied by the Crimean war and the campaign against Schamyl, in 1863, it was determined to unite the two lines, above alluded to, the one resting on the Sea of Aral and the Jaxartes, represented by the Fort No. 1, Ak Musjid, or Perofski and Julch, and the other on the River Chu, represented by Vernoe and Kastek. The ruler of Khokand awoke up to the importance of the conjuncture, and came into collision with the Russians, which ended in his total defeat, the occupation of the towns of Turkistan and Chemkend in that year, and of Tashkend in 1865, by the skill and gallantry of that same Tchernaieff, who, being superseded in Central Asia, has since commanded the army of Servia against Turkey. Tashkend then became the seat of a new Viceroyalty, and General Kaufman arrived armed with powers of peace and war, and the next ten years have been marked by the passage of the Jaxartes and occupation of Khojend in 1866. The Khan of Bokhára then raised the standard of Islám, was defeated, and Samarkand was permanently occupied by the Russians in 1868. The Khan of Khiva on the Oxus was attacked and defeated in 1873, and Khiva temporarily occupied. Eventually the Oxus has been declared the northern boundary of that Khanate, and the tracts adjoining the Eastern shores of the Caspian Sea have been permanently occupied, and attached to the Viceroyalty of the Caucasus, a strong fort being erected at Krasnovitch on the Caspian. In 1875 there were renewed troubles in Khokand, and that Khanate has been permanently annexed. The same year witnessed a campaign against the Turkoman borderers, nominal subjects of Khiva, who occupy the desert betwixt Khiva and the Persian frontier; this is the high road to Merv, Herat, and British India, and on this branch of the subject rages an unceasing controversy. That the Russians would in due course occupy Merv, and thus become immediate neighbours of Persia and Afghanistan, never could be doubted by any one who studied the problem.

But in the interval, betwixt the occupation of Samarkand by the defeat of the Khan of Bokhára, and the occupation of Khiva by the defeat of the Khan of Khiva, General Kaufman did another important stroke of business, which, though less talked about, is perhaps pregnant of more important events in the future. The province of Semiretch had been cut away from the Viceroyalty of Eastern Siberia and added to his Province, with a subordinate Government at Vernoe. Adjacent to it was the small, but fertile province of Jungaria, with its capital Kulja on the River Ili. It formed an integral portion of the Chinese Empire, though in a state of rebellion owing to the weakness and torpor of the Imperial system. This Province has also been occupied by Russia, with a professed readiness to restore it to the Chinese, as soon as they are in a position to occupy it.* In the same interval a commercial

treaty was forced upon Yakúb Ali, the successful usurper of the Khanates of Yarkand, Kashgar and Khoten, the Province known as Chinese Tartary or Eastern Turkistan. This chief is himself a native of the Province of Tashkend, and took part in the defence of Ak Musjid, or Fort Perofski, on the Jaxartes, which is now part of the Russian dominions. Separated from British India by the almost impassable rangés of Karakorum, he has lately entered into a commercial treaty with the Government of India, and has accepted titles and dignity from the Sultan of Turkey; but the occupation of Khokand and Kulja, separated from his dominions by ranges of mountains, which are easily traversable, places him at the mercy of a Russian invader, whenever the conjuncture arises, which renders their further advance necessary through Kashgar to the Province of Kansu in China,* for against that kingdom it is more probable that their restless energies will be turned. The footsteps of Genghiz will be followed rather than those of Tamerlane.

It is interesting to get a peep at the Russians in their administration of their new conquests, a very imperfect one indeed, when contrasted with the full and particular accounts published annually of the Provinces of British India. Mr. Schuyler was confessedly new to Oriental countries, and many things struck him as peculiar to Central Asia, which are common to all Asia. Of course the camel, and the encampment, and the caravanserai, and the insects, were described in full: we hope that the time is coming, when these features of Oriental life will be taken for granted, as the cart, and the public-house, and the crows, are taken in the West, for the reader is weary of them. He tells us that the people are either Uzbek, speaking the Jaghatai dialect of Turki, or Tajik, *alias* Sart, speaking a dialect of Persian. The last are the older and lower strata, for they represent the old Iranian population of these regions, before wave after wave of Tartars and Mongols flowed down from the Altaic range. The population is again divided sharply into Nomads and settled inhabitants of towns and villages. It is foreign to my subject to particularize the subdivisions of these Nomads, which are endless, and form one of the greatest difficulties of the administrative problem. In Kulja there is a great variety of races, Mantchu, Chinese, Tarantchi, Dungan, Kalmak; and this fact has been the misfortune of that unhappy Province. Strange to say, these very Kalmak tribes, which left the Volga last century, and marched across Asia to escape from Russia and be under the Emperor of China, find themselves again under their old masters. We have here also a race of Dungan, Chinese-speaking Mahometan and Tarantchi, speaking another variety of the Turki dialect. The three valleys of Khokand, Kulja, and the river Zur-afshan are fertile; but a very large

* China however was able to re-assert its power in Chinese Tartary. 1887.

portion of the new conquest is mere unprofitable desert, strangely exposed to the alternation of extreme heat and extreme cold.

Living among the Russians, our author remarked certain signs of that baneful "*albocracy*," which is the great impediment of good Asiatic Government, which is perhaps innate in every man of a conquering race with regard to the conquered; and the general notion that the natives, even in their own country, *have no rights*, and that to admit and grant them is an act of pure and, possibly, injudicious liberality. Professor Gregorieff remarked, that he did not know a single case, where the close relation of a civilized with an uncivilized nation has not in the course of a few years ended in mutual hatred. He recommended, that no attempt should be made to impress foreign ideas, that there should be as little bureaucracy as possible, and that natives should, as far as possible, be employed. The Russians being less advanced in civilization than the British, and more orientalized in habit, have shown a facility of dealing with half-civilized people, and are to some degree free from those contemptuous feelings, which is so marked in the dealings of the lower classes of the Anglo-Saxon race with people of lower culture and civilization. Russians entertain social relations with Asiatics. There is an instance of a Russian officer obtaining the leave of his own Government to wear a robe of honour conferred on him by the Emperor of China. In their intercourse with the Chinese, our author notices the gradual formation of a "Pigeon-Russian," analogous to the same barbarous patois of Hong-Kong. Not only is religious toleration one of the principles of their nation both at home and abroad, but the Mahometan religion is in some respects elevated to the rank of a State-religion. The Mufti is a Russian nobleman. No Missionary is allowed to enter the Province; the Mahometan law and law officers are upheld. During the prevalence of the cholera, the Mahometans petitioned, that dancing boys might be prohibited, and attendance be compelled at the mosques. It was practically impossible to grant the latter petition, but the former was conceded on general Police grounds.

The Viceroy of Turkistan is in some respects a greater man than the Viceroy of India; he has the power of peace and war, and is less under control. He holds a little Court; and the official atmosphere of Tashkend is very much of the same stamp as that of Calcutta. Under him are two Provinces, with local Governors. The Syr Daria Province comprises a certain number of Districts, but that number is always increasing. The Semiretch Province has five Districts, and in addition to this there is Kulja. In each District there is a Prefect or Commandant, who has the Police and general superintendence. Over each village is an elective Officer, or Ak-Salal, *alias* greybeard, and in each city there is an Official of this kind for each ward. The Nomads are grouped in "awl,"

and "volost," containing an hundred and one thousand families respectively. A tax is levied on each separate *kibitka* or family; over the whole tribe are elective Officials responsible to the Russian Prefect. A great deal must depend on the nerve and judgment of these Prefects, and our author remarks, that the number of Russians, who knew either Turki or Persian, was wonderfully small, and there were few who cared at all for history, antiquities or natural productions. The remuneration according to Anglo-Indian notions is small, being about £300. The pay of the Viceroy amounts to only £8000 per annum. It does not appear that the elective Officials have any State-salaries: I suspect they levy fees on their own account. It appears that newly-conquered Provinces (I presume that this means for the first year, as the oldest Province has only been conquered twelve years) are under a still more arbitrary system, in fact, at the entire pleasure of the Viceroy, who has the power to make and alter laws throughout. One feature is noticeable, that the Russians, like the British, cannot do anything without the trammels of bureaucracy, and in fact sealing wax and tape: it is curious, that it should be so, but there are unmistakable signs of this infirmity.

In some things the Russian administrators have split on the same rock as the British in India; sometimes they have avoided it: the mania for change is very rampant: they are clearly novices in the work of administration. The addition of each slice of conquered country came upon the Central Authorities as an unpleasant surprise, and the Local Authorities might have done what they liked, if they had not been obliged to ask for increased expenditure, for, unlike British India, these Provinces do not pay their expenses. This necessitated reports and schemes of administration. In 1871 projects were drawn up: but not being approved at St. Petersburg, were returned for re-consideration. A second scheme of 1872 failed to obtain the approval of the Emperor. In the winter of 1874-5, after the Khiva campaign, another carefully considered project was submitted by General Kaufman, and discussed by a commission formed of delegates from all the Ministers interested, War, Finance, Justice, and Foreign Affairs. The financial objection was so great, that it was again withdrawn, and re-submitted in 1876 to the Council of the Empire. It was opposed by the Minister of Finance. The Officials of Turkistan have been so long in the habit of spending largely, that they made provision on too large a scale. The Minister of Finance errs on the other side in not seeing the great difference of the position of affairs in Central Asia, and the necessity of a higher scale than the niggardly one in vogue in Russia Proper, where it is notorious that every Official adds to his income in various ways to the amount of two, three, or even ten times his salary. General Kaufman is right in insisting on ample salaries; but the Finance Minister is right in lopping off the monstrous

expenditure of forest departments, archives, mining, etc., etc., which may come in due time, when things have settled down. General Tchernaieff, who occupies the grand position of the patriot unable to get the place which he covets, denounces the present system, and would cut it down to a lower type of administration. He would not interfere at all with the local administration, but substitute local puppets, not allowing the Russians to meddle, except in gross cases of injustice. This cheap system, which has the other ingredient accompanying cheapness, has been tried in India by the patriarchal school, now happily extinct, and has failed. A good independent Native State is a good thing, and a good European administration has its merits, but the half-and-half system has the demerits without the merits of either system. The fact is, that there is in the Russian military class an incapacity for administration, which will bring its own penalty. The great statesmen of the Empire appear not to have given the slightest attention to Turkistan. The soldiers, aided by a few minor clerks, suddenly thrown up into high places, and one or two doctrinaires, have set the machine going. The system of Local Councils works badly, as the Soldier-Prefect overawes them. I can well imagine this from an experience of a local municipal board in India deliberating under the control of an active District Officer; but in Central Asia, there is an aggravation unknown in India, that the Russian Official is not familiar with the Vernacular, and the Council is ignorant of the language (Russian), in which its proceedings are recorded, and of its powers and duties; it becomes therefore a mere blind, as generally there is a sharp Native with a smattering of Russian, who gets the ear of the Ruler, plunders the people, and makes a fortune. Such individuals are not unknown in India.

It must not be supposed that General Kaufman has it all his own way without protests. The spirit of the nineteenth century has reached Russia. One Officer spoke out and told the truth, but his papers were ordered to be destroyed, and he himself sent back to Russia. One copy of his Report found its way to a Russian newspaper. He thus ends his Report:

"It is clear that since the occupation of the country by the "Russians, the condition of the population, in spite of all the "promises, has not only not grown better, but on the contrary is "every day growing worse and worse. How far the constant increase "of taxes and imposts can go, the population cannot understand. "It is therefore not strange, that the frightened imagination of the "Asiatic saw in the late collection of statistical information the "desire of the Government to get hold of their whole property. "An instance of this belief is, that after the registration of "property, several Natives went to a Russian acquaintance and "asked, if a fowl could be taken to the bazaar to be sold, or did it "already belong to the State? With such a state of the popular

"mind it is evident, that only a spark is wanting to inflame it." Well done, Captain Antipin, there is still hope for Russia, and Central Asia, while there are men of your stamp in the ranks of the army!

The author of *Turkistan* makes some just and judicious remarks about the difference betwixt the tyranny of a Mahometan Ruler, within certain limits understood and recognized by the people, and the totally unintelligible and intolerable tyranny of an European Government, acting like an unsympathizing machine. A Sikh Chief of the Cis-Satlaj States is said to have compared the British Government and Maharája Ranjít Singh to *tap-i-diq* and *tap-i-larzah* respectively. It is, however, scarcely credible that no care is taken to translate the Regulations into the Vernacular, but the people are expected to understand the system, and to guess at the relations of the various branches of Administration, which are quite new to them, and this obscurity, added to the uncertainty and constant changes, makes a system appear tyrannical which is not really so.

The Courts of law were under the Native rule of two kinds. I. The Courts of the Kázi, who administered strict Mahometan law among the settled population. II. *Biis*, or umpires, who judged according to unwritten tradition among the Nomads. Here custom had the force of law, altered by no importation of foreign civilization, and in many particulars directly contrary to Mahometan law. No record was kept, and no appeal admissible. The umpires were chance men, chosen for the case. The Russians have materially altered the constitution of these local Courts; permanent umpires are appointed, and appeals are allowed. This necessitates a record and lets in the evil influence of clerks, copyists, and lawyers. The Court of the Kázi is maintained, but an appeal is allowed, and the Kázi is an elective Officer by popular suffrage, for a limited term without any salary. It is unnecessary to add that the position of a Russian Kázi is something materially different from the Native article, and the unwisdom of tampering with Native institutions in both cases is patent.

Each single umpire can dispose of cases not exceeding the value of one hundred roubles, five horses, and fifty sheep; cases involving larger sums are submitted to a council of umpires: extraordinary Sessions are held to consider cases arising betwixt residents of different Districts. Our author was present on one occasion, and remarks that they were large, stout, well-to-do men, seated round a *kibitka* or hut; in the centre was a table, at which sat the Russian Soldier-Prefect, while the interpreter with a bundle of papers had a chair close beside. The decision was given by the umpires, and entered in a book. A suitor, who has any influence with the Prefect, or the interpreter, can always manage to get the decision set aside; if, says our author, the upright Russian Magistrate would only forget the formalities, and tape, and paper-smudging, *so dear to his*

race, he would do more for the justice of the Nomads: as it is now, they are entirely in the hands of the interpreter.

To the everlasting credit of the Anglo-Indian Officials, such a functionary does not exist out of the Presidency towns through the length and breadth of British India. On the frontier, where we come into contact with wild tribes, who have no book-language, or one not yet sufficiently studied, such as Pashtu and Balúchi, there is a necessity for some one to interpret, and the Judicial Officer all over India is often sorely tried with the *patois* and pronunciation of the villagers, but even then the interpretation is into the Vernacular of the country, not the Vernacular of the Judge. There appears to be no reason, why the Russian Official should not acquire the knowledge of such languages as Turki and Persian to the same practical extent, that the Anglo-Indian Official masters the Arian and non-Arian Vernaculars of India. Our author remarks that the interpreters are a sorry set, which is the more remarkable, as there are so many Asiatic subjects and servants of Russia, and in that country there are excellent appliances for acquiring Oriental languages. These interpreters are generally Tartars of the Volga, who have wandered thus far across the Steppes to make their fortunes, or Kirghíz Nomads, who have served as Jigits, the personal attendants of Russian Officials. They usually know no Persian, and have but an imperfect acquaintance with the Uzbek Turki, and understand less Russian. Sometimes they are only Russian Cossacks, who have picked up a little knowledge colloquially. No wonder glaring and amusing mistakes are made, and that they deceive both the Soldier-Prefect and the natives. The letters of the Russians are falsely translated, and sums of money are extorted from natives on pretence of setting things straight. All things have their value, and a perusal of the above leaves an impression of the great value to India of the Eurasian population, and the ubiquitous Bangáli Bábu. Perhaps the cure proposed is greater than the evil, for in one of the last projects submitted to St. Petersburg, it is seriously proposed to supersede Mahometan by Russian law, and to assimilate the administration of Turkistan to that of the European Provinces of the Empire; but, as the Russian Government formally declared on annexation, that the inhabitants should have their judicial system guaranteed to them, the introduction of Russian law would be a breach of faith, and it cannot be impressed too strongly on Oriental administrators that, if they wish for peace, they must leave the Customs, and Laws (so far as they are not contrary to the laws of common humanity) of the subject people alone, and not attempt over-civilization or unnecessary meddling.

I pass to the Land Tenures. It is suspicious, that property is found divided into the stereotyped Mahometan categories, of "Milk" or private property, "Miri" or public domain, "Wakf" or Religious and charity property, "Matrúkeh" or abandoned,

"Mewat" dead or waste. If this is a correct representation of the holdings of land in the ancient Iranian kingdom of Trans-Oxiana, there must at some period have been a deluge, like the Norman Conquest, pass over the land, and uproot all the old tenures, which have survived in India in spite of centuries of Mahometan domination. We find the Russian discussing the same elementary question, whether the land belongs to the State or the actual occupant; or, in other words, whether the State is entitled to a land-tax or land-rent. The Russians propose to declare, that all land belongs to the State, unless a grant can be produced, and to settle the land with a rack-rent, and to treat Religion and Charitable property as available for any local purpose, and turn out the Mahometan religious bodies. With knowledge of the effect of such wholesale measures in India, I may well hold my brea. h for a time, and refuse credence to the proposition of introducing the Russian Commune, described in the early part of this paper, into a country, where there exists no communal adhesion, and where such institutions, which are of Arian essence, and not transferable, are unknown. The argument for this is stated to be, that the Government would not be respected, if it did not enforce its extreme rights, and that otherwise there would be no room for the Russian Colonist, whose advance, and settlement, is part of the system of the Russian advance into Central Asia. Already, in the adjoining Province of Semiretch, which is part of the Viceroyalty of Turkistan, there is a nucleus in each District of sturdy Russian Colonists, which may, or may not, be a source of strength hereafter, according as cultivable land is to be had in sufficiency without trespassing on native rights.

There are taxes levied from the Nomad tribes of two roubles on each kibitka or family. There are taxes levied on the non-agricultural classes; but my chief interest is with the arrangement made to bring the land under contribution; for, after all, in Asia that must be the chief source of revenue, especially as there are in the Khanates no sea-customs, and no special products, on which a State-monopoly can be erected, such as salt, and opium, and tobacco. Khiráj or impost on land exists in two forms: (1) "mukasin," or proportional, paid in kind and a certain portion of the produce; in this I recognize the "batai" of our Indian system anterior to the introduction of cash settlements: (2) "mudayur," a fixed acreage cash-payment on certain superior products; in this I recognize our Indian "kankút." In Central Asia the unit of land measurement is the "tanap," and by that name the system is familiarly known. In both these methods all depends on the amount levied by the State; if a fair proportion only is demanded, they are the most favourable expedients with regard to the capricious climates, and the utter want of capital of the cultivator. But frightful extortion is possible, and cheating,

and waste of resources. Here is an instance, which was the talk of Russian society: "A small proprietor had on his threshing-floor "320lbs. of grain. This was disposed of in the following way. "The Tax-Collector took one-fourth as his own perquisite, amount-"ing to 80lbs. His assistant was allowed a sleeve-full, but he set "to work with such enormous sleeves, that he carried away 40lbs. "The priest took 40lbs., the scribe took 21lbs., the baker in "exchange for some ridiculously small cakes took 20lbs.; the "pipe-bearer handed in his pipe with a large horse's nosebag "attached to it, and took 20lbs.; a Gypsy-prostitute passing by "spread out before the State Collector a pair of new trousers, and "received not only 30lbs., but an inviattion to tea; all that "remained, after this unscrupulous plunder, was divided into "shares betwixt the State and the cultivator, the latter only "receiving 40lbs. or one-eighth of the harvest. Our compassion, "however, evaporates into indignation, when we are informed, that "the cultivator made no complaint, as he had previously concealed "the greater part of the harvest." It is proposed to convert all taxes into rent, and after dividing the land into eight classes according to its capability, to fix an average assessment; but our author does not hesitate to say, that the tone of feeling among the Russians is to grind out of the population as heavy taxes as possible, after so much expense has been incurred in the conquest. A century of experiments, failures, and experience purchased by failures has convinced the Anglo-Indian that fat and flourishing agriculturists with an interest in peace, and much property exposed to rapine in case of war, are the great bulwarks of our Empire, that light assessments make easy collections, that a contented peasantry with an unbounded spread of cultivation, and an Imperial Revenue poured into the treasury by willing hands, is at once the aim and reward of the skilful administrator. From the Indus to the Bay of Bangál millions are collected by a mere wave of the hand; and, if Russia allows the agriculturist of the Khanates to be ground to powder, she will find, when she makes her boasted advance on India, that she has a desert without supplies, or a hot-bed of rebellion, in her rear.

It need scarcely be said, that the expenditure of the Russian conquests in Central Asia far exceeds the revenue. The late acquisitions are useless for any purposes of trade or agriculture. Such deserts as that of Urt-Urt betwixt the Aral and the Caspian, and Kizil-kum betwixt the Oxus and Jaxartes, are of no more value than the salt water of the Bay of Bangál, and not so convenient for traversing. It was fondly thought, that Central Asia was a rich country, and it was regarded as a promised land. It was hoped that it would not only pay for the troops stationed there, but that it would afford a large surplus for Imperial purposes: this idea lay at the bottom of creating in Turkistan a separate

Viceroyalty; this is not the case. The Military expenditure has increased beyond expectation, and the revenue scarcely covers the expenses of the local civil administration.

It is impossible to form any accurate opinion from the budgets supplied. In the first place there has been a constant yearly accretion of territory, and until we have a fixed area, no opinion can be formed. A portion of the military expenditure is charged to the general budget of the Empire. The amount of revenue is ridiculously small, in fact the revenue of British India exceeds that of all Russia in Asia, and a comparison of the revenue of the Central Provinces of India to that of the Khanate would be more proper. Some maintain, that the cost of the army ought to be deducted on the ground, that the charge of defending the Empire should not fall on the frontier District only. We have had this line of argument sifted in British India with regard to the budget of the Panjáb, and there is a certain amount of truth in it; but of the forty thousand troops stationed in Turkistan, how many are there to guard the frontier against the Afgháns of Kashgár, or the Turkomans south of the Oxus, and how many to keep down the Uzbeg, the Kara-Kirghíz, the Kiptchak, the discharged retainers of the Khans, and the seething Mahometan rascality of Samarkand and the other great cities of Trans-Oxiana?

Mr. Schuyler's final view is, that the advance of Russia was not the result of any settled plan of conquest, but of unforeseen circumstances, and accidents not sufficiently guarded against. Central Asia has no store of wealth and no economical resources, nor will it ever repay the Russians for what it has already cost, and the rapidly-increasing expenditure. Had they known fifteen years ago what they know now, the steps taken in 1864 would never have been allowed; but it is impossible for Russia to withdraw. Her prestige would be injured, and it would be unjust to withdraw her protection from those, who have thrown their lot in with her.

The consequence must be, that more wars must be waged, Bokhára, Khiva and all the Turkoman country must be annexed, and more than that, Kashgár, which has already been threatened, must be occupied, and those tracts South of the Oxus known as Afghan-Turkistan, where the population are Turkish, though the sovereign power is with the Afgháns, will surely be drawn into the net, and a true ethnical boundary will be formed in the Hindu-Kúsh. Beyond that lies the question of political expansion and military domination.

What is our author's opinion on the state of the army occupying Turkistan? He mentions, that there are arrears of pay, and a great amount of suffering from the delay in the transmission of supplies. These evils can be amended, but he further remarks, that Officers of broken character are sent to join this force; that the best Officers are drafted from the regiments into civil employ,

and that promotion to lucrative offices was due to favouritism rather than merit. When war broke out, such men hurried back to their regiments to share in the lavish distribution of decorations. We have known such things in British India, and perhaps to such causes may, in some degree, be traced the break-up of the old native army of the East India Company. An officer of the army (probably one who had failed in obtaining a lucrative post) remarked, that, in the eyes of the natives, the Russians were far from being at the moral height, on which they ought to place themselves; that they had been unable to inspire the native with confidence, which ought to be the principal source of moral influence; that the high moral qualities which ought to have carried the civilizing mission of the Russians to the natives, had been wanting, and that many functionaries, who were distinguished by the bad qualities for proved corruption, had been pardoned; notorious plundering had been condoned; investigations had been hushed up or allowed to die away. The people say, "How are the Russians better than the "Chiefs? They also take away from us our daughters and our wives, "and love presents, and waste the money of the Tsar, as the Begs "wasted that of the Khan."

General Tchernaieff has expressed an opinion in favour of abolishing the Viceroyalty of Turkistan, and reducing all the unnecessary expenditure. Others recommend a purely military administration, a state of things unknown and incomprehensible to a law-abiding Anglo-Saxon, but which is known too well on the Continent, and applauded by a soldier-class, who dislike being restricted to purely soldier-duties. Others would make a cat's-paw of a supple Khan, who should manage the civil matters, while the real power rested with the Russian. Those engaged during the last quarter of a century in working out the great problem of Oriental administration in British India can appreciate the difficulties of Russia. The perusal of such a book as Mr. Schuyler's makes them reflect, how they would have acted, if deputed to go in and settle the Khanátes. How simple it would have been! how the difficulties would have vanished under the touch of those, who, in a few years, have brought into order the teeming population of the Panjáb, Oudh, the Central Provinces, Maisúr, and Barma! If I mistake not, equality of religion and of legal rights, liberty of the person and property, fearless independence of the controlling Officer, common sense, obedience to a central authority, single-mindedness, and clean hands, would have worked the same marvels in the Khanátes as in British India.

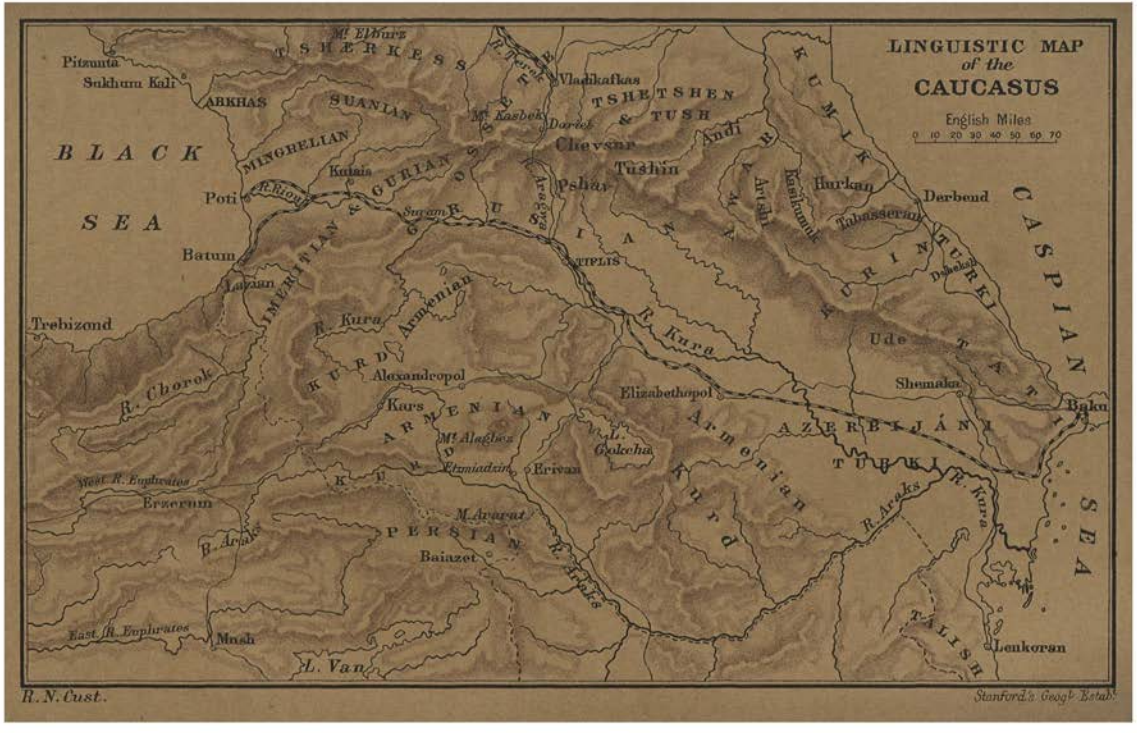
We may safely leave Russia to manage her own business, and a very troublesome one she will find it, and attend to our own. Better far that we should lose India, than that the civilizing advance of a great nation should be stopped in a path, which no other nation but herself could tread. It was well for the world,

for civilization, for religion, for humanity, that Imperial Rome gave way to the Goths, though the Romans did not think so at the time; and there is room in Asia for the two forms of civilization, the one full of light and life, but intolerant of, and destructive of, Oriental customs; the other more ponderous, and less advanced, but more sympathetic with Asiatic prejudices: the former is represented by Great Britain and France: the latter by Russia. We have to thank Russia for opening out new regions, and letting floods of light into dark corners.

Russia hangs up in her churches at St. Petersburg and Moscow the keys of all the cities, which she has conquered. In this she only imitates the example of the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople, who still holds the keys of cities, which the Turks once took, but are unable to retain. If Great Britain had a taste for that form of barbarous triumph, there are plenty of keys, which she might hang up, brought home from the four quarters of the globe any time during the last five hundred years. But the era of conquest, for the mere lust of conquest, after the manner of the Assyrian and Egyptian kings, Alexander the Great, and Rome, is past; and Russia is too poor a country to follow such examples with impunity. A long period of external peace is required to carry out her gigantic schemes of home-development. If the Crimean war nearly caused bankruptcy, her financial state during the next twenty years is still more critical, and any real patriot would pray for peace.

Another great lesson is taught by History. No nation can give freedom to others, and be content to be unfree herself. France did not help the American Colonies to assert their independence without unwillingly teaching her own people the terminology of liberty, and the elements of the rights of man. By fostering Slavonic societies, and conjuring up the spectre of Pan-Slavism, the Russian Authorities have unchained a lion. The Russian peasant reads in his cabin of the sufferings of the Southern Slavs, and hears talk of a Skoupchina, and paper-constitutions wrung from Sovereigns in spite of themselves; the great Russian Mujik population has compelled an unwilling Tsar to go to war to avoid a domestic revolution. Whatever may be the issue, the Russian people will have learnt a lesson; they will have seen Finland in enjoyment of constitutional liberty, Poland deprived of it, and the whole of Europe interfering in favour of the liberties of so very underserving and debased a nationality as Bulgaria, which has never done a thing worthy of record during a long and unhonoured existence.

LONDON, 1877.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Kutais
Poti
R. Rion
Batum
Lazian
Trebizond
R. Chorok
IMERITIAN & GURIAN
GROSSETE
Suram
R. Terek
Vladikafkas
Mt Kasbek
Dariel
TSHETSHEN & TUSH
Chevsur
Tushin
Andi
Pshav
R. Aragva
GRUSIAN
TIFLIS
AVAR
Artshi
Kasikumuk
KUMIK
Hurkan
Tabasseran
Derbend
KURIN
TURKI
Dabekah
TATI
Ude
Shemaka
Baku
R. Kura
Armenian
KURD
Alexandropol
Kars
ARMENIAN
Mt Alaghez
Etimiadzin
Erivan
L. Gokcha
Elizabethopol
AZERBIJÁNI
TURKI
Armenian
Kurd
R. Araks
R. Kura
West R. Euphrates
Erzerum
R. Araks
M. Ararat
PERSIAN
Baiazet
R. Araks
East R. Euphrates
Mush
L. Van
TÁLISH
Lenkoran
R. N. Cust.
Stanford's Geogl. Estab.

CHAPTER XI.

RUSSIA ON THE CASPIAN SEA.

In 1877, after my first visit to Russia, I wrote and published an Essay devoted to the consideration of the abolition of Serfage and the absorption of the Khanates of the Oxus. From that year until now, it has been my desire to visit the great Province of South Russia, situated between the Black and Caspian Seas, and study the important problem involved on the spot. A fatality appeared to oppose me. War broke out, which rendered travelling in those regions impossible, and in the meanwhile I have visited Spain, Italy, Greece, and North Africa, but always with my eye on the Caucasus. At length last autumn I accomplished my wish, not a month too early, as the line to Batúm was only just opened to traffic, and the route from London to Bakú on the Caspian Sea made easy.

In the interim another slice had been cut off ill-fated Turkey by the annexation of Kars: another nail knocked into the coffin of Persia by the opening of the railway to Bakú and the multiplication of steamers on the Caspian, thus placing Teherán and Tebríz at the mercy of a Russian force advancing *vid* Resht on the Caspian, and Julfa on the Araxes. A railway had been constructed from Michaelovsk in the new Province of Trans-Caspia, across the desert to Kizil-Arbat in the Tekké Oasis: the strength of that tribe had been destroyed by the taking of Geok Tépé: the Russian Frontier had been pushed on to Baba Durmaz, half way between Askabad and Sarakhs: Russian surveyors had crossed the river Tejend, *alias* Hari Rúd, at that latter place, and felt their way through the province of Badghís in Afghanistan right up to the walls of Herát, and pronounced the country to be adapted for a prolongation of the Russian railway up to the City, which is called the Gate of India. The time had indeed come to visit these regions, and make a study of Russian contemporary history, but not in a cavilling or censorious spirit. The Russians have just as much right to absorb Trans-Caspia, and pummel the Tekké, as the British have to absorb the Panjáb and Sindh, and punish the Wazíri and the plunderers of the Khaibar Pass.

As an old administrator of Asiatic Provinces, I naturally con-

sidered with the eye of a connoisseur the Civil and Military divisions of the Caucasus Province, its resources and means of communication, its facilities for self-defence, and its degree of exposure to attack from without. This is the first branch of the subject. As one given to linguistic and ethnological studies, I considered the people of this Province in their tribes and their languages, and their Religions: this is the second branch of the subject. As an old Indian Official, and an amateur strategist, from my lifelong experiences of war, tumult, mutiny, and annexations, I considered the effect upon India of this new forward move on the Asiatic chessboard, by which British India has for ever lost its political isolation, and is drawn into the vortex of European politics: this is the third branch of the subject. I propose to discuss them in order.

Between the Black Sea and Herát lie the two Russian Provinces of the Caucasus and Trans-Caspia, separated from each other by the Caspian Sea. The province of Caucasus is divided into Cis-Caucasia, North of the range, and therefore in Europe, and Trans-Caucasia, South of the range, and therefore in Asia. The Viceroy resides in Tiflis, within the latter subdivision, and up to the present time the post has been occupied by an Imperial Prince, but the present Emperor has substituted a General Officer. The Cis-Caucasian subdivision is divided into Districts: I. Kuban; II. Stavropol; III. Terek, reaching from sea to sea. The Trans-Caucasian subdivision is also divided into Districts: I. Daghestán; II. Zakatáli; III. Tiflis; IV. Kutáis; V. Súkhum; VI. Black-Sea Littoral; VII. Elizabethpol; VIII. Bakú; IX. Erivan; X. Batúm; XI. Kars. The total area includes 184,000 square miles, with an undue proportion of mountain and unprofitable waste land. The population amounts to less than five millions. The total revenue scarcely exceeds three quarters of a million. This indicates how different the problem is betwixt such a Government as this, and the Government of British India with its teeming millions. A railway traverses the whole breadth of Trans-Caucasia, from Batúm and Poti on the Black Sea, to Bakú on the Caspian Sea. At Tiflis, the capital, the road commences, which traverses the pass of Dariel to Vladikafkas, the chief town of Cis-Caucasia. From a point on the line from Tiflis to the Black Sea will branch off the proposed railway to Kars and the Turkish frontier: from a point on the line from Tiflis to Bakú, near the town of Akstafu, branches off the post road to Julfa, on the river Araxes, and the Persian frontier. The great feature of the Northern region is the barren steppe, the home of the Russian Cossacks: the feature of the Southern region is the watershed of Suram, which divides the basins of the rivers Kúr and Riou. Both these rivers are known to fame. The former flows Eastward, and discharges itself into the river Araxes, one of the supposed rivers of Paradise, which flows into the Caspian Sea, forming from its source in the slopes of Mount Ararat the boundary of the Persian

kingdom. The latter is the representative of the classic Phasis, up which Jason and the Argonauts found their way to Kutáis, the capital of Æétes, the father of Medea, whence the Golden Fleece was carried off triumphantly. In this fable we trace evidence of the first discovery of these regions by the Greek navigators: and a still more majestic fable connects the name of Prometheus with the mountains of the Caucasus, whose watershed marks the line of division betwixt Europe and Asia, which in Oriental story has its own cycle of legend as Koh-i-Káf, a name more accurately preserved in the Russian form of the word Káfkas, while the uncertain geographical notions of the Greeks, in the time of Alexander the Great, extended the venerable name to the mountains of Afghanistan, a remnant of which error lives on in the modern term Hindu-Kúsh. There is, except in occasional choice spots, no great fertility, and no product of special notoriety in this Province, and the revenues are far below the expenditure. The mineral wealth is great, specially the Petroleum, the supply of which appears to be unlimited and inexhaustible. A small amount of wine is produced in one valley, known as Kakhetia. Manufacture is scarcely existent: I searched the bazaars of Tiflis, and found nothing. The total absence of trees and verdure generally is appalling; but in secluded portions of the region there are luxuriant forests, whence boxwood is supplied for the use of manufacturers in Great Britain.

Petroleum appears to be one of the geological features of the region: it is found North of the Caucasian range, at a convenient distance from the Black Sea: it is found East of the Caspian Sea in great quantities. The Island of Tcheliken has steep cliffs stained with the black flow of naphtha, which has for ages passed its riches into the unprofitable bosom of the Caspian Sea. But it is in the peninsula of Aspheron, immediately adjacent to Bakú, that the phenomena are seen in their greatest development.

Bakú is the centre and the port of the inexhaustible Petroleum wells, which are destined to flood the world with kerosine. It is one of the wonders of the world, for the supply is on the surface, and when a well is tapped, the liquid leaps 40 feet high in the air; it bursts up through the sea, and one of the things to be done by a visitor is to go out in a boat and set the sea on fire. The fire-worshippers, who used to worship the deity here in the form of a flame of naphtha, are fairly driven out by the commercial use, to which their divinity is put in modern times, for the oil is admirable and universally useful; it is proposed to construct a pipe of the length of 500 miles to convey it to the Black Sea. The refuse, after refining, supplies fuel for the steamers and railway, cheaper and better than coal. The railway carries countless oil-tanks, of the appearance of great elephants, to Tiflis, for dispersion Westwards, and the Caspian is full of steamers to convey the oil in vast tanks to Astrakhan and up the Volga. The mouths of the Volga have

the drawback of being frozen in the winter, but Bakú is outside the limit of severe winter, and the Russian Government finds itself, to its own astonishment, supplied with an unlimited number of steamers, not kept idle or collected from a great distance, but always ready to leave off carrying Petroleum and carry across the Caspian in twenty-four hours a corps d'armée to Michaelovsk.

Only a few weeks ago I was at Bakú, and these thoughts assumed upon the spot a much greater sense of reality than it is possible to give to them by pointing out the place on a map. The trains always arrive late at night, and the effect of the light burning on the petroleum-field is strange and imposing. It has always been stated, that a priest from India was resident at the Fire Temple. As a fact he has taken his departure, and the religious rites have now come to a close, but it is interesting to remember, that the priest was really a Hindu, as he was called, and not a Parsi from the colony of fire-worshippers in Bombay. I have myself visited the naphtha-fires at the Temple of Jowála Múkhi in the district of Kangra in the Panjáb, and witnessed the ritual of wax candles being burned by the devout pilgrims in the flames, which found their way out of fissures in the rock. Unquestionably, this temple was the object of worship to the Hindu of Northern India, and not only as a remnant of an old local worship grafted on to the Brahmanical system. I remember meeting a Bangáli Bábu on his return from the worship, full of devout feelings, and he appealed to me to deny, if I could, the presence of a divinity, which showed itself in the form of a flame, which required no fuel to keep it in full force, and yet could not by any contrivance of brick or stonework be extinguished. Thielman, however, a careful German traveller, himself visited the temple at night, and reports, that he found a Parsi priest, sent from time to time from Bombay, to officiate to the chance Gheber pilgrim, who found his way to the shrine. But priests must live, either by the sale of candles, or otherwise, and Thielman mentions, how a box of Vienna lucifer matches was kept in the corner of the cell, and the priest, for a consideration, lighted a number of jets by applying lucifers, and the light fell upon walls decorated with vulgar lithographs. He then sang a liturgy, rang a bell, offered sugar-candy to a small idol (though the Parsi has no idol), handing it on to the travellers in exchange for a rouble. He then, by the aid of pipes, illuminated all the outer walls of the temple, and these walls were covered with inscriptions in some form of the Indian written Character.* It transpired that the priest hired out the use of the flame for burning lime. It is as well that this form of divine worship, which has survived from the days of the dynasty of the Achæmenides, when it was held in high honour, has now disappeared. Like the

* Copies of these Inscriptions have been taken.

oracle of Delphi, and the statue of Memnon, and many a mediæval shrine of Spain and Italy, the secret of the priests has been exposed.

Just forty years ago I was with the army of Lord Gough, in the Battles of Múdki, Ferozshahr and Sobraon, and, when peace was signed before the captured city of Lahúr, and the Province of the Jhalandar Doáb and Kangra added to British India, Lord Hardinge called me into his tent, and announced to me, that he had appointed me, as a reward for my services during the campaign, to the charge of the District of Hoshyarpúr; and, though so many years have passed away, I cannot forget the pride and delight, with which I took over charge from my great master, John Lawrence, of my beautiful District. In geographical conformation the Province of Jhalandar somewhat resembled that of the Caucasus: it ran from the river Beas to the River Satláj, and embraced within its area the lower range of the Himaláya, and my District was in the centre betwixt that of Jhalandar proper, which was entirely in the plains, and that of Kangra, which was entirely mountainous. From Hoshyarpúr, the capital, streams found their way East and West: from the North a mountain pass debouched upon the capital, and to the South ran roads East and West to Dehli and Lahúr. But this Province was, as it were, the Garden of Eden, teeming with a peaceful and industrious population, rich in cereals, saccharines, and oils, with a landscape varied by such groves of mango-trees, as no other part of India can rival, supplying, year after year, an Imperial revenue in answer to a wave of the hand of the District-Officer, who dwelt alone, without escort or guard, in the midst of a happy and contented people. The contrast betwixt the prospect of Trans-Caucasia and those fertile and happy districts on the Satláj was appalling, even after making due allowance for the mellowed tints supplied by memory and deep-rooted attachment. It is true that over our heads appeared the mountains of El-Burz and Kazbek, with their canopies of eternal snow, the loftiest mountains of Europe, being loftier than the dethroned Mont Blanc; but as I looked upon the villages and chief towns, and the inhabitants, I felt, that I never could have dwelt happily for weeks, months, and years, in tents in such a region and amidst such a people. The railway from Tiflis to Bakú for the most part runs through a howling wilderness, and the only representatives of the human race are the man, or perhaps woman with a child in her arms, who stands with a staff to mark the crossings of roads, which, as far as the eye could mark, were neither traversed by the camel of the Nomad, nor the creaking cart of the Scythian. Railway Notices were stuck up in correct form in the Russian and Arabic Character, but there seemed no possibility of any one reading them, except the passengers of the one daily train, which plodded by at stated hours. Yet the substitution of the railway for the tarantass and telega marks a distinct epoch of improvement. I saw an old tarantass in

the yard of the inn at Bakú, ready to convey an unhappy family to a solitary station lying off the railroad, and it appeared as antediluvian as a palanquin, and yet I recollect starting in 1844 on a journey from Calcutta to Ambála in a palanquin, which certainly is a form of locomotion very much less civilized than the tarantass. On the other hand, Russia may be said to have only the dry bones of Asia, while the Master of India, and the Ruler of China, have the flesh. Hence comes the desire of the lean kine to swallow up the fat kine.

But before I describe the people, which is the second branch of my subject, let me record my opinion, not hastily arrived at, that the Russian Government of subject Provinces is strong, thorough, and well-intentioned. There is none of that entire absence of the first elements of Government, which distinguishes the abominable system of the Turkish Empire, nor is there that over-government and undue interference in the affairs of private individuals, that is so offensive in Germany. I travelled all round the Russian shores of the Black Sea, and mingled freely with the people, and found universal civility and friendliness from fellow-travellers and Officials. It is a fascinating tour, which comprehends, on going eastward, Odessa, the Crimea, Kertch at the mouth of the Sea of Azof, and the great slopes of the Western Caucasus; and on the return, the Northern coast of Asia Minor with Trebizond, and the mouths of the river Halys, and the mysterious mouths of the Bosphorus, that great sea-river, which finds its way betwixt the Symplegades, and flows on in one uninterrupted stream past the walls of Constantinople. The Bosphorus no doubt suggested the idea of the great circumambient ocean, which according to the notions of the early Greeks, in the time of Homer, surrounded the world. Many thoughts rise up in the mind, as each day brings into sight new objects, and awakes new associations. As I sailed under the hills of Circassia, and read, that that famous territory was actually without inhabitants, that virgin forests filled the valleys, and wild bulls roved about among the ruins of deserted homesteads, since the whole population had migrated across the Black Sea rather than submit to the Russian domination, the scathing words of Tacitus came to the recollection,

"*Solitudinem faciunt et pacem appellant.*"

As I walked through Trebizond, the natural conformation of the flat hills and deep valleys explained, why it was named by the Greek word for "a table," and a world-wide story came to my recollection as I looked up to the mountains of Asia behind, for from these heights the Ten Thousand of Xenophon, on their famous retreat through Kurdistan and Armenia, beheld again the waves of the sea, and raised a mighty shout of "Thalatta, Thalatta," while they erected a mighty mound, decorating it with their shields to

commemorate their deliverance. That monument has long since perished, but the famous incident has caught the fancy of all succeeding generations, and will live for ever on the lips of men, like the burning of the ships of the great Spanish freebooter, and the famous signal at the masthead of Nelson on the day of his last victory.

On the Northern side of the Euxine, the great harbour and battle-field of Sebastopol can scarcely be passed without some notice. Though more than a quarter of a century has passed, the scene of ruin and desolation remains very much unchanged. In fact, the importance of the position has passed away. I had long felt a deep interest in the tombs of our countrymen, who fell in this great siege, and I attended in the summer preceding my visit the Meeting in London to consider what should be done. On my arrival at Sebastopol in September, I made the acquaintance of Colonel Conolly and Major Harford, the Vice-Consul, who were charged with the details. The policy of concentrating the Monuments was being carried out; all the Monuments of the existing eleven Cemeteries were being transferred to the greatly enlarged Cemetery on Cathcart's Hill, which will become the sole depositary of the memorials of those who fell. The space within the solid masonry wall was strewn with slabs, which had been brought in from abandoned Cemeteries, and I met carts laden with the same mournful records of the dead. The greatest care and judgment was exhibited in all the arrangements. In the entrance the Custodians will reside, and keep the enclosure in proper order, as well as in absolute safety from violation and insult.

No doubt the step was necessary, but, when I visited the secluded Cemetery of the Engineers near the mill, which by good chance had escaped all violation, a feeling of regret came over me, as I passed from stone to stone, that a necessity had arisen to separate the memorial of the dead from the grave, which held, or once held, the remains of the brave men, whose names were recorded; but the feeling was sentimental rather than practical, and I feel sure, that the surviving friends of the dead will be satisfied.

But what of the poor remains? They have not been, nor ever will be, disturbed. They have long ago become part of the soil, which contains them. The removal of the monumental slabs is accompanied by a levelling of the ground; the walls will be knocked down, and the area once set apart will be restored to the waste, or to the cultivated field, and no one will know where each brave man was buried by his comrades. Some of the Cemeteries, which years ago were abandoned, when the first concentration took place, are now covered with luxuriant crops of tobacco.

> "Nunc seges est, ubi Troja fuit,
> Luxuriat nostro sanguine pinguis humus."

One thing remains to be done in the way of sober embellishment of the Central Cemetery, and the work once satisfactorily and thoroughly done, will last for centuries. Balaclava is included in these arrangements, but the graves of those, who fell in the Battle of the Alma, are excluded, as being too far removed. I drove over in a light carriage, with the Vice-Consul, to the spot. Two Regimental Monuments on the slope of the hill are surrounded by a masonry wall, and the Inscriptions carefully renewed. One solitary Monument of Aberdeen granite has been left in a garden on the North bank of the Alma, on the spot where the young officer, my own cousin and namesake, fell. It is surrounded with a wall, which I arranged to have thoroughly repaired.

It is highly to the credit of the Russian Authorities, that they have not only assisted the erection and preservation of Monuments of their invaders, but they have allowed trophies in the shape of crosses and obelisks to be raised, which in fact record their defeat, and the occupation of their country by the enemy. It is not every nation, which would rise to such nobility of feeling towards a foe. As time passes on, domestic grief will be extinguished by the death of those relatives and friends, who still mourn the companions of their youth, who fell in the great campaigns of 1854, '55, '56. The older generation, who felt the keener pang of the bereavement of their children, have all passed away. But the National Memory and Honour will survive as long as Great Britain continues to be a Nation, and beyond. The cluster of Monuments on Cathcart's Hill will, like the Greek Monumental Inscription upon those who fell at Platæa, survive to all ages, as an incentive to future deeds of valour.

"Go, Britons, do as these did, and fall as these fell."

I must return to the second branch of my subject, the description of the nationalities and languages of the inhabitants of the Province of the Caucasus. The Russian Government is very strong on the side of cartography and statistics. Two excellent maps have been published at Tiflis, one describing the population ethnically, and the other administratively. The Russians themselves, in the shape of permanent colonists, soldiery, and temporary denizens, exceed one million, or one-fifth of the population. A few Poles are recorded, but, it may be presumed, are involuntary settlers. The Polish Doctor, who was called in to prescribe in my presence for a sick traveller, admitted that he was an insurgent, who had the alternative offered to him of practising his profession at Bakú, or a longer trip to Siberia. A great many of the Russians have left their homes in Old Russia, and settled here, to avoid the military conscription, which offended their conscientious scruples; but now that the military law is extended to the Caucasus Province, they will have to move on further. Small colonies of Germans appear

here and there, but it can scarcely be imagined, that with the choice betwixt North America and the Caucasus, the latter will be chosen. The hungry and ubiquitous Greek, who, if bidden, or if there is a chance of profit, is ready to go to the infernal regions, is here in considerable numbers; there are 20,000. So far the population is European.

As might be imagined, numbers of Persians have crossed the Araxes as immigrants, or are descendants of old settlers, who date back to the long period of Persian domination. They amount to 130,000, and the Kurds, who are Persian subjects, though of distinct race, contribute 45,000. 25,000 Jews are recorded, but when I inquired, whether the Jews were loathed and hated in this Province, as they were by all classes in other parts of Southern Russia, I was answered in the negative, as the Armenians did all the dirty work of money-lending, liquor-selling, brothel-keeping, and other offensive trades, which made the Jews so unpopular elsewhere. The Province includes the greater part of Armenia Proper, and there are 70,000 Armenians, the majority of whom are industrious, influential, and well-placed, in fact the backbone of the commercial community. Tiflis is the capital of the old kingdom of Georgia, and a large population of agriculturists, amounting to 900,000, is found in the different subdivisions of Georgia Proper, Imeritia, Mingrelia, and Lazia, under the general name of Grusian. The attention of travellers is at once called to the appearance and dress of the Armenian and Georgian residents, all of whom are Christians, though belonging to separate churches.

Still more remarkable, specially in their head-dress, are the Trans-Caucasian or Azerbijáni Turks, who number nearly a million, and do all the menial work of the country. They differ very materially from their cousins the Osmanli Turks on their right at Constantinople, and the Turcoman Nomads across the Caspian Sea. They appear to be an honest, hard-working race, drivers of carriages, and generally useful. A few thousand Mongols, and more than a hundred thousand Turks of the Northern tribes, are also enumerated. However, the existence of this section of the population, who are Mahometan, presents a counterpoise to the Christian races already mentioned, and renders any attempt at a national existence impossible. There never can have been, or can be, any possible bond of union, past, present, or future. This is the great strength of Russia's position in this Province.

Such is the population of the plains, or steppes, or lower ranges, but in the Caucasus mountains, a congeries of small and totally unconnected tribes long defied the power of the great Governments, North and South, but have at last knuckled down in subjection to Russia. They dwell in valleys, which are approached with difficulty, and their conquest has never paid the expenses of the conflict, but it was impossible to tolerate an independence, which

indulged itself in free-booting. The Dariel Pass appears to be a demarcation of the Eastern and Western tribes, the most notorious of the Eastern Section being the inhabitants of Daghestán, known generally as Lesghian, another term for free-booters, among whom Schamyl maintained his war of independence. The most notorious of the Western Section are the Swani, of the upland valleys of Swanetia, who, under the heights of their snowy ranges, have maintained a rude and savage freedom and their pagan forms of religion, very much as the Siahposh Kafir have done in the upland valleys of the Hindu-Kúsh. Along the shores of the Black Sea are the Abkhasian, the nominal remnant of the Tsherkess or Circassian, and North of the Caucasus the Kabarda, who extend along the Northern slopes as far as Vladikafkas, and beyond these, reaching down to the Caspian Sea, are the Tshetshen, a tribe of bad repute. Betwixt the Eastern and Western groups thus enumerated right up to Mount Kazbek, dwell the interesting tribe of the Ossete, partly Mahometan, and partly Christian, and even pagan, but who also, as will be shown from their language, are Arian, while all their neighbours, for want of a better classification, must be lumped together in a group called the Caucasian. Each one of the tribes mentioned has numberless subdivisions, without any bond of union, which differ in customs and often in language.

And from this point of view I will now consider the position of the Province of the Caucasus. It is of the essence of good government, that the Ruler should be accessible to, and able to understand, the people, and this necessity is impressed deeply on the Officials of British India, and fortunately in most of the Provinces there are leading languages; but in Barma, the Central Provinces, and Assam there is a multiplicity of small and unimportant languages. The position of the conscientious Official in the Caucasus is a difficult one. Russian is necessarily the official language, and is the mother-tongue of one-fifth of the residents. The Armenian, Georgian, and Trans-Caucasian Turki stand next in importance, but belonging to totally distinct Families or Groups of languages from each other and Russian, require a distinct and separate study. Russian belongs to the Slavonic branch of the Arian Family; Armenian, like Persian, belongs to the Iranian branch of the same Family. Turki is a member of the Altaic Family of Agglutinative languages, and the form spoken here is not impregnated with Persian and Arabic words like the Osmanli. Georgian is one of the Caucasian languages with no relation to any of the foregoing. Moreover, each of the foregoing languages has a different form of Character exclusively used. There appears to be an entire blending together of the speakers of these different languages, and it is difficult to say which would be the one language, which was understood by all. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the four great languages of Europe are at a discount.

I give a practical instance: when at Bakú, I hired a carriage to drive six or seven miles to the Petroleum fields. My coachman was a good, intelligent fellow, but he spoke nothing but Turki; my landlord, an Italian, explained to him carefully what he was to do with me, and I did very well until I arrived in the middle of the machinery. I was unable to formulate any questions, and he had not the innate skill of a practised guide to explain by gesture what was going on around; the men employed in the operations were, like himself, Turki. I was in despair, when I beheld a well-dressed Armenian gentleman approaching me: raising my hat I addressed him consecutively in French, German, and Italian, and on each occasion he shook his head to show his inability to comprehend me. He then addressed me in Armenian, Russian, and Turki, and I shook my head hopelessly, though I quite knew which languages he was using, as they were always sounding around me, and I had learnt to distinguish their sounds. It would have been an absurdity on my part to address him in English, nor did he vex my soul by addressing me in Georgian, or Kumík, or Tsherkess. We stood blandly smiling at each other, when, under a sudden inspiration, he cried out: "I suppose you do not speak Persian." "Not speak Persian!" I replied, "why it is a language with which I am quite familiar." We fraternized at once. He explained everything, as he was himself a proprietor of a great many wells; he took me into his office and gave me refreshments, and we parted as warm friends.

Some further allusion to these languages is necessary.

There are two or three corners in the world's surface, in which a strange collection of diverse languages is found, the survivals of extinct races, once great and strong. The Central Provinces of India, the refuge of the Kolarian aboriginal tribes; the hills and valleys of Abyssinia, in which remnants of Hamitic, or even Pre-Hamitic, races, pushed aside by the advent of the powerful Semites, are still found: the plateau of Tibet, and the Eastern slopes of that plateau: all these three are instances of the phenomena, which I describe: but none is so noticeable as the range of the Caucasus, one of the dividing lines of Europe and Asia. As after a great hunt animals of all descriptions and sizes take refuge in some secure copse, or some unapproachable mountain, so, when the great Procession of the Indo-European or Arian races, from their primeval home on the Hindu-Kúsh, commenced, all the Pre-Arian races, which were not destroyed, were pushed aside. In the West of Europe there is one solitary survival, the Basque in the Pyrenees: on the extreme East of Europe we find a cluster of languages in the Caucasus, which are neither Arian, nor Semitic, nor Altaic.

These mysterious languages of the Caucasus have long had an exaggerated reputation. Herodotus (Book I. 203) remarks, that many and various are the tribes, by which the Caucasus is inhabited, most of them living entirely on the wild fruits of the forest. Strabo

informs us (Book XI. 5), that no less than seventy dialects were spoken in the country, which even then was called the Mountain of languages. Pliny the Elder (Book VI. cap. 5, 12) quotes Timosthenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to the effect, that Dioscurias, on the shores of the Black Sea, was once a famous city, (though then deserted,) so much so, that three hundred Nations, all of different languages, were in the habit of resorting to it, and in later times there were one hundred and thirty interpreters for the purpose of transacting business. The Caucasus was the Northern boundary of the Persian Empire, and, though Mithridates was able to make his way along the coast of the Black Sea to the Sea of Azof, as a fact the Roman Eagles never crossed the Caucasus. The three Provinces of Colchis, Iberia and Albania, were the limits of Roman knowledge and influence, with the exception of some shadowy notion of the Suani, and of the existence of the Caucasiæ Pylæ, now the Pass of Dariel, leading through the Mountains to the unknown Sarmatia. The River, that drains the Pass Southwards, is called by Strabo in the Augustan age Aragus, and still preserves the name of Aragwa.

Shut up in their inaccessible mountains, the tribes had evaded all possibility of inquiry into their language before the Russian Conquest. Some few Vocabularies had been picked up from the mouths of stray members of a clan. But the Russians are very active and apt in the work of Surveys and Ethnographic inquiry: indeed sometimes they anticipate an intended conquest by preparing a Grammar of the language of the tribe. The Afghans must have felt, that some one was walking over their grave, when Prof. Dorn in 1840 published his Pashtu Grammar at St. Petersburg. As regards the languages of the Caucasus, in books of such esteem on the general subject of Philology, as those of Max Müller, Whitney, and Hovelacque, there was nothing. In his "Asia Polyglotta" Klaproth had given a few Vocabularies, and some specimens in his "Kaukasische Sprachen." Julg in his "Litteratur der Grammatiken," 1847, had referred to all the books available at the time. Max Müller in his "Languages of the Seat of War in the East," 1855, had brought together much valuable information. Latham in his "Elements of Comparative Philology," 1862, summed up all that was known at that period, unfortunately giving no references to the Authorities quoted, without which a volume of facts collected at second-hand is valueless. Berger in the Report of the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg, 1876, gives a full Ethnographic description of the Caucasus, but in the Russian language.

When I visited St. Petersburg for the Third Oriental Congress in 1876, I made the acquaintance of Berger, who occupied the post of Chief of the Archæological Commission of the Caucasian Province: he was good enough on a large Map to point out to me the locality of the tribes speaking different languages, and to indicate to me the

important contributions to the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg by Professor Schiefner, based upon the local investigations of Baron von Uslar. This threw a new light on the subject, as all previous accounts had been entirely devoid of the Geographical element. In 1878 I was fortunate enough to meet Schiefner himself at the Fourth Oriental Congress at Florence, and he promised to send me a brief sketch of our present knowledge of the languages of the Caucasus: it reached me next year in the German language. I had it translated and published in the Annual Report of the Philological Society, 1879, but before the Report appeared, Schiefner passed away, so I was only just in time to get the desired information. In the meantime another great authority, Fredk. Müller of Vienna, had made use of Schiefner's and Uslar's published works, and in his "Allgemeine Ethnographie" (1st edition 1873, 2nd edition 1879) had made a valuable contribution to our knowledge. Not being quite satisfied from the Geographical point of view, I had written to Mr. Morrison, Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society at Tiflis, asking him to get from the Russian Authorities full Geographical and Statistical information of the population of the Region. In 1881 he sent me the Ethnological Map of the Province in which every tribe was marked by distinct colouring, with Statistics showing the number of the population of each: this latter was translated and published by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XIII. p. 353, 1881). As I could not even then reconcile some of the Ethnological Divisions with the Linguistic materials, I thought it best in the autumn of 1883 to go myself to Trans-Caucasia, traverse the whole Region, and visit the Imperial Topographical Office at Tiflis, where I experienced that remarkable kindness and sympathy, which is so freely given in Russia to strangers, and generally so coldly denied in England. Mr. Morrison and I went carefully over the large sheet-Maps then purchased, and the Ethnological Map, both in Tiflis, and subsequently in London, and arrived at certain conclusions. It will be admitted therefore, that the results now stated are the outcome of peculiarly favourable opportunities, and local inquiry. As a rule Anglo-Indians, who are familiar with the administration of newly-conquered Districts, may be trusted to stick closely to facts, and to eschew all pet theories and delusive inductions. I have treated the Province of the Caucasus with the same rigour of inquiry, with which I treated in years gone by the Panjáb.

On my road back from Trans-Caucasia, Fredk. Müller presented me at Vienna with a copy of the third volume of his Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft (1884), which he had been good enough to dedicate to me. In this he passes under review each of the peculiar languages of the Caucasus in an exhaustive Grammatical Note. In the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica all the Geographical and Ethnographical information available in 1876 is brought

together under the words Caucasus, Circassia and Georgia. In Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1860, is a paper by Berger, "Die Berg Volker der Kaukasus."

The method, which I adopt, consists of two rules.

A. That no language is to be admitted, unless the locality of the tribe, who use it, can be indicated on a Map, not prepared for the purpose, but independently by competent authorities for strictly Geographical purposes.

B. That no language is to be admitted, unless some sufficient evidence, vouched for at first hand, such as a Vocabulary, Grammar, or Text, or the personal knowledge of the reporter, can be produced.

With a view of carrying out an exhaustive process, all the languages spoken in the Province of the Caucasus are entered, whether they are members of well-known families, or belong to the peculiar group called the Caucasian Group, with regard to which Fredk. Müller remarks (Allg. Ethn. 1879, p. 26, note): "It is doutful, whether this Group can be traced back to one "common source. It is probable that the languages spoken to the "North of the Caucasus are quite distinct from those spoken to "the South, and that in the Northern Sub-Group there are lan- "guages with totally distinct germs from each other."

I omit the German, French, Italian, and even Russian languages, though there are settled colonies of some of these nationalities of a modern date: but they lie outside this inquiry. I commence from the Southern boundary of the Province and proceed Northward. There is a strange admixture of race and language, and the attempt to show the different features on the Ethnological Map is a very difficult one, and as regards the population of the chief towns, it is impossible. The great conquering, and commercial, races are hopelessly intermixed. Of Jews there are none: other Nationalities, such as Greek, Pole, Bohemian, Romanian, are sparsely represented.

I.	Persian	Iranian Branch of Arian Family.		
II.	Kurd	do.		
III.	Armenian	do.		
IV.	Ossete	do.		
V.	Turkí	Altaic Family		
VI.	Georgian	Caucasian Group.	Southern Sub-Group.	
VII.	Abkhás	do.	Northern Sub-Group	(West).
VIII.	Tsherkess	do.	do.	
IX.	Awár	do.	do.	(East).
X.	Hurkan	do.	do.	
XI.	Kasikúmuk	do.	do.	
XII.	Tabasseran	do.	do.	
XIII.	Kurin	do.	do.	
XIV.	Artshi	do.	do.	
XV.	Ude	do.	do.	
XVI.	Tshetshen	do.	do.	(North).
XVII.	Tush	do.	do.	

I shall describe each separately: of some languages there are several dialects; of others there are several synonyms: others are spoken by clans or tribes bearing tribal names. It is probable, that the more powerful Iranian, or Altaic, languages may have swallowed up in the struggle of life scores of smaller languages, as they will no doubt swallow up some of the small ones recorded above: yet these seventeen names represent all that remains of the seventy of Strabo, and the three hundred of Pliny.

I. Persian. A few words are sufficient for this celebrated language. As Trans-Caucasia was until 1826 part of the Persian kingdom, it is natural to find, that the use of the language has outlived the political domination: besides there exists a considerable commerce betwixt the two countries. The pure Persian-speaking population amounts to 8000. It is interesting to find amidst the settled population of the Province two Persian Colonies, speaking distinctive Persian dialects: (1) Talish, the dialect of a small District with a population of 43,000 round a town of that name, and the better-known Caspian Sea Port of Lenkoran; this dialect has the character of being an ancient one, differing in forms and words from modern Persian. (2) Tati, spoken in the District of Bakú on the Caspian Sea, and the Peninsula of Aspheron, with a population of 81,000: it is supposed by some to be only a modern patois, corrupted by Turkí, but according to Beresine its name carries the appearance of antiquity, for in the celebrated Tablets of Behistún the word "Thatiya" occurs repeatedly preceding the name of Darius, meaning "Darius spake." This hypothesis seems doubtful. All the Persians are Mahometan, but Shiah, and hostile to the Turks, who are Súni.

II. Kurd. They are all Mahometan.

III. Armenian. They speak a different dialect from that used by their co-religionists in Asiatic Turkey. The whole Bible has been lately translated into their dialect, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

IV. Ossete, called also Iron. This is one of the languages spoken within the Range of the Caucasus, but, as it belongs to the Iranian Branch of the Arian Family, its description follows the other members of that Branch. The tribe numbers one hundred and eleven thousand: they occupy a compact territory in the very centre of the Range, and it is traversed by the high road through the Dariel Pass that leads from Tiflis to Vladikafkas. They hold the upper valley of the river Terek, as well as the mountain tract to the West as far as the head-waters of the Ardou, and the Mamisson Pass. The evidence of their language is quite decisive as to their origin.

V. Turkí. Of this important Nationality the Russian statistics give the following details:

I. Osmánli	700
II. Azerbijáni	976,000
III. Karachai	20,000
IV. Kabarda	14,000
V. Kumík	78,000
VI. Noga	10,000
VII. Kirghíz	11,000
VIII. Jaghatai	77,000
IX. Kalmak	11,000
	1,197,700

Of these the Azerbijáni are the most important, and spread over the greater part of Trans-Caucasia, and they are homogeneous with the population of the Persian adjoining Province of Tebríz to such an extent, that a Translation of the Bible is now passing through the Press at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which will be intelligible to both. Allusion was made at the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg in 1876, by Berger, to the importance of this language, and to the fact, that it had never been studied. Last year at Tiflis I made particular inquiries of the scholar Amirkhanians, employed in this Translation of the Bible, and found that the only notice of this language was in a Grammar of the Osmánli language in the Russian language by Kasim Beg, translated into German by Zenker. Of the other varieties of the Turkí language (excepting of course the Osmánli) we know little. The Kumík occupy the low lands betwixt the Caspian Sea and the Eastern slopes of the Caucasus, and the Gospel of St. Matthew is in course of translation for their use. The New Testament has been translated into Kirghíz, and the Gospel of St. Matthew into Jaghatai or Trans-Caspian Turkí. Of some of the rest we have scant Vocabularies. A scientific detail of the different varieties of the important Turkí language is greatly to be desired. The Turkí tribes poured in from the North in historic times, causing great displacement of the Arian and Pre-Arian Languages, and now that the whole of the scattered portions of the tribe are gradually coming under the firm rule of the Russians, their importance will be greatly increased. They are all Mahometan, of the Súni sect.

VI. Georgian. We now arrive at the first of the languages specially identified with the Caucasus, and belonging to none of the great Language-Families of Asia. Fredk. Müller divides the Group into a Southern and Northern Sub-Group, and the Georgian with

its dialects composes the Southern Sub-Group. The Statistical account states the following facts:

I. Grusia	340,000
II. Imeritia and Guria . . .	380,000
III. Tushin, Pshav, and Chevsur	20,000
IV. Mingrelia	198,000
V. Suania	12,000
	950,000

The origin of the name Georgia is presumably the Persian word "Gurj." The third Subdivision is unimportant. Tiflis, the Capital of the Russian Province, is the chief town of Grusia, Kutais of Imeritia, and Poti of Mingrelia. Suania is a small Mountainous District difficult of access. They are all sometimes called the Kartalinia tribes, from their speaking a language called by themselves Kartli. The Grusians, or Georgians proper, inhabit the basin of the River Kúr East of the Suram watershed, and spread up the valley of the Aragwa to the foot of the main-range, and occupy the valley of Kakhetia. The Imeritians occupy the valley of the River Riou or Phasis, West of the Suram Range. They are separated from the Mingrelians by the River Zenesquali. The Mingrelians extend to the Black Sea. The Gurians are a small Sub-tribe to the South of the Mingrelians, and beyond these are the Lazians, who were known by that name in the time of Strabo, and have been annexed to Russia. The Suanians are mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. All these Sub-tribes speak dialects, more or less distinct, of the common language, the Georgian; or some may even be called Sister-Languages. All the tribes are Christian, except the Lazian. The language is essentially Non-Arian. It has two Alphabets, both of which derive from the Armenian Alphabet: one is used for the Bible and Religious works, the Kutsuri, or Priest's; the other is the Mekhedsuli Kheli, or Soldier's, which is the ordinary cursive script. The Translation of the Bible dates back to the eighth century, and there are other specimens of archaic literature. This is a strong language, with great vitality, and will hold its own, and become the vehicle of culture and civilization.

In a general way the tribes, which make up the Northern Sub-Group, in the Western Regions of the Caucasus, have been called the Circassian, in the Central Regions the Mizdzhedzi, and in the Eastern Regions the Lesgian: these are Ethnic terms. Almost all the Lesgians were Christians before the twelfth century.

VII. Abkhás or Abas. This tribe occupies the Coast of the Black Sea from the point of Pitzunta to the confines of Mingrelia: they are kindred to the Tsherkess: the population numbers twenty-two thousand. Their language has been thoroughly studied and

described. Mr. Peacock, Consul at Batúm, at my request, has prepared a Vocabulary and Sentences upon a fixed plan. They were once Christian, are nominally Mahometan, but practically Pagan.

VIII. Tsherkess. These are the famous Circassians: their proper name is Adighé. After a prolonged struggle they were subjugated by the Russians in 1864, and emigrated in a body of 400,000 to Turkey in Europe. The Statistics still show a population of one hundred and fifteen thousand, under the designation of Kabarda and other Circassian Mountain tribes. The name of Kabarda appears twice in the Statistics, and is marked off separately in the Map: first as a portion of the Turkí population, and secondly as a portion of the Tsherkess, who knuckled under to the Russians, and hold the country North of the Range from the valley of the River Kuban to that of the River Terek. All these tribes are Mahometan. Their language has been studied, but it has not been treated Grammatically in accordance with the requirements of Philology, either by Schiefner or Fredk. Müller. The latter omits it entirely from his Grammatical Notices in Vol. III. of his Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, as if he considered that the language had ceased to exist, which can hardly be asserted, as regards the emigrants into Turkey, or those who stayed behind in their native Mountains.

IX. Awár. These mountaineers number one hundred and fifty-five thousand, and their habitat is in the Eastern portion of the Range, in the very heart of Daghestán. Materials for a study of their language were collected by Berger, and on this basis, with the help of soldiers in the Circassian battalion stationed at St. Petersburg, Schiefner in 1862 published his Essay on the Awár. When Uslar published his more comprehensive Essay on the Northern dialect of this language, Schiefner returned to the subject, and published a comprehensive account, comparing the Awár Grammatically, as well as Lexicographically, with the other languages of the Caucasus. This is the only one of the Lesgian tribes, who have a written language, and they use the Arabic Character. They are Mahometan.

X. Hurkan. In the Statistics this tribe is called Dargin, but the Philologists prefer the name entered above. There are three dialects, Akusha, Tschardak, Wurkun: the former is the most widely spoken and the best known. The population, which speaks this language, amounts to eighty-eight thousand: their habitat is East of the Awár, in the latitude of Derbend on the Caspian Sea. Uslar made investigations into the language, which Schiefner reported in 1871, and has been followed by Fredk. Müller.

XI. Kasikúmuk, who call themselves Lak. This tribe dwells in Central Daghestán, and numbers thirty-five thousand. They

occupy a small enclave in the latitude of Derbend, betwixt the Awár and the Hurkan. Uslar made investigations, which Schiefner reported in 1866, followed by Fredk. Müller.

XII. Tabasseran. This small tribe of sixteen thousand occupy a small enclave South of the Hurkan. Uslar was engaged in the study of their language, when he was prematurely cut off in 1875, and his work has never been printed. We know that the tribe and the language exists, but nothing further. The Philological investigation has still to be made.

XIII. Kurin. This is an important tribe in South Daghestán, extending to the confines of the Táti population of the Baká District, and numbering one hundred and thirty-one thousand. The tribe dwells both sides of the River Samur, as far as its outlet into the Caspian Sea, cutting through the territory of the Azerbijáni Turkí. Uslar made investigations, which were reported by Schiefner in 1873, followed by Fredk. Müller. The Kurin language has been greatly affected by the Azerbijáni Turkí.

XIV. Artshi. The name of a village with a population of only six hundred, within the enclave of the Kasikúmuk, yet Uslar reports that the inhabitants use a peculiar and isolated language. Fredk. Müller describes it.

XV. Ude. This language is only spoken in two villages to the South of the Kurin, and therefore quite outside the boundary of Daghestán. They are surrounded by villages, the inhabitants of which speak Azerbijáni Turkí, and the population is barely ten thousand. The influence of the Turkí on this language has been excessive. Schiefner published an Essay on this language, and has been followed by Fredk. Müller.

XVI. Tshetshen. } It seems expedient to treat together these
XVII. Tush. } two languages.

The Compiler of the Statistics takes no notice of the second name, but gives a population of one hundred and sixty-five thousand for the first. They inhabit the Northern slopes of the Eastern Caucasus extending down the valley of the River Terek from the territory of the Ossete on the West: they touch the Awár on the South, but do not extend up to the highest ranges. Their language is very distinct from all the others, and there are a great many dialects. Schiefner mentions that with the aid of a Native he made an exhaustive Treatise upon the Tush language in 1856. The appearance of this paper led Uslar, who had been commissioned to draw up an Ethnographic description of the tribes of the Caucasus, to make similar investigations in the Tshetshen language, which stands in the closest connection with the Tush. Uslar's work relates chiefly to the dialect of the residents of the plain, and Schiefner was able on this basis in 1863 to show the relationship of the language to the cognate Tush, and the greater antiquity of the latter. One of the tribes is named Kisti, and some authorities have used this name

incorrectly for the whole. Fredk. Müller treats the two languages as one with dialectal differences.

The Ethnographical Map, prepared by the Russian Government, accounts for every square mile of the territory, and on a careful scrutiny the names of the following tribes remain without having any peculiar language of their own, and without being upon authority assigned to any language already noticed: they are all in the Lesgian or West Caucasus Group.

1. Andi . . .	35,000	A subtribe of the Awár.
2. Dido . . .	9,000	do. do.
3. Agúl . . .	5,000	W. of Tabasseran.
4. Rutul . . .	12,000	E. of Kurin, a subtribe of the Awár.
5. Tsakhur . .	4,000	W. of Rutul.
6. Dsheksh . .	8,000	S. of Kurin.
7. Khinalug . .	2,000	In the Kurin enclave.
8. Kriz . . .	5,000	In the Kurin enclave.
	80,000	

Uslar died prematurely, so possibly there may be some other forms of speech spoken by the eight subtribes above noted, and there may be other dialects of the languages which have been recorded. On the other hand, we find in no volume on the Caucasus Vocabularies, or notices of languages, which cannot be located, which is so common a feature in volumes on Africa. All other names, which appear in the pages of travellers, are ethnical, synonyms, or subtribal names, or the varying names, given to each tribe by its neighbours, which is often a cause of confusion and double entries. If a new Uslar were deputed to the Region, his microscopic investigations might reveal new phenomena, though on a small scale.

I am most fortunate in having the careful studies of two such great scholars as Schiefner and Fredk. Müller, based upon the local investigations of Uslar. I have no sympathy with those, who treat the Vocabularies of tribes, segregated for centuries in inapproachable mountains, as mere linguistic puzzles, furnishing materials for comparison with, and possibly fortuitous resemblance with, Vocabularies of tribes, who never possibly could have come into contact with them, or derived from the same source. But the study of the structure of a language is always interesting, so also is the degree to which that structure has been insensibly modified by the contact of powerful neighbouring languages. This opens out the still unsettled question of Mixed Languages.

One feature of the Russian administration of Asiatic Provinces remains to be noticed, and it is an important one. Education is not neglected, and the stream of boys and girls flowing to or from the

schools at certain hours of the day, is a feature of the great South Russian cities, and this must produce, accompanied as it is by cheap literature, a rapprochement of fellow-subjects intellectually and morally, in spite of the congenital difference of race and religion and *ancestral*, as contrasted with *acquired*, language. The Russian seated on the extreme East of Europe is not so far removed in ideas and culture from the Asiatic of the West of Asia as the insular Englishman is from the angular and isolated Hindu. Hence arises a greater intercourse between the conqueror and conquered, leading to intermarriages and commensality, things that are impossible in India. Hence also it arises, that the Russians assimilate the Georgian and Armenian to themselves, trust them, and admit them to the highest office. Prince Melikoff, Governor of Daghestán, was an Armenian. Loris Melikoff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces at Alexandropol, in the late Turkish war, was an Armenian. He was admitted to all social privileges and dignities: at a great dinner party at his own house, he remarked to an English traveller as follows:

"The company present will give you a good idea of the force of "Russia in assimilating foreign elements. I am an Armenian, but "I think no one could detect it by my speech; my wife is a "Georgian, and speaks the purest Russian; at my left hand is the "Chief of the district, who is as Russian, as if his ancestors had "been in the country for 500 years, though he is of recent German "origin; next to him sits my Adjutant, Captain Allison, whose "grandfather was an Englishman; he himself speaks no English; "and so on to the end there is not a man present of Russian origin, "but it is a thoroughly Russian company. Then, as to the place "which I occupy—Vladikavkaz, as you know, means in the Russian "language 'commanding the Caucasus'—in other words, the key "of the Caucasus. Now, the Russian Government puts this key "into my hands with the same confidence as if every drop of blood "in my veins were Russian. Neither England in India, nor France "in Algiers, dream of giving a principal command to a native; "while on the Caucasus the highest positions are held by natives. "At one of the most critical periods of our history the Commander-"in-Chief was a Georgian, Prince Tsitsiani, who fully justified the "choice of the Government, for he was one of the ablest men we "have had at the head of affairs."

How different is the feeling in British India and the accepted policy of the Government! Extensive Provinces are left with native Sovereigns, and this implies, that they are deemed capable of exercising the highest offices of State over a people, who are of precisely the same religion, race, and language as are our subjects. Yet within the Provinces of British India, natives of India are, from a narrow jealousy, excluded from their fair share of high civil Office, though notoriously fitted for it: as to giving them a high

military command, the idea would not be entertained; and, when with a niggard hand some doors are opened to higher Office, offensive privileges are reserved to the superior Caste of European British subjects, who are merely birds of passage, while the subjects of the other European nations, and the American citizens, as well as the Eurasian, Armenian, and Parsi community, are left exposed to certain perils, which we must be thankful to believe are only imaginary. No nation, that hopes to perpetuate its rule in a conquered country, can safely act thus; if the Briton stands thus haughtily apart, the day of his expulsion is not far distant. The great Roman Empire flourished so long, because it extended its citizenship to the whole world, and some of the greatest of the Emperors sprang from Iberian or Dalmatian Colonies.

I now come to the third branch of my subject, the effect upon British India of the occupation of the Province of the Caucasus in force by Russia, and its silent advance across the Caspian Sea into Trans-Caspia. To do this I must more particularly describe my late visit, and the reflections which it suggested. My route was nearly the direct one, *viâ* Berlin and Warsaw to Odessa, and so timed as to hit off the steamer, which goes so many times a week to Sebastopol. I drove thence by the celebrated Baida Valley route to Yalta, where I went on board the steamer, visited Kaffa, Kertch, coasted the Caucasus mountains, touched at Sukhum Kale in Akbhasia, and reached Batúm, the terminus of the new railway from Tiflis, in time to catch the morning train, and reach Tiflis that night in a run of fifteen hours. I was peculiarly lucky, as the branch to Batúm had only been opened in the autumn of 1883, and I was saved the annoyance of going to Poti, which would have entailed delay and the risk of fever. From Tiflis a pleasant run of twenty-one hours took me to Bakú on the Caspian. The Russian railways are admirable; my Russian fellow-travellers were most agreeable; the climate at that season of the year was faultless; my passport was never asked for; the police gave no trouble. Civility, and something more, kindness, are what the stranger uniformly finds in Russia. I returned along the coast of Asia Minor to Constantinople, thence to Varna, Bukarest, Buda-Pesth, Vienna, to England.

Part of my object was, as I have stated, to study on the spot the problem of the possible occupation of Herát by the Russians. I disclaim all Russophobism, and the least particle of antipathy to Russia. I look upon that great Power, as a fellow-worker with Great Britain in the civilization of Asia; still, when great interests are at stake, it is well to know what our friends and neighbours are about, however kindly intended and unselfish they may be, or pretend to be. The problem of the invasion of India by some Power Westward of the River Indus, has been before me ever since I was sent forty years ago by the late Lord Ellenborough,

Governor-General of India, to the North-West frontier of India in the Political Department. The first Aghán war was just over, and I met all the men, who had taken part in that war, and lived in intimacy with Havelock and Broadfoot; then suddenly the Sikh war burst upon us, and I was with Hardinge and Gough, when Lahúr was taken in 1846, and in the Panjáb fighting to keep possession of my own District, when our frontier was in 1849 pushed on beyond the River Indus to the foot of the Afghán mountains. In those days we thought little of Russia, though Count Soltikoff was moving about in our midst, for many hundred leagues spread betwixt our advanced frontier and that of the Russians.

But after the Crimean War, Russia, just as France did after 1870, began a series of petty campaigns Eastwards as if to compensate herself from her weaker Asiatic neighbours for the serious defeats, which she had experienced at the hands of her European rivals. She first disposed of Schamyl, and made herself entirely mistress of the Caucasus Range, thus rendering Cis- and Trans-Caucasia for the first time a compact Province extending from the Black to the Caspian Seas, and a basis for invasion both of Persia and Turkey in Asia. But we shall see further on, that the Caucasus Province was intended to be the basis for something more than this: at least it has proved to be so. In 1864 Russia extended her frontier in the basin of the Sir Darya or Jaxartes, and occupied Tashkend. This led on to the entire subjugation of the Khanáte of Kokand, and the effectual intimidation of the Khanátes of Khiva and Bokhára. This brought the Russian frontier into immediate proximity with that part of Afghanistan, which has always been considered as being within the sphere of Indian influence. Very little sympathy was felt for such petty States as Khiva, Bokhára, and Kokand, and Russia did good service in taming or extinguishing them. Yet India could not look on unmoved, and when Kaufman in 1878 collected an army at Tashkend to make a demonstration against British India at the very moment of the Berlin Congress, it was felt, that the mask was dropped. If in a game of chess the player lays his finger on a piece, even if he does not move it, his policy is disclosed to his adversary. Thus Kaufman's menace, though only a menace, showed clearly that British India was the quarter, in which Russia intended hereafter to operate if brought into collision with England. The distance of Tashkend from Russia Proper, and the fact, that it was all but impossible to connect them by a railway, was one factor in the problem, which had to be considered. The lofty barrier of the Hindu-Kúsh was another; it had, however, in past time, been surmounted by many an invader of India, and, as a fact, a portion of Afghán territory lay beyond it. Suddenly, however, the basis of operations was shifted from Sir Darya to the Caspian Sea, and the eyes of those,

who watched the game, saw clearly that Russia had an easier way to operate upon India than by the River Oxus and the Hindu-Kúsh, and each year has made this fact clearer. The matter is not new to the inner circle of experts, and to those, who have studied the subject. The last link of the chain was forged, when, at the end of 1882, the railway was opened from Tiflis to Bakú. Let me first draw attention to the Geographical features of the line, and then treat the subject in detail.

No one is unaware that the resources of Russia on the North coast of the Black Sea are unlimited in magnitude. That is the first section of the subject. The next section is the Caucasus Province, the existence of which is generally known, but the potentialities and the capabilities of the Russian Power in that Province are not so well known. The third section is the Caspian Sea. I have already noticed above what a large fleet of steamers is collected on these waters. The fourth section is the Trans-Caspian Province of Russia traversed by a railway as far as Kizil Arvat, and by a good road as far as the frontier at this moment, Baba Durmaz. It is proposed to construct a railway as far as Geok Tépé. In a few months, or even while I write, that frontier-line may be pushed forward. The fifth section is the line of country from the Russian frontier through Saraksh to the Hari Rúd River, where unquestionably Afghán territory, and, as above stated, the influence of British India, commences. The sixth section is the country betwixt the Hari Rúd and Herát, the district of Badghís. This Region has only been revealed to us last year. Beyond Herát we are at home, and the interior of our home is known to all of us.

During the Crimean War the weakness of Russia was exposed by her inability to bring her resources of men and material to the front, from the absence of military roads and railroads. As regards the Black Sea, she has cured that defect now. She still has the incurable defect of the whole line of her coast, with the exception of the Crimea, being bound by a frozen sea for a certain time in the winter. At Odessa, last winter, the residents walked round the big ships frozen in the harbour. Odessa, Nicolaef, and Sebastopol, on the Black Sea, Taganrog and Rostof on the Sea of Azof, are linked by a network of railways to every part of the Empire. At Kertch, which is the door of the Sea of Azof, under the direction of Todleben, a most formidable fortification has been constructed, under the guns of which every vessel entering the Sea of Azof must pass. In the Black Sea are the excellent steamers, large and commodious, of the Russian Navigation Company, all built at Newcastle and on the Clyde, but the docks of Sebastopol have once more resumed their activity. At Odessa, Sebastopol, and Batúm the steamers on arrival lie flush up to the pier, an obvious convenience in embarking and disembarking troops. The transit from Odessa to Batúm occupies four days, and from

Sebastopol three days, calling at all the ports; but a direct transit across the Black Sea would occupy only half the time. Of course the navigation of the Black Sea presupposes the absence of a superior hostile fleet; in that case not only would it be impossible for the transports to cross, but the last five miles of railroad from Tiflis to Batúm run along a low shore, and could be rendered impassable by a gunboat. It is in time of peace only, that the Caucasus Province can be reinforced from the side of the Black Sea. It is proposed to construct a branch railway from the Rostof-Vladikafkas line to Novo Russik, on the Black Sea, which would enable reinforcements to be sent from the interior of Russia to the military posts on the Black Sea at a time, when the Sea of Azof is obstructed by ice.

Let me now consider the second section, the Province of the Caucasus. It embraces the whole of the Caucasus mountain range from sea to sea, a strip of level country to the north of that range, and the Region of Trans-Caucasia, South of that range, the frontier of which marches with the frontiers of Turkey and Persia. The strength of the army of the Caucasus Province, without the reserve, may be taken as from 60,000 to 70,000 effective men. The reserve would raise it to 120,000, and the bands of irregular Georgian cavalry and infantry, which are called out in war-time, to 30,000 more. Every military cantonment comprises a military colony, to which every soldier, after completing his term of service (five years), can retire. These settlements are extending annually, and materially strengthen the Russian hold on the country. To the above available force must be added the Cossacks, who can turn out 50,000 horsemen, most useful cavalry for Asiatic campaigning. This information is supplied by a competent authority only last year. There is no fear of invasion spontaneously from the side of Turkey or Persia, as both those effete and moribund powers are anxious to be let alone, and can only be induced to strike when it comes to be a struggle for dear life. In the last war Turkey invaded the Caucasus Province with a view to create a diversion in what seemed to be a death-struggle. In addition to this effective force in the Province, reinforcements to any extent can be sent to Vladikafkas, North of the Caucasus range, which is in railway connection with every part of the Empire. Except in winter, a mountain road over a pass of 8000 feet is open to troops by the Dariel Pass, through an entirely pacified district; and, in a few years, one or two schemes will surely be carried out, either a railroad through the Dariel Pass, which would be a small affair compared to that of Mont Cenis or Mont Gothard, or a railway of greater length and easier construction skirting the northern flank of the range eastward to the Caspian, at Petrofsk, thus supplying a new feeder of troops for the Trans-Caspian Province, and then running on the shore of the Caspian through

Derbend to Bakú, the eastward terminus of the Tiflis railroad to the Caspian. In either case unlimited reinforcements could be speedily sent to the Trans-Caucasus army, *under all circumstances and at all seasons.* Except in winter reinforcements could also be sent from Astrakhan by sea to Bakú or Michaelovsk, but the mouth of the Volga is frozen for many months. In the *Times* appeared the following notice from St. Petersburg, dated December 26, 1883: "An Imperial Decree orders the reorganization of the local troops "of the Caucasus and the formation of six battalions of reserve." It reads very much as being an order analogous to the annual relief in British India, but such an order might mean the detachment of a corps d'armée of 20,000 picked men by railroad from Tiflis to Bakú in twenty-one hours. There is no English Consular Agent at Tiflis or Bakú, and this military movement might attract no attention; there are vast open spaces eastward of Tiflis, and it might be presumed, that this corps d'armée had been detached for autumn manœuvres and ball practice. What would become of that corps d'armée on its arrival at Bakú we shall see in the third section.

This is the Caspian Sea, but it includes the great and rising city of Bakú, the Eastward terminus of the Trans-Caucasus Railway. Bakú is a name, of which we shall hear more in the next quarter of a century. Nearly exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the Caspian Sea, but within twenty-four hours' steaming distance, is Michaelovsk, the terminus of the Trans-Caspian Railway, which now proudly takes its place in the railway books of the Russian Empire, though I have never met any private person, who had travelled by it, nor did the railway inspector, who accompanied me to Bakú, venture across to look at it; there is no question but that it exists, but for strictly military and aggressive purposes. It was an impressive sight that met my eyes, when early in the morning I hurried down to the dock, and stepped from the pier on to a steamer just about to start for Astrakhan. Before me lay the great mysterious Russian salt lake, the greatest internal sea, and the one, on which no flag but the Russian can fly. Beyond, in the unseen distance, was the mysterious Trans-Caspian territory, and the new road to India. I had been one of the first, forty-two years ago, to cross the Isthmus of Suez, on the then new route to India, and I wished that I was younger, and could cross to Michaelovsk, and work my way to Saraksh. While I was on board, a steamer came into sight hailing from Resht, Asterabad, and Michaelovsk. I was delighted to hear around me the well-known Persian language once more spoken, and I thought of the anecdote of the Emperor Trajan, who saw the ships from India coming into harbour at the mouth of the Euphrates, and wished that he had been young enough to go to that unknown country. Two Frenchmen landed from that steamer, who had accomplished a marvellous journey from Pekin, through

Siberia and Trans-Caspian Turkestan. They had ridden from Khiva to Merv, and from Merv to Meshed, without let or hindrance from the Turkoman, who a few years ago would have killed them or sold them into bondage. So mighty has been the change worked by the storming of Geok Tépé by Skobeleff. I asked the travellers, how they managed to work their way from Khiva to Merv, and Merv to Meshed. They attributed it entirely to their skill in managing natives, in which Russians and British were so deficient, according to them. I then asked them what language they made use of, and found that they knew nothing but French, and had not even a personal servant nor an interpreter; they had been shot through by the Governor of Khiva like pellets through a pop-gun. At any rate there can be no doubt that, at any given moment, with a note of preparation, a corps d'armée, brought in one day from Tiflis to Bakú, could, the next day, be shipped across to Michaelovsk.

The fourth section, or the Trans-Caspian Province of Russia, is traversed by a railway. The country is perfectly level, and uninfested by hostile tribes; but a desert, and devoid of human habitation. The work is entirely due to the energy and ability of General Annenkoff, the Controller of Russian Military Transport under General Skobeleff, who suggested and carried out the design of a railway from the Caspian to the Tekké oasis at Kizil Arvat. There happened to be 100 miles of rails lying unused at Bender, on the Danube, purchased for use during the Turkish War. This material was shipped to Poti, carried by rail to Tiflis, dragged on carts and camels to Bakú, shipped to Michaelovsk, and, in spite of the lukewarmness of the Russian Government, and the ridicule of those, who were ignorant or jealous, or both, laid down and materially assisted Skobeleff in his campaign. This was the first sod turned of a line destined before long to reach Herát, and link itself to the railway system of British India. Whatever may be the results, the Emperor and his Ministers at St. Petersburg are by no means responsible for the wonderful and unexpected supply of steamers and railway, that connect Bakú with Kizil Arvat.

The fifth section extends along a debateable land claimed by the King of Persia, but, until the taking of Geok Tépé (which is called also Yenge Sheher), overrun by Turkoman hordes, whom it was beyond the power of the Persian Government to control. A great change has come over both the Akhal Tekké and the Merv Tekké, and the King of Persia is indirectly indebted to the victory of Russia for the opportunity of reasserting his authority. By a treaty with Persia, dated 1880, the Russians have for a time accepted a boundary, and there is no reason to suppose that the Turkoman, who are so cowed, will give them any excuse for moving on, but, if they did, the Russians would unquestionably refuse to acknowledge the sovereignty of Persia over this section, though they scarcely could ignore the Authority permanently established at

Saraksh. Still the General commanding did not hesitate to send forward a competent surveyor, Lessar, to take the levels for a railroad to Saraksh, which is actually on the Hari Rúd, or Herát River, though known there as the Tejend, or Saraksh Daria. General MacGregor, from India, had reached this town coming from the East, so here the advanced line of the Russians touched the advanced line of the English; and a little to the West of this town the regular established road from Meshed to Merv, which is only 90 miles distant, is crossed. Saraksh is occupied by a battalion of Persian infantry, and is a large fortress, but the astute surveyor remarks, that it is quite possible to carry the line at such a distance North of the fortress as practically to be independent of it. In the newspapers of January 24th, 1884, a Russian paper, the *Caspi*, is quoted as the authority for the news that at the close of last year the Merv Tekké had made a raid into Persia, even as far as Meshed. This may be true or false, but it will have the same result of inducing the Russians to push on to Saraksh.

The sixth section, as stated above, is, according to the opinion of the highest English authority, within the recognized territory of Afghanistan, as distinguished from Khorasan, which belongs to Persia, and the free country of the Turkoman tribes. And yet the Russian General had the boldness to send his surveyor across the Hari Rúd into this Province, and survey a line for the railway up to the walls of Herát, showing professionally that there is no impediment whatever of a physical character and no elevation to be traversed of more than 900 feet, and no opposition from the tribes occupying the country.

Summing up the whole distance from Michaelovsk, the basis on the Caspian, to Herát, "the Gate of India," we have the following ascertained distances:

	English Miles.	
Michaelovsk to Kizil Arvat...	147	(railroad).
Kizil Arvat to Askabad	135	(road, railroad proposed).
Askabad to Saraksh	185	(surveyed).
Saraksh to Herát...	202	
	669	

Of this distance nearly one-half lies within Russian territory, the remainder may be deemed *de facto* debateable land, until the neighbourhood is reached of Herát, but *de jure* Afghanistan is bounded by the Hari Rúd.

There is little reason for doubt that the corps d'armée, which I left at Michaelovsk, could occupy Herát long before any force from British India could reach it. Herát is distant 599 miles from Sibi, the terminus of the Indian railway system in 1883, and 522 miles from Kizil Arvat, the terminus of the Russian system, but the two roads are not equally open to an invading army; the Indian army would

have to fight its way. But the dazzling bait is held out of a railway to India with only two short breaks of the land route, viz. two days on the Black Sea, and one on the Caspian; the whole distance is to be traversed in nine days by linking on the railways of India extended westward to Herát. It has even been suggested, that our annual military reliefs might be sent by this expeditious route, or, in other words, that we should place our heads in the mouth of the lion.

Let me not be mistaken; the occupation of Herát is not synonymous with the occupation of British India; nor has Herát been occupied yet, nor, except as a diversion in time of a European war, does its occupation come into the sphere of practical politics, and many a banner will be rent, and many a warrior will lick the dust, before a Russian crosses the River Indus. Still the mere occupation of Herát by a Power from the West would be an incalculable misfortune, for the report would circulate in an exaggerated form in every bazaar throughout British India, and that feeling of quiet, the Pax Britannica, which has so long existed, will have passed away for ever. Nor would the conterminous existence of a great European Power, even if peaceably inclined, be other than a misfortune. At present India is isolated, shut in by the sea and mountain ranges, with no desire to penetrate, or have any relations, beyond. The necessity of keeping up a great frontier army would be a burden beyond the resources of the State-Revenue in a country, where military conscription is impossible. One thing, however, may be said on the other side, that the burden of military service at such a distance from his home would become intolerable to the Russian conscript soldier also, and to a country with such a critical state of internal politics, and such a bankrupt exchequer, so vast an extent of frontier would be a great element of danger.

A great authority in 1875 impressed upon us that there was one point, which was the pivot of the whole Eastern question, and which must never be lost sight of, *viz.* "We cannot afford to "expose Herát to the risk of being taken by a Russian *coup de* "*main*." And yet this is the precise point, at which in 1884 we have arrived; over and over again we were assured by geographers and politicians, that a range of mountains lay between Herát and Saraksh. General McGregor told us in 1875 from his careful inquiries, that such was not the case, and in 1882 we have the fact confirmed by the personal inspection of the Russian surveyor, Lessar. In the same year the railroad is opened from Tiflis to Bakú, reducing a long tedious march of many days to a few hours.

It has been asserted that successful war is absolutely necessary to keep the patriotic steam of the Russian at high pressure, and that without it the Imperial machine would stop, as the military influence is paramount, and soldiers desire honours, wealth, advancement; but against this assertion must be stated the positive fact,

that the advance of the Russians into the territory beyond the Caspian has been an unmixed blessing to humanity. Greater scoundrels than the Turkoman and Uzbeg can scarcely be imagined. The evidence of this can be collected from British and Persian witnesses. The most abominable system of slavery, and armed raids for plunder and murder, have been put a stop to over extensive regions. Fertile districts long laid waste will now be occupied again by peaceful inhabitants. The ferocious habits of the Persian and Turkoman frontagers will be abandoned. To the conquest of Bokhára and the taking of Geok Tépé, the change must be attributed.

The British, as well as the Russians, are governed in the East by an uncontrollable tendency to advance, in spite of the most unaffected and positive orders of the Governments of the Queen and the Emperor not to move onward, and in spite of their attempts to suppress the causes leading to the forward movement. Those, who have been acquainted with British India for the last forty years, know such to be the fact. The Imperial Government has found itself disobeyed in the same way by over-zealous servants. The conquerors of Sindh and the Panjáb can hardly throw dirt against the conqueror of the Khanátes and Trans-Caspia. Great Britain and Russia, driven by some kind of mysterious necessity, have been yearly approaching nearer and nearer to each other, and now that the time of their actually meeting is very near indeed, the question arises, whether it should not take place on the peaceful ground of commerce and international intercourse, which would be advantageous to both parties. At any rate, by no conceivable policy can it much longer be avoided. It may be regarded, as one of the coming events, which throw a shadow on the next quarter of a century. If remonstrances were made at St. Petersburg against a further advance, it would be met by an assurance, that no advance was intended, and yet it would be made; if threats were made, the advance would only be accelerated.

It is proposed to construct two new railways from Tiflis; one to Kars in the newly-annexed Turkish Province, to be eventually extended to Erzrúm: another is, or has been, talked about to Julfa, on the Araxes, the Persian frontier, to be eventually extended to Tebríz and Teherán. I went over the maps, and the elevated plans of the Province of the Caucasus and the adjoining territories, at the Topographical Office at Tiflis, under the guidance of the most obliging head of the Department. There was no pretence of secrecy, or occasion for it, and the Turk and Persian must feel at any moment, that the Russian is walking on their graves. All is ready for the advance, and the specious pretence of the extension of legitimate commerce is not wanting to palliate or justify a forward policy.

But this argument applies still more as regards the advance of

railway communication towards India. The time has come, when commerce must return to its old route through mid-Asia. This great central route was traversed by the great Arian nations on their migration Westwards, and by all the great conquerors from the time of Alexander the Great. Is it of any use our attempting to oppose it? Lord Palmerston did very little good in opposing the Suez Canal. We should rise above our position as mere Britons, and look to the general interests of mankind. We are always impressing this lesson on Portugal, that she should not be like a dog in the manger as regards her so-called colonies in East and West Africa, and try to keep other nations from the Kongo. We must practise our own precepts, and accept the inevitable of the direct railway through Central Asia to India. The danger to our Indian Empire may be a question of doubt, but about our duty to assist the pacification of these lawless Districts, and promote a railway, which could convey passengers from India to London in nine days, there can be no doubt. It would be of no use opposing such a scheme, nor would it be worthy of us.

And, in the meantime, let some of our younger Officers go out to the Caspian, and do what I did not do, cross over, and make themselves familiar with these regions, no longer sealed up. All the advantages of new and unexpected combinations of circumstances are not always on one side. History warns us of the danger of attempting to grasp at universal dominion on the part of any one State. We should be playing into the hands of our rival, if, from a selfish fear of injury to our limited interests in British India, we opposed what is clearly to the advantage of Asia and the World generally, the bringing back of peace, civilization, and commerce into the region East of the Caspian and South of the River Oxus. The work will be done, whether we like it or not.

It is obvious, that Merv lies off the road from the Caspian to Herát, and that the submission of the Turkoman tribes of Merv was a sure and certain consequence of the defeat of their brethren the Akal Tekké at Geok Tépé. That fact has now been announced, and the strategic frontier of the Russian Empire as regards the River Oxus has been rounded off. The problem of the consequences of the advance of the Russian frontier from the Caspian towards Afghanistan has to be fairly faced, and involves interests of momentous importance.

MARCH, 1884.

Three years have not passed without leaving a trace on the sands of Time, and a track on the sand of the Desert. In the *Fortnightly Review* for Feb: 1887, Arminius Vambéry, the great Russophobist, describes the Railway, which has been prolonged from Kizil Arvat to Askabad, and thence to a place with an ominous name, Do-

Shakh, "the Two branches." Here the Northern Branch has been constructed to Merv, and thence to Charjui on the River Oxus, and Samarkand. Three days and a half is the length of a journey by rail from Tiflis to Samarkand. From the same junction some day will start the Eastern Branch Railway to Saraksh and Herát:

"Τάδε πάντα Θεών ἔπι γούνασι κεῖται."

Other Departmental changes are anticipated. Just as the Panjáb grew from the position of a Chief Commissionership to that of a Province, with its own Lieutenant-Governor, and Barma is now preparing for a similar transformation, so the subjoined extract, which we quote in extenso, indicates, that Merv will soon be the centre, and headquarters of a separate Province, in the year 1887 the frontier Province of Russia to the East, as the Panjáb and Sindh are the frontier Provinces of British India to the West.

Is it possible that an insurrection in Bulgaria, or a false step taken by Turkey, may jeopardize, or at least disturb the peace of British India?

"The Russian Government is about to consider an important administrative change in the present organization of its territory East of the Caspian. That territory now forms a military sub-government of the Caucasus. The ambition of Russian Officers has always been to acquire official liberty within the limits of their bureaucratic work by the decentralization as much as possible of executive authority. Just as Tashkend Officials chafed in 1864-6 at the superior decrees of Orenburg, so now do those of Askabad and Merv make their dependency on Tiflis a ground of complaint, which has at last gained sufficient volume and importance to be brought before the Imperial Council. The question has been precipitated by an attempt on the part of the Turkestan Government to assert what are called its natural claims to rule the whole of the Central Asian possessions of the Tzar, and the approaching completion of railway communication with Tashkend has been used by its advocates as an argument in support of their contention, that the capital of Turkestan, whether it remain Tashkend, or be changed to Samarkand, should be the administrative centre of the whole of Central Asia.

"Whatever decision the Imperial Council may come to, it is improbable, that the existing dependence of the Governor at Askabad on the Governor-General of Tiflis will be continued. Of the three proposals brought before it, this one may with apparent safety be eliminated. But a decision between the other two suggestions will be by no means so easily attained. The officers and soldiers of Turkestan have loudly expressed their discontent at the secondary part assigned them in the advance of Russian Power towards India since the successful conclusion of Skobeleff's campaign, and the employment of two Turkestan regiments in the Merv garrison has failed to satisfy their ambition or to allay their expressions of discontent. The demand, that Transcaspia should be incorporated in this Province has therefore been formulated for the purpose of removing this dissatisfaction and of

advancing the older pretensions of the Turkestan Authorities to play the leading part in the political problems of Central Asia. It is not very probable, that this request will be granted. One objection alone of a practical nature is likely to be held insuperable, and that is the intervention of the semi-independent kingdom of Bokhára between Turkestan and the Merv-Askabad District. The balance of probability, therefore, is greatly in favour of the adoption of the third proposal, viz. to convert Transcaspia into a separate Province, with a Governor-General resident at the new town of Merv. The Caucasus Authorities, when they find a change inevitable, will support this arrangement with all their influence, as the Merv Governor-General would necessarily be far more dependent on them than the same Official at Tashkend. This administrative change will be regarded as an official recognition of the immense increase, that has taken place in the last few years in the importance of Russia's interests in the Turkoman region, while it cannot fail to produce a considerable political impression throughout Northern Persia and the adjacent districts of Afghanistan."

Since then the Frontier betwixt the Russian Provinces and Afghanistan has been fixed by Treaty. The Railway to Quetta has been extended. The resources of British India are being carefully developed. There is a lull for the present in anticipation of a storm. The death of the Amír of Afghanistan, by the hand of an assassin, or in battle, may act like a spark falling upon a barrel of gunpowder.

LONDON, AUGUST, 1887.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EMPIRE OF TURKEY.

In 1852 I visited Constantinople, and was the guest of Sir Stratford Canning, the Ambassador. My object was to see with my own eyes, how an Asiatic Empire was ruled by Asiatic Rulers. I had had several years' experience as District Officer in the Panjáb, a newly-conquered Province of British India, where every Institution had to be created. Great fault had been found, and justly so, with the lazy, inert, unsympathetic system of the older Provinces of Bangál and Allahabád, and under the vigorous rule of Lord Dalhousie British India was undergoing a transformation. The School of Military-Politicals wished, on the one hand, to let the people govern themselves; they would have allowed the Revenue of the State to be dissipated in Grants; there was to be an utter absence of system, record, and Official knowledge, for gallant Captains were to be converted into Judges, and Majors into Courts of Appeal. On the other side was the rigid unsympathetic Regulation System.

I visited one by one all the newly-annexed Districts of the Panjáb, and the following year, armed with letters from the Ambassador, I visited some of the great Cities of Turkey, and looked into the way, in which Administration was carried on, and made the acquaintance of Turkish Viceroys and Judges. I published the results of my Inspection in India in 1853. I returned to India, and lived to see the Panjáb system, a modification of both extremes, become the system of British India. In 1884 I made another visit to Constantinople, and in the following year I went leisurely through Palestine and Egypt. In the intervening thirty years a great deal had happened, the Crimean War, and the Russo-Turkish War. The Empire of Turkey had been greatly reduced; Sultans had been deposed and murdered; all the ingredients, which go to making a State, had departed. In reprinting my Essay, I have had to recognize the fact, that the Empire was greatly reduced, and that all hope was gone.

In spite of diminished splendour, and contracted frontiers, the Empire of Turkey still comprises some of the fairest portions of the World, peopled by some of the most ancient races. The most

renowned Cities, that have preserved their repute since the earliest annals of mankind, are included within these limits; and no other Kingdom possesses such natural commercial advantages, being situated in the centre of the known World, with ports and harbours on five distinct seas, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Red Sea, the Adriatic, and the Persian Gulf. The object of the present inquiry is to give some idea of the state of this magnificent Empire, and to discover an answer to the query so often raised, whether the reforms of the last twenty years are a prelude to a new and vigorous form of Government, or but the last puff of the expiring taper.

The study of this subject cannot but be of some interest, both to those, who have a share in the Government of British India, and those who have, for purposes of their own advantage, placed themselves under that Government. The former may indeed be thankful for the facilities experienced here, but unknown in other Oriental countries, which have been afforded by Nature and Custom for the management of a vast people. How easy it is to pull the strings of the Indian puppet! The latter will perhaps cease their diatribes against the shortcomings of a well-intentioned Government, will blush to rail at petty inconveniences, which meet the merchant, the settler, the traveller, or the missionary, when they become aware how many advantages they possess, which are denied to others of the same race and calling in another Asiatic Empire.

To the philanthropist, and the lover of the picturesque, the whole length and breadth of Turkey presents an inexhaustible field of pleasure and research: of pleasure not unmixed with pain, as all around tells of former and perished greatness: of research, not the less grateful, because hitherto little explored, not as yet cut and dried by hand-books, and dislocated by hackneyed tourists: all around tells of fallen grandeur, of nationalities in the weakness and infirmity of old age and decline; still Nature has remained the same, and the features of earth, sea, and sky are unchanged; the waters are as blue, deeply blue, as when the thousand boats glided over them, carrying vengeance from Argos to Troy; the eyes of the Ionian girls are as bright, the sinews of the fisherman and mountaineer are as closely strung, as when the East was the centre of civilization, and the forests of Western Europe were overrun by half-naked barbarians.

The Empire of Turkey is divided by the narrow seas betwixt the Euxine and the Archipelago into two great Provinces, the European and the Asiatic, the former known generally as Roumili, the latter as Anátoli: both are sadly reduced by foreign encroachments, and it is only by detailing the Provinces now existing, and then running lightly over the history of the Empire during the past century, that I can lay before the reader an exact perception of the state of things as they now exist.

Roumili, or Turkey in Europe, is divided into seven "Eyalet"

or Viceroyalties: 1. Thrace (Edirne). 2. N. Albania. 3. Roumili (Albania and Macedonia). 4. Yania (Epirus). 5. Salonica (Thessaly). 6. The Islands of Greece, from Tenedos to Cyprus, along the coast of Ionia. 7. Crete.

Turkey in Asia is divided into seventeen Eyalet: 1. Castamoni, on the Black Sea (Paphlagonia and Bithynia). 2. Khodavendighiar, on the Sea of Marmora (Galatia and Phrygia). 3. Aydin (Lydia and Ionia), on the Archipelago, with Smyrna for its capital. 4. Caramania, on the Mediterranean (Lycia and Lycaonia). 5. Adana (Cilicia). 6. Bosok (Cappadocia), the inland provinces of Asia Minor. 7. Sivas (Pontus), also inland. 8. Trebizond, on the Black Sea (Pontus and Colchis). 9. Erzerúm (Armenia), on the Russian frontier. 10. Mosul (Assyria), on the Persian frontier. 11. Kurdistan (N. Mesopotamia). 12. Karpút (Armenia Minor). 13. Aleppo (betwixt the Orontes and Euphrates). 14. Phenicia and Palestine. 15. Damascus (Eastern Syria). 16. Baghdad (S. Mesopotamia), on the Persian Gulf. 17. Habsh (Arabia). In addition to these are the two Provinces in Africa: 1. Egypt. 2. Tripoli.

What strange and conflicting thoughts rise up in the mind, on the perusal of this list of names, names, some of them so great and so renowned, that History seems never silent about them! Recollections of all times, and all nations, press upon our memories, and it seems, as if the limits of the Turkish Empire contained within them the cradles of every Faith, and the germ of every History. Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia have given birth to the three great Religions of the world, which even still divide mankind, and mid the ruins of Mosul and Hilluh, by the waters of the Granicus, in the hills of Macedonia, and along the Golden Horn of Byzantium, we find indelible traces of the four great Empires of antiquity. Within the bounds of this Empire is comprehended the whole map of Bible History, with the single exception of the latter part of the fourth journey of St. Paul. When the Israelites went down into Egypt, they passed but from one Province to that immediately adjoining in the same Empire; when they were carried captive to the banks of the Euphrates, which to them appeared to be the separation of a whole world, they were but transferred to a neighbouring Pashalick. The devout men, who were assembled at Jerusalem out of every nation under heaven, according to the circumscribed notions of those days, were with few exceptions residents of the Districts, that now compose Turkey; and this it is, which lends to all connected with this falling, this all but lifeless trunk, an interest, which never can be felt with regard to aught connected with the young and vigorous, but History-less Empires of the West.

I have described the Provinces of Turkey as they exist. Far

wider were they formerly, for the last century has been to the Ottoman Power an era of unbroken degradation. False principles of external and internal policy, false friends, and false dependents, have so soon reduced that Power, which was till lately the terror of united Europe, to so low a state of weakness, that her very existence depends only on the jealousy of her neighbours. Four out of the great Powers of Europe have appropriated already some portion of the spoil, and by a united effort of all new Kingdoms have been brought into existence, and Nations emancipated from the Turkish rule; and even among the acknowledged subjects several millions have, by forced capitulations, or unequal Treaties, been placed under the protection of Foreign Powers, weakening to an unparalleled extent the prestige of the Sovereign, and stultifying in practice all attempt at social improvement. All European residents are civilly and criminally amenable to their own Consuls only, and all members of the Greek and Armenian Churches are under the protection of Russia. France uses her prescriptive right to be champion of the Roman Church, as a political engine of great magnitude; and the absolute power of the Sultan is confined to his own Mahometan subjects.

How strangely amazed would be those fierce and haughty founders of the Ottoman Empire at the contemplation of the degradation of their descendants; they who had captured the most celebrated city of Christendom, and had twice thundered at the walls of Vienna! And so soon; for there is no ancient dominion which, acquired slowly, had the prestige of Time and History to support it. The Ottoman power began, like a small cloud of dust, which, favoured by the breeze, at length grew to a whirlwind, and with irresistible force prostrated all before it: but, like the whirlwind, it lacked the essentials of stability and substance, and no sooner has the breeze of conquest lulled, than the whole mass falls prostrate to the ground! Perhaps nought is so wonderful, as the sudden fall of this once irresistible Power, except its still more sudden rise and expansion.

In the year 1224, Sulimán Sháh wandered from Khorasan to Armenia with only 400 families; that same Khorasan, which gave birth to the Mogul and Tartar conquerors of India. Moved by a strange restlessness, urged on by an instinctive consciousness of power and conquest, these Nomads fought their way under the first Osman through Asia Minor to Brussa, a celebrated city of Phrygia. Here was their second encampment in Asia, and even still they have the feeling of their erratic habits so strong in them, that they consider themselves to have no permanent abiding-place, but are only encamped in Europe. The son of Osman followed the policy of his father, and, availing himself of the weakness of the Greek Empire, then in its decadence, added Province to Province, and crossing the Bosphorus, placed a firm foot in the adjoining

Continent. Sultan Morad led his Janissaries to the Balkan, and defeating the nationalities of Servia, Bosnia, Hungary, and Wallachia, fixed himself at Adrianople, reducing the Greek Empire to the single city of Constantinople. Bajazet, his son, defeated the united forces of Europe under Sigismund of Hungary, who vainly strove to check this restless torrent. He defeated the flower of Europe, at the same time, that his Lieutenants were adding Province after Province to the Empire, even to the shores of the Euphrates; but in the midst of his pride, he received a check, for the steppes beyond the Caspian Sea had given birth to another swarm of warriors, who swept like locusts the whole length and breadth of Asia, from farthest China and India to the fatal field of Angora, where the Imperial Bajazet was defeated, captured, and borne about in a cage by his conqueror, the great Tamerlane. The Ottoman power was checked, but not overthrown. The descendants of Bajazet re-commenced a career of conquest, defeated the Hungarians at Varna, conquered the whole of Greece, and Mahomet the Second, flushed with victory, laid siege to, and captured the venerable capital of the lower Empire, and made it the seat of his Government.

Europe was startled, but too late, at the new blow. The invaders seemed to have gained new power and fresh lust for conquest. Albania, Epirus, Hungary, and Servia fell before them, the limit of the Empire was extended at the same time East and West, and the same monarch threatened Poland and Persia. Sulimán the Great pushed his arms as far as the Caspian and Persian Gulf, and then, turning back, overthrew the Mameluk Sovereigns, and annexed Syria and Egypt to his dominions. Thence, with irresistible force, in spite of Charles V., his arms extended along the whole Northern coast of Africa. The conquest of Arabia completed the Eastern limits, and the possession of the sacred cities of Medina and Mecca gave the Sultans the title of "Defenders of "the Faithful."

But towards the West there was still room for expansion: the whole of Hungary was annexed; Vienna was twice laid siege to, and only saved by a united effort on the part of Europe: the Republic of Venice, which had long occupied the vanguard of the Christian force, became tributary to the Sultan. Transylvania was threatened by Mahomet IV. and his Grand Wazir Keuprili; but the bow had been stretched to the utmost, and in this campaign the Janissaries gave way before a united force of Germans and French, and for the first time were utterly routed. The career of victory, that had expanded the Empire from the little Principality of Brussa to be the most powerful in the world, had now ceased; there had hitherto been but one check, when Bajazet fell before Timúr; but that potentate had retired to the East, and his descendants were on the puppet-throne of Dehli, pensioned by the same hand,

which props the falling house of Osman: so strangely, at the present era, is British influence directly felt in every part of the world. The Janissaries, by their valour and discipline, had won this Empire, by their corruption and insubordination they lost it, and at this moment a new name in Europe, that of Russia, was beginning to make itself heard, and the power of other European States was daily becoming firmer and more consolidated, while that of Turkey was on the decline. The first defeat lost them Transylvania, the Austrians captured Hungary, and the Venetians began to aspire to Greece; the force and influence of Russia began to appear in the field, and the issue of every struggle during the eighteenth century was prejudicial to the Ottomans. The army had deteriorated, had lost self-confidence and discipline, and had become more dangerous to their own Sovereigns than to their enemies. The Empress Catherine had already planned the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and, leaguing with Austria, would have carried her projects into execution, had not the other great Powers interfered to maintain the ancient enemy of Christendom, as the least of two evils.

Let me pause and take breath, and ask myself, whether there is no other Nation that has been thus irresistibly thrust into an arena of Asiatic conquest, that has found itself armed, and in the full vigour of youth, amidst the debris of decaying Empires and disjointed Provinces? Is there no other Power that has, in the course of one century, made gigantic strides from insignificance to universal Empire? that with one foot on the shore and one on the ocean, has been carrying on successful wars on distant frontiers at the same moment? that with a sword in both hands, has celebrated on the same day the victories of her ships in the Eastern seas, and of her legions in the Western mountains? That Power is Great Britain. The history of the fall of Turkey from its high estate, from the insubordination of its army, from the corruption of every department of the Civil Government, from the want of patriotism and apathy of its citizens, from the falseness of its friends, is one not devoid of interest to any one at all connected with British India. *Dii omen avertant!*

The evil of the system was, however, fully appreciated, and, in the hour of her need, the Ottoman Empire found men capable of designing a bold deed to strike at the root of the evil by the destruction of the Janissaries; but this was a measure requiring circumspection; it was the legacy of Sultan Selim III. to his nephew Sultan Mahomet, who quietly bided his time, and eventually worked out his grand scheme of reformation, though nearly at the risk of pulling down the entire fabric of the Empire on his head. The whole of his reign was passed in suppressing internal revolts, or conducting unsuccessful war against Russia. He crushed Ali Pasha of Janiná; but Albania gave birth to a more

formidable rival in Mahomet Ali of Egypt. The present Kingdom of Greece was formed by the Powers of Europe out of the rebellious Provinces of his Empire; he lost his Trans-Danubian dependencies to Russia; but with a wonderful singleness and firmness of purpose, he carried out at last the object, for which he appears to have been specially born, the extermination of the Janissaries. Placing himself and his only son and heir under the standard of the Empire, he called upon the people to destroy these insubordinate traitors, or he threatened, by stabbing himself and son, to put an end to the Royal line. This threat had the desired effect. The barracks of these Prætorian guards were attacked simultaneously at Constantinople and in the Provinces, upwards of twelve hundred were killed, many exiled, while the great mass (as the whole body amounted to 150,000) submitted to the new order of things; every trace of their former lawlessness was effaced, and the supreme power of the Sultán vindicated. It was a bold stroke, worthy of a great barbarian, but it was one essential, not only to the improvement, but the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. From that moment a fresh era is dated.

But in the throes of this new birth, the State was on the brink of annihilation; for, ere a new army could be formed, and be prepared to take the place of the destroyed Janissaries, a sanguinary and fatal war commenced with Russia, ending in defeat; new troubles began to spring up in the South; the ambition of Mahomet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, began to develope itself by the annexation of Syria and the advance of his rebellious army into Asia Minor; Konieh, the scene of one of the early Turkish triumphs, saw the rout of the Sultán's forces; the enemy was advancing upon the Capital, which was only saved by the humiliating assistance of a Russian army on the Bosphorus; a short-lived compromise was made with the Pasha, but in vain; the Sultán and his rebel-subjects came again into collision. Their armies met near the Euphrates; but ere the news of this second defeat reached the Sublime Porte, the great reformer, one of the ablest and firmest Sovereigns of his age, had expired.

His name will be respected hereafter, for through storm and sunshine he clung to his projects for the regeneration of Turkey, which he was not destined to see realized. He was the destroyer of the past, and was odious as such; to his son, Abd-ul-Mejíd, was reserved the more pleasing task of constructing the new edifice, and good fortune seems to have attended him. The tenderness of his years, the misfortunes of his father, the precarious position of his Empire, and the dire confusion, which would be caused by its sudden dismemberment, roused the attention of the four great Powers: the rebellious Pasha was driven out of Syria, and Turkey for once enjoyed repose.

Then was first broached and carried out the great measure of internal government, known as the "Tanzimát" or "setting in

order." It is an imposing consideration to reflect upon, and gives hopes for the permanency of the Empire, that there could be found ministers wise and firm enough to concede to the advancement of the age, acknowledge the errors of former Governments, and grant, unasked, a constitution to the people. The proclamation is known by the name of the "Hatti Shurîf" of the "Gul-hánah," "the royal letter of the palace of the garden of roses," where the heads of the State, and the representatives of foreign Powers, were assembled for the inauguration of the new state of things, in November, 1839. The terms of this proclamation are so remarkable, that I do not hesitate to quote it:

"THE HATTI SHURÎF OF THE GUL-HÁNAH.

"Every one is aware, that in the early ages of the monarchy, the "precepts of the Koran, and the laws of the Empire, were a rule "ever honoured. In consequence of this, the Empire increased in "strength and greatness, and the population, without exception, "reached the highest degree of welfare and prosperity. A succes- "sion of different causes, during a hundred and fifty years, has "brought about the cessation of that conformity of conduct with "the sacred book of laws, and with the regulations emanating from "it; and the previous vigour and prosperity have been exchanged "for weakness and poverty; for it is a fact, that an Empire must "*lose its stability, when it ceases to observe its laws.*

"These considerations are constantly present to our mind, and "ever since the day of our accession to the throne, the idea of "the public well-being, the improvement of the Provinces, and "the relief of the people, have not ceased to occupy it exclusively. "Now, if one considers the geographical position of the Ottoman "Provinces, the fertility of the soil, and the intelligence of the "inhabitants, one must be convinced, that, by endeavouring with "perseverance to find efficacious measures, the result, which, with "God's help, we hope to attain, may be realized in the space of "a few years. Full of confidence, therefore, in the aid of the "Most High, founded on the intercession of our Prophet, we judge "it expedient to seek, by new institutions, to procure for the Pro- "vinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefit of a good "administration.

"This must be based on three points: 1. The conditions, which "ensure to our subjects the enjoyment of perfect security of life, "honour, and property. 2. A regular mode of collecting the taxes. "3. A method equally regular of recruiting soldiers, and fixing "their term of service.

"And indeed are not life and honour the most precious enjoy- "ments that exist? What man, whatever repugnance his character "may inspire against violence, will be able to refrain from it, and

" from thereby injuring the country, if his life and honour are " endangered? If, on the contrary, he enjoys in that respect " perfect safety, he will not deviate from the paths of loyalty, and " all his acts will contribute to the good of the Government and his " fellow-subjects.

" With regard to regular and fixed taxes, this must be settled, " because a State, which for the defence of its territory is forced to " incur various expenses, cannot procure the funds necessary for " its armies and other wants, otherwise than by contributions levied " from its subjects. Although the Empire is now delivered from " the scourge of monopolies, still one fatal practice exists, known " as 'Iltizam.' By that system the civil and financial administra- " tion of a locality is given up to the arbitrary conduct of an indi- " vidual, for farmers will think only of their private advantage.

" Every one in future will be taxed in proportion to his fortune " and faculties, and no more. Special laws will fix and limit the " expenses of our land and naval forces.

" Although, as we have said, the defence of the country is an " important thing, and it is the duty of all its inhabitants to " provide soldiers to that effect, it has become necessary to establish " laws for the regulation of the contingents to be furnished by each " locality, and to reduce the term of service to four or five years, " because it is both committing an act of injustice, and striking a " fatal blow on agriculture and industry, to take in one place more " men, and in another fewer, than it can furnish, by paying no " attention to the amount of population; and in the same manner, " by keeping soldiers for a whole lifetime in the service, they are " reduced to despair, and it tends to depopulate the country.

" The trial of every one that is accused will take place in public, " according to our divine laws, and after full inquiry; and as long " as no regular sentence has been passed, no one shall *secretly or* " *publicly put another to death by poison or in any manner.*

" No one shall be allowed to assail the honour of another.

" Everybody shall possess his property of every kind, and shall " dispose of it with perfect liberty, without obstacle on the part of " any one. The heirs of a criminal shall not be deprived of their " legal rights, and the property of a criminal shall not be confis- " cated.

" These Imperial concessions are extended to all our subjects, of " *whatever religion or sect they may be*, and they shall enjoy this " without exception.

" As all the functionaries of the Empire receive at present suit- " able salaries, a vigorous law shall be passed against the traffic of " favour and appointment ('Rishwut"), which the divine laws con- " demn, and which is one of the causes of the decline of the " Empire.

" Any one of the 'Ulema' or magnates, who may violate these

" institutions, shall suffer, without the least distinction of rank or " consideration for the individual, the penalty of his guilt estab- " lished. A penal code will be prepared with this view..

" This Imperial edict will be published at Constantinople and in " every part of our Empire, and communicated to the friendly " Powers, that they may be witnesses of the granting of these " institutions, which, please God, shall last for ever.

" May the Most High God keep us in His most holy care! May " those, who shall do a deed contrary to these institutions, be the " objects of divine malediction, and be deprived of all kinds of " happiness for ever!"

It has been no empty promise: the work of centralization and reducing to order has been going systematically on; the fearful abuse of appointing independent Pashas, who for a time ruled absolute, and then perished by the bow-string, has been swept away: the Civil and Military powers have been entirely separated; something has been done to separate the departments of Civil Government; a regular army has been raised by an understood system of conscription, which, though highly unpopular, is not peculiar to Turkey, and must be enforced: there is room for much improvement in the financial system; so vast a chaos could not be reduced to order in a day; there is protection to both life and property; from having been the most arbitrary and bloody of Governments, that of Turkey now perhaps errs on the other side; capital punishment is only resorted to under law; the bow-string is unknown, and the bastinado, in its old approved fashion, has been abolished.

Before entering into the details of the Civil and Military Government, as it now exists, I must call attention to the peculiar natural conformation of the Empire; the position of the scattered Provinces, open to attack on so many sides, and so facile for approach by sea or land, presents a marked contrast to the compact and fortified appearance of our Empire in India, where the desert and the mountain ranges to the West and North render difficult, if not impossible, all approach to the Peninsula, and the valley of the Indus and Ganges; and where, when held by a great Naval Power, the long sea-coasts, and numerous harbours, are a source of strength against an invader; and where the different portions of the Empire are so situated towards each other as to be enabled to render easy assistance in defiance of the enemy. The position of the detached Provinces of Turkey is precisely the contrary; instead of a Peninsula girt by the ocean, she is, as it were, a sea, surrounded by narrow strips of land, and dotted with islands; the extensive seaboard is exposed at every point; she is liable to invasion, and has no natural protection on any flank. But the very causes of her weakness in warfare are the source of her vast capabilities for commerce. She has no occasion for trunk roads or rails of iron; the Mediterranean is the great high road of her merchants and her

produce; the waves of the ocean itself wash her store-houses in the Golden Horn, and waft her argosies from Sinope and Trebizond on the Black Sea, to Smyrna, Beirút, Alexandria, and Tripoli in her own dominions. Two rivers intersect her remoter Provinces, the Euphrates, and the Nile; her coasts are studded with harbours; and so wonderful are the facilities of her situation, that even now the burden of her postal arrangements is conducted by foreign Nations, and her earliest railroad is being constructed by foreign capital; and did not a feeling of independence compel her to look with suspicion on such offers, were her political arrangements more certain, other railways, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, from Constantinople to the Austrian frontier, would be undertaken and completed, foreign capital would be extensively invested in other objects, and many of the onerous duties of a Government would be undertaken, for her profit, at the risk of her neighbours.

The Tanzimát is based upon the principle of a direct centralizing Government, and the great struggle of late years has been to compel some of the more distant Provinces to submit to this rule, and become Districts instead of tributary States. The power of the Supreme Government, indefensible in theory, is year by year developing and extending itself practically; to assist in this point the regiments of the army are relieved annually, and move from Province to Province; the Governors are appointed direct by the Sultan, and are transferred as occasion offers; the head of the Executive is not allowed to be the farmer of the revenue for his own profits, but the Districts are more or less carefully assessed; certain principles of Criminal Law are uniformly enforced, under appeal to the higher Courts. Such measures are no doubt distasteful to the Pashas of the old school, especially to those who had made themselves hereditary; hence the struggle between Egypt and the Porte; the Sultan one year tries to introduce the Tanzimát, this would be followed the next year by the revenue laws, and the Viceroy would be reduced to a Civil Commissioner.

The Viceroyalties have been enumerated above; over each is a Wali or Mutasarif, with the rank of Pasha; he represents the Executive power, has the privilege of calling for military aid when required, and corresponds direct with Government. Each Eyalet is divided into Sandjac, or Districts, superintended by a Kaimmakám, or Muhassil, who, as their name implies, are but the shadow and representative of their superior officer: on urgent matters, they may address the Government direct. In his own immediate District, the Wali acts as his own Kaimmakám, having secondary, as well as primary, powers. This Authority, in concert with the military commandment, conducts the conscription, and presiding over a Junta formed by the Judge of the Civil Court, the Mufti and Moka, and the mem-

bers of the Majlis, the Local Council, conducts the Criminal trials: with the assistance of a local municipality, he also superintends the finance.

The Majlis, or Local Council, meets on fixed days four times a week, and is composed of the Kaimmakám, as ex-officio President; the Receiver-General called the Mal Mudiri; the heads of the persuasions, such as the Bishop and Rabbi, as the case may be; the Khoja-Bashi, or delegate of the Christian community; and deputies elected on a numerical ratio from the people.

This is certainly a most liberal feature in the administration, one to which it will be long ere we arrive in India. Nothing can be decided upon, which affects the interests of the people, without being submitted to this Majlis, establishing the important principle of equality in race and religion. But it does not work well yet, neither having practical efficiency, nor being supported by personal independence. I was sitting in Court with the Pasha of Damascus, at the time that one of these local Councils were debating on the rather delicate subject of making up a deficiency in the revenue by an extra tax or benevolence. The delegates of the citizens were there, just the kind of men, whom our large towns of India would produce: their scheme was of course to screw every class but their own. Turning over the subject practically, a subject not unfamiliar in all its bearings, I do not think India would gain by the admixture of a popular element in its system, for this purpose.

The Kaimmakám or District Officer, has under his orders a Police-force, mounted and foot. Each District is divided into Kaza, superintended by a Mudiri, who is generally also a Mutasallim, corresponding to Police and Revenue Officers: these parties act in concert with the deputies, or notables of the locality. In each Kaza are so many villages, over each is a Muktyar or Khoja-Bashi, chosen by the inhabitants.

The Wali is assisted in his Revenue duties by a Daftardar, or Receiver-General of the Province, and the Mal Mudiri discharges the same duties in the District, superintending all items of finance, as well as the quarantine, customs, and passport department. At the beginning of each financial year, the 1st of May, the accounts of the year are made up, and sealed by the Wali and his council, and sent with their vouchers through the Daftardar to the Government. Every disbursement in the Province must bear this Officer's seal.

On paper this reads well, and approaches wonderfully to the system in India: the greater infusion of the popular element is to counteract the greater moral turpitude of the local Authorities. I was riding through one of the Provinces with an intelligent French priest, who had long lived there, whom I had chanced to meet that

morning at the house of the Kaimmakám, where he had called to answer some charge of assault made by the Protestants against the Romanists. "Ah, Sir!" said he, "there is a dreadful thing in this "country, of which you fortunately know nothing, called "'Rishwut.'" "Know nothing?" replied I; "it has been one of "the banes of my official life for many years. I can sympathize "with you." In fact, venality and corruption rule the day, appointments are bought and sold, and justice goes to the highest bidder. Another necessity for local councils happily exists not in India. The Pasha is always a stranger, and utterly ignorant of the language, as Turkish is not the Vernacular of all the Provinces: he is never allowed to stay there long, for fear of his taking root; there is no detailed system of Record, and consequently each local Ruler is as much in want of a Council, as the noble lords, who periodically honour Bombay and Madras with their presence in Government House.

I pass now to the courts of Civil Justice. At Constantinople is the pinnacle of the edifice, consisting of a High Court of Justice and Appeal, divided into two Sadars or Chambers, one for the European, and the other for the Asiatic Province. Each Chamber is presided over by a Chief Justice, assisted by ten and seven puisne Judges respectively. These legal fathers rank next after the Shaikh-ul-Islam, who occupies the post of Minister of Justice and Religion, uniting the power and dignity of the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and who has the nomination to all appointments. A Provincial Court of Appeal (Mouliviat), presided over by a Moka, embraces one or more Viceroyalties, according to size. There are twenty-two of these Courts. In each District, or nearly so, is a Kázа, or court of primary jurisdiction; these are composed of the Kázi, the Mufti, the Naib, or additional judge, the Ayak Naib, and the Bach-Katib, officer of court. The Courts dispose of all primary cases, and, as stated above, when united to the executive and local council, form a Criminal Court. In common parlance they are called the Court of Justice, in distinction from the municipal council, and commercial Court, to which I shall allude hereafter. In some local subdivisions there is yet a lower Court for trying smaller cases, presided over by a Naib, with a Court-officer.

Justice is thus brought home pretty well to the community, but of what kind is the article? Of what capability are the judges? Are their hands clean? And what is the procedure? This is a subject of deep interest to any well-wisher of India: it is worth a trip to Turkey to watch kindred institutions in similar countries, to catch some hints to amend our own. I visited more than one of these Courts in the large towns, and found them generally in central spots, large cool rooms, with a fountain in the centre, a venerable-looking Judge, and most respectable assessors: all the dignity and publicity of Justice: but, alas! what say long residents with regard

to the probity and character of the Courts? The Kázi openly avows, that suitors are in the habit of sending presents to influence his decisions; and why should it not be, for he had bought his place, and must get the money back, and then the loser can always appeal? What makes it worse is, that these appointments are only *annual*, so it is "catch while you can." Then comes the preposterous mode of procedure; the Mufti is the judge of the law, the Kázi of the fact; the suitors are obliged to bring their respective cases before the Mufti first, in an abstract form: "If Omar does so and so, how is Zaid affected?" And the Mufti gives his fátwa according to the strict law: his decision is of course grounded on the facts stated, or mis-stated, by each, and then each party, armed with his fatwá proceeds to the Mekemeh of the Kázi, who decides the facts. These proceedings have the advantage of brevity, for the cause is soon expounded, the order is inscribed on the petition, and signed. The defendant has always the option of demanding, that his cause be transferred to the higher tribunal: this is the only check on corruption, and incapacity. But the labour of the unfortunate plaintiff is not over yet, for, fortified by his fatwá from the Mufti, and his Ilam or decree from the Kázi, he has to move the Kaimmakam to execute this decree, and another door is opened for delay, bribery, and denial of justice.

The Office of Mufti and Kázi is filled by parties selected from the body of the Ulema, the great hierarchy of Turkey, which may be divided generally into two branches, the judicial, consisting of the Kázi and Mufti, and the sacerdotal, consisting of the Imam, the latter being very inferior to the former both in station and influence, for the genius of the Mahometan religion renders its followers independent of priestcraft. The appointment of the Mufti is for life, that of the Kázi is liable to constant change. Both have to undergo a long and dreary apprenticeship ere they reach these desirable posts. To each of the large mosques at Istambúl is attached a Madrassa, and there the ten or twelve years of early manhood are spent in acquiring the knowledge of the law, as a Talib; the scholar then assumes the title of Danishmand, and is eligible for the Office of Imam; but should he accept this Office, he would forfeit all claim to further promotion. If he clings to the college, and successfully passes further tests, he is styled Mulazim, and admitted to the first grade of the Ulema, and is eligible for the office of Kázi: should ambition urge him on, and he be inclined to devote seven long years more, and pass higher tests, he comes out as Mudiri, a rank specially conferred by the Shaikh-ul-Islam, and is then eligible to the post of Mufti in any part of the Empire; or by remaining at the Capital, he takes his chance for promotion to the very highest Offices of his profession, the Judge of Appeal, or the chair of the Shaikh-ul-Islam itself.

The Provincial Criminal Courts, as stated above, are composed of

all the different Authorities of the District, the Executive, the Council, and the Courts of Justices. Their jurisdiction is final, except in capital cases, which must be referred to the Supreme Court of Justice at Constantinople, and the sign-manual of the Sultán himself is required to authorize the shedding of blood. The minor penalties are the galleys, imprisonment, and banishment to certain Districts of the Empire. No infamy is attached to such punishments, the criminal is considered an object of compassion, rather than aversion. The prisons are very indifferently looked after, and it is a painful spectacle to visit the poor wretches in confinement. At the stairs of the Seraglio, by which name is universally known the official residence, or cutchery, of the Executive Officer, I was disgusted and pained by the cries of the prisoners and parties under trial, begging *earnestly for bread*. In some cases, all that is seen is a number of hands in a window, grasping frantically at the morsel of bread, which the passer-by may give. This is very sad. The amount of oppression, felt practically by a people, where the powers of arrest and bail are not carefully watched, is incalculable. The Supreme Court at Constantinople decides all cases of treason, malversation, and abuse of authority. Already has its power been felt, for a Wazír, who had signed the new Code, was a few months afterwards banished and fined for embezzlement, and the Pasha of Konieh was sentenced to the galleys, in the very town, in which he had long acted as chief Executive, for killing a servant in a moment of passion.

The Code of laws and procedure is one of the results of the Tanzimát. The old Mahometan divisions of criminal law, Hudad, Kisás, and Diyat, have been abolished in reality, as well as in name. The testimony of all parties is admitted, without respect to Religion. Up to the date of the new reforms, a Code known by the name of Multeka-ul-Ubhur, "the confluence of the seas," had been in force, the composition of Ibráhim of Aleppo, who flourished in 1549; it was founded upon the learned dogma of Abu Hanífa, and Shafi, and was, like all Mahometan Codes, remarkable for its strange intermixture of law and morals, being founded on the basis of the Sultán being king and high priest. The instructions about Hunting are as precise as those about Prayer; the necessity of purifications is inculcated as strongly as the respecting of the rights of others. This Code certainly worked well, and was suited to the people, as long as they maintained an isolated situation from other nations, and considered themselves as occupying an entrenched camp in Europe. But, when the coldness had relaxed, and the Ottoman Power began to lean on its Christian neighbours for support, it became clear, that something further was required. One of the earliest results of the Hatti Shurif was a Commercial Code founded on French models, and a Penal Code which became law in 1840. It is a very remarkable document, from the frank confession of

former errors, a virtue much to be imitated by other stubborn Governments:

"*Art. I.* The Sultán has solemnly pledged himself not to destroy "any human life, *publicly or privately, by poison, or in any other* "*way*, unless the party has been condemned by law. No employé "of Government is therefore at liberty to kill any one, whoever he "may be. If a Wazír should take away the life of a shepherd, he "will be punished with death.

"*Art. II.* Every excitement to revolt will be punished by the "galleys for life.

"*Art. III.* Every Government-servant, convicted of oppression, "will be punished without reference to his rank or station.

"*Art. IV.* His Highness has promised not to touch the goods and "property of any person: no one, therefore, is at liberty to possess "himself by force of what belongs to another: any infraction of "this law will subject the delinquent to the penalty of restitution "of the property misappropriated, and should he be a Government "employé, to dismissal and exile.

"*Art. V.* As all dignitaries are well paid, any instance of "exaction will be punished by three years of the galleys, and "dismissal.

"*Art. VIII.* In each District there will be three independent "authorities: 1. The Courts of Justice. 2. The Executive Police. "3. The Revenue-Officers. They are bound to give each other "mutual assistance, without meddling in each other's affairs.

"*Art. X. and XI.* Fatal wounding will be punished by death, "as also assassination.

"*Art. XIV.* This Code is of equal force in favour of, and "against, all subjects of the Empire, *whether Mahometan or* "*Christian, without any exception.* It is the duty of all to take "care, that no breach is made of these laws by any one, whoever "he may be, at the same time that all may claim their protection."

Unquestionably, as a Code, this is a very incomplete and unscientific production: but as a manly acknowledgment of past errors, as a noble abandonment of all Caste-privileges and unjust social differences, it is entitled to our profound admiration, and moreover, to our humble imitation in British India. If the proud and half-educated Mahometan could resign the privileges of a Code and procedure sanctioned by his Religion, and stamped by antiquity, and could place himself on a level with the Christians, whom his ancestors had conquered, and trodden upon for centuries, conscientiously believing, that the best way to improve and purify the Courts is to render the highest amenable to them, how very unworthy must appear to the World the conduct of those, who declaim against the extension of the Codes of British Law to all British subjects, whether the sons of shop-keepers in Cheapside, or sprung of ancient familes in Hindustan? Here the wisdom of the

Christian Government, as well as the justice, must yield to that of the Turk; but it is a vain struggle, and the dictates of common sense must sooner or later be followed. I trust to hail before long a Hatti Shurif from the Gul-hánah of the Council-room of British India, proclaiming the entire equality of all subjects, without distinction of Religion, or colour, or birth. The first end of the wedge has been inserted by the passing of late Acts. If the British Merchant, or Planter, wishes to reside in India, he must conform to the Laws of the Land.

I cannot hope, nor expect, that in so short a period the principles laid down in this record of rights have been practically worked out: it is long, very long, ere an Asiatic people, accustomed to oppression, can learn their just rights, ere the little petty tyrannies, which we have before us daily in the bazaar, and on the high road of an Oriental District, are put down by public feeling. As long as suitors are degraded enough to offer bribes, so long will the corrupt Judge dishonour the Bench; as long as men will not hesitate by cringing and flattery to gain their own ends, so long will the dwellings of those in power be surrounded by a grasping crowd of exactors. In one of my visits to the Pasha of Jerusalem, I was stunned by cries for Bakshish, and had to dance attendance amidst a crowd of varlets in the ante-chamber. I submitted to the penance, and bled readily, perhaps gladly, being now convinced, that the errors of our Public Officials in India, which no punishment would check, were not peculiar to them, but were the natural weaknesses of mankind. I paid the coin, and thought of the many venerable figures, who had danced attendance in my anterooms. A few nights afterward, my head servant was arrested by the Mutasallim of the town, on account of a quarrel with one of his dependents: it was "Man, weak man, dressed in a little brief authority." I had to visit this dignitary, to smoke the pipe of peace, and submit to his odorous embraces, ere I could continue my journey on the morrow. It was the same story everywhere: the camels and carriages of merchants rudely seized for the marching of troops, or of people in power: the impressment of forced labour, the arbitrary enactment of price-currents: the passport-bribe at the city-gate, the quarantine hush-money, the custom-house douceur. Then in the houses, where I lodged on the road, many a tale was told of village oppression, of justice denied by undue influence, many an unjust assessment exposed, many a little act of Asiatic tyranny laid bare: but I feel convinced, that these are the inherent vices of the Asiatic system: the evils are to be met with over the whole Indian Peninsula, and no Ruler and no system of justice can prevent it. Would to God that it could be done!

I have thus described the Courts, Criminal and Civil, which are established more or less in the Viceroyalties of the Turkish Empire. The Supreme Government quietly, year by year, extends its direct

influence, and by degrees the complete centralization will be established. The general features do not differ materially from our own Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Courts, and Executive Power in British India; but Turkey is liable to an evil through its length and breadth, from which we are free, and which has the effect of paralyzing its best efforts at self-government, and must continue to do so. This evil arises, partly, from the weakness of the Empire as regards foreign European Powers, and partly from the defectiveness of its own institutions. The Courts above alluded to have jurisdiction only over the Mahometan and Christian subjects of the Porte; but the whole coast swarms with the nondescript subjects, or dependents of Foreign States, who, though long settled, still consider themselves as under the protection and the flags of their respective Consuls, and entirely beyond the power of the local authorities in any respect whatever. Nor do these individuals keep aloof from the ordinary transactions of life, like the King of Dehli, who remained secluded in his own palace. They are everywhere foremost in speculation and in trade, loud in the market-place, influential on the exchange, masters of the imports and exports of the country, now the creditors, now the debtors of the Government and its highest officers. These people are of all countries, speaking all languages, but preserving their nationalities, or vaunting the protection, often most profligately extended by the local Consuls of the smaller Powers. This state of affairs was forced upon the Christian Powers by the former absence of all law in Turkey, and the haughty denial of all rights to Franks as Unbelievers. Certain Capitulations were made, when the Turkish Power was weakened, by which all subjects of Foreign States are liable, civilly and criminally, only to their Consuls, and through them to their Governments, and by Acts of Parliament the British Consuls in the Levant are armed with Judicial powers, and can, if required, forward offenders for trial to Malta. This privilege of independence from the Laws of the land has been grossly abused, and by none more so than Great Britain. In addition to the genuine British subject, who maintains everywhere his character of stubbornness and unreasonableness, and gives trouble to every constituted Court in every country, the British flag protects a countless horde of Maltese, Greeks from the Ionian Isles, Ionians on the coast, who have long enjoyed protection without nationality, Jews, citizens of the United States, who, wherever they have no representative, naturally look to Great Britain: latterly all converts from the Ancient Churches of the East have put forward a most unfounded claim to the protection of the flag of the Missionary. Each Consul has a book of protected subjects, and it is a point of honour not to concede one, though the licence of adding to their numbers has been checked. I met an old Mahometan of the Panjáb, who asked me for a certificate of his being a British subject, for the purpose of evading

the Income-tax, and being able to snap his fingers at the Police; for the Consuls are too glad to exert their powers. In addition to this, the ancient oppression of the Turks upon Christians has compelled the Foreign Powers to interfere in their behalf, and it is generally understood, that every member of the Armenian and Greek Church is under the protection of Russia, every Roman Catholic under that of France, and latterly every Protestant, and, strange to say, the great mass of the Jewish population, under Great Britain. The primary object was to protect these parties from oppression, real and undoubted; but latterly this right has become a political engine; and the practical working of the system is most lamentable, most oppressive, and most degrading to the local Authorities. Wherever there is suspended the flag of a Foreign Power, there the Police and Tax-gatherer cannot enter: every Consul is a merchant, and the smaller Powers supply themselves with Consuls at the expense of a painted board and a flag, as it is clear, that such immunities are invaluable to a merchant. No Frank, by the laws of the Empire, can hold real or landed property; but this difficulty is got over by fraudulent transfers, and the great bulk of the trade and manufacture is in their hands; silk factories, paper mills, corn mills, wine presses, have sprung up in every part of the coast, and commerce is rapidly expanding itself by the means of Christian skill and capital, but sadly to the injury of good order; and nothing but the repeal of these Capitulations can enable the Porte to consolidate the internal system of its Government. The evil and degradation are keenly felt by the higher Turks. "Why," said the Governor of Damascus to me, "should they not be subject to "our laws, as I was to theirs, when I visited England for my "pleasure, as they come here for theirs?" The state of things sometimes exhibits itself ludicrously, sometimes painfully. In the city of Damascus two strangers fell out, and fought; the Police interfered; it was found, that one was a native of British India on his pilgrimage, the other a Creole from Jamaica; the Police let them alone, as they were both Her Britannic Majesty's subjects. At Salonika a new Kaimmakam was struck by the number of flags and boards, indicating the residence of an unusual number of Consuls. On inquiry it was found that every baker's shop had been taken under the protection of foreign Powers for a gratuity, to evade the tax on grain. I was sitting in the company of a provincial Pasha, while a case was being argued by the British Consul on the behalf of a Jew, who had established a farm in the district: he either could not, or would not, pay his land-Revenue (not an unprecedented event in Asia), and the local Officer naturally wished to realize; but the Revenue defaulter had a paper protection from Great Britain, though apparently a Pole, and I felt for the poor Pasha, as he heard himself threatened and defied in his own Court, and a letter, proposed to be despatched to the Ambassador,

read to him "in terrorem." And this is going on in every town, and as foreign relations increase, the system of interference increases also. The Sultán, last year, by edict, reduced the extravagant rates of interest at Damascus: his views of political economy might be wrong, but at any rate he but followed the precedent of every civilized nation. The blood-sucking Jews went *en masse* to the British Consul, and I had the pleasure of hearing that worthy record his protest, or act of defiance, to the Imperial Government, which half a century before would have taken off his head, or consigned him to the Seven Towers. All the authorities are wonderfully urbane, and civil to travellers, and in appearance very respectable. The old race of Pasha, as described by the author of *Eothen*, has expired. Such as I met were sharp and intelligent men, of solemn and staid demeanour. If transferred from Damascus or Smyrna to Dehli and Agra, there would be little to distinguish them from the Deputy Collector or Native Judge; the same grave respect for externals, the same slow and deliberate utterance, the inkstand and paper, the scented pipe, and obsequious servants standing round, add to the resemblance.

The Franks, as stated above, being beyond the control of the local Courts (the Courts being too bad for them, or they too bad for the Courts), Mixed Tribunals have been established to settle their own international quarrels, to enable them to collect their just debts, and protect the natives from their exactions. A Frank cannot be delivered over to the Tribunals of the country, and in commercial matters betwixt Franks, the Consular Court is that referred to, to which alone a Frank can be cited, but the native must be sued by a Frank in the Courts of the country. Even among the subjects of the Porte, the Patriarchs and Chief Rabbi are vested with powers to settle cases, where both parties belong to the same persuasion, with a right to appeal to the Court of Justice, which is the only tribunal, if the nation and religion of the parties differ. The Mixed Tribunals for deciding matters in which Franks or domiciled strangers are concerned, are twofold: 1. The Commercial. 2. The Criminal and Correctional. These institutions date from 1846, and have been established in all the large cities of the Empire, and have been found to answer their purpose. They are composed of a certain number of natives, whose appointments are permanent, and a certain number of foreigners, who vary according to the nationality of the party, whose case is before the Court. These Courts are vested by the Imperial Firmán with all the attributes of competent Judicatures; they can compel the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths according to the persuasion of the witnesses, punish perjury, and can, with the sanction of the Executive, carry out their decrees, to any extent, civil or criminal, except where life is affected. If the defendant is a subject, the sanction of the Sultán is required to warrant capital sentence; if

he is a foreigner, the consent of the Consul of the particular nation to which he belongs must be obtained; in all cases, the Consul of the defendant is allowed to take a part in the defence, and the decree can only be carried out, when countersigned by him, which *last condition* is fearfully abused, and almost nullifies the good effects of the institution.

The existence of these Courts is a great evil, and, until they are brought more into harmony and connection with the general system of the whole Empire, they must retard the advance of good Government: but they were a necessary evil, the result of the isolated position formerly, and latterly the dependent relations of the Empire towards Foreign Powers, and the antiquated and very imperfect constitution of the indigenous Courts. But anomalous as it is, the institution has been productive of some good, and is, perhaps, put forth as a feeler of the public mind before the introduction of further innovation on the strict precepts of the Korán; for instance, since their institution, two grand reforms have been introduced into the Court of Justice itself, the result of public opinion; one of a most radical nature, viz. the admission of the evidence of a Christian in a case before the Kázi, and the other the admission of documentary evidence, both of which are contrary to strict Mahometan law and practice. To complete this resumé of the Judicial establishment of the Turkish Province, it must be added, that there are no salaries attached to purely Civil functionaries; they are remunerated by a fee of one-fourth of the litigated property: their appointments are all held at pleasure, and the usual term of occupance is one year; and it follows from their mode of education, that they are quite strangers to the people, to whom they are to administer Justice, and very often are entirely ignorant of their language. Turkey, by its peculiar Geographical position, has scarcely two Provinces speaking exactly the same language or dialect: the dissimilarity in customs is as great: when I repeat therefore, that the Officers charged with the Executive in the Provinces, and the Judges, have *no fixed salaries, have no permanence of appointment*, but are liable to sudden and arbitrary removal, and are utterly *ignorant of the language and customs of the people*, and are not allowed time to make themselves acquainted with them, my readers may judge, that these Courts are marked by the union of the three greatest defects, that can be incidental to such institutions; and the co-existence of independent and antagonistic tribunals, based upon individual, and not territorial, jurisdiction, is an additional evil so great, that I doubt, whether any country could thrive under it.

I now proceed to the question of Finance, the nature and amount of Revenue available, the modes of collection, and the nature of the expenditure. In the nineteenth century, the Budget is, must always be, the great and vital question, every other matter being more or less influenced by it. Throughout the World, there can be

but two forms which taxation can assume: 1. Where, as in Great Britain, the expenditure is fixed, and the sums necessary are collected with the consent of the tax-payer. 2. Where the amount of Revenue available appears fixed by natural causes, and the expenditure must be controlled by that. Turkey, like British India, belongs to the latter class: her best intentions and schemes are checked by want of means, and the method of increasing taxation to meet the legitimate wants of the Government is the great financial difficulty.

The following may be said to be an approximation to the revenue of the State in 1851. However, the data are very uncertain:

Land-tax	£2,024,000
Income-tax	1,840,000
Capitation-tax	368,000
Customs	790,400
Indirect Taxes	1,380,000
Tribute from the dependent Provinces	322,000
	£6,724,400

Of these, the land-tax resembles in some respects the great source of Revenue in India; but it is avowedly founded upon a different right. The State is maintained by law to be the sole owner of real property, and the tax is a kind of rent; and to appreciate the exact position of Government, I must refer back to the origin of the Turkish power. When the Turks commenced their career of conquest, the general rule was *conversion or extermination*: still practically their dominions might be divided into two classes, *those* which submitted without making any resistance, or which were entirely colonized by Mahometans after the extermination of the Christian inhabitants, and *those* which were conquered by force of arms, but the inhabitants spared. In the first class, the lands were generally divided into three shares: 1. Military Fiefs, such as we should call in India Jaghír. 2. Eleemosynary and religious tenures, so well known in India. 3. Government lands, known in India as Khalsa. But the State never resigned her lien on the whole, and it is the usufruct alone, that is conceded to the holders of the first two shares. As the Government grew weaker in its functions, what happened in India, and everywhere else, came to pass in Turkey. The subjects enriched themselves at the expense of the State. More than half the territory passed, fraudulently or forcibly, into the hand of the Priest and Soldier, with entire immunity from any State-contribution at all. One of the boldest measures of Sultán Mahomet, after the massacre of the Janissaries, was to resume the whole of the Service-lands: he even had prepared to do the same to the Religious holdings also, but the stout heart, which had not feared the sword, quailed before the curse. These lands still remain free from the tithe, which is levied on all lands held direct by Government, and the resumed Military Fiefs.

In the second-class of Provinces, which had been conquered by the sword, the principle was different: a land-tax, the right of the conqueror, took the place of the tithe, or rateable collection from the faithful. This of course varies according to the relative strength of the tax-gatherer and the tax-payer. In all ill-governed and rude countries, the question is reduced to this: it is only very strong Governments, or very wise ones, that care to limit their demands to what in justice the land should pay, with reference to its capabilities. I saw many instances of this. The Chiefs of mountainous and difficult tracts would not permit a Revenue-Officer to enter their boundaries, and paid a quit-rent, affixed in proportion to their strength, not the value of their country: on the other hand, the open country is liable to constant oppression. I was particularly interested with the fiscal state of the valley of the Bekáya between the two ranges of Lebanon, a magnificent valley, irrigated by the Leontes, with great agricultural capabilities. A survey had lately taken place, and an average had been struck, and a kind of Settlement made for five years. This was, however, soon set aside: a new Pasha commenced a new survey: bribes were taken to make false measurements, demands were being urged, over and above the assessment, of a miscellaneous kind, consisting of straw for the horses, food for the servants. The old struggle between Revenue-exaction and agricultural chicanery, to improve which the British Consul of Damascus, on some supposed plea of protection, was preparing to interfere, without much chance of his mending matters.

The land-tax is collected by the head-men, and transferred to the State-Collectors, who account first to the Daftardar, the chief Revenue-accountant of the District. The debased state of the currency, the chronic want of funds, and habitual forestalling of the Revenue, adds to the misery of the cultivator, who is generally deep beyond redemption in the books of the Armenian Money-lender. Money is taken up on the coming crop, but ere it ripens, the Revenue harpies are let loose to realize in kind, and anticipate the baffled money-lender; but a small portion of the amount, really drawn from the people, finds its way to the treasury of the Government: a large part is diverted by bribes, douceurs, perquisites or plunder, debased coin, and arbitrary price-currents. The people did not strike me as very wretched in spite of all this. I have lodged in some of the meanest houses, and there secured more comfort than I had found in many an Indian village: the husbandman generally tills his fields with a gun slung over his shoulder, and other arms near at hand. In one village I was very much amused by a long string of complaints against the head-men, brought by one of the cultivators. The man urged his case, as if he were trying to impress upon me a new idea, instead of a very familiar story indeed.

I am not prepared to say, that very many of the evils described above do not exist in great force in the Provinces of British India: many of them are inseparable from the existence of a land-tax and the nature of Oriental tenures, and, if found to exist in two countries, so separate and distinct as India and Turkey, they may be presumed to be of spontaneous growth. The best of Governments can only modify and reduce within the smallest possible compass, such evils, by fixing moderate assessments for long periods, by never anticipating the demand, by punishing exaction, and establishing a good currency, and encouraging self-government.

The second great head of taxation is the Income-tax, levied from all at an average rate of seventeen per cent. The abuses of this tax, and the difficulty of assessing justly, may be imagined: the usual method is to assess roughly certain Districts, and to leave the distribution to the Municipality themselves: there is no doubt, that it presses heavily on some, while many evade it altogether; yet it is a form of taxation, which at least possesses to a large degree the element of fairness; standing upon the position, that the State levies a portion of the goods of the subject to secure to him the enjoyment of the remainder, this tax has much to recommend it, and in Great Britain is now admitted to be necessary; but the question of distribution, everywhere difficult, in an Oriental country becomes one of the greatest nicety, and this will ever render its introduction into India dangerous, although the justice of reducing the tax on land, and fixing it upon personalities, appears to be incontestable.

Next comes the capitation-tax, levied by the Mahometan conqueror from the Christian subjects, as a ransom for their lives. This exists still, but it is no longer attended in its realization by insult or humiliation, and circumstances have arisen which will make its repeal, which is probably not far distant, regretted. One of the great merits of the Turkish reform is the entire abolishing of all Caste-privileges, and the desire to act equitably to all subjects. Under the present state of things, the conscription for the army falls exclusively on the Mohametans, and the Christians think themselves well off in paying in money instead of in flesh and bones; but their privilege is likely to cease, and they will be included in the conscription rolls, and relieved from the capitation-tax. The rate of assessment of this tax is calculated as the value of two, three, or four days' labour on each grown-up male: the number of males of each persuasion being calculated, the amount of assessment is distributed among the Heads of Religious Persuasions, viz. the Patriarchs of the Christian community, and the Khakam Bashi of the Jews. This new system has added enormously to the power of these dignitaries, who were vested previously with certain judicial functions, and who have seats in the Council, and by some, as naturally to be expected, it has been used for the worst purposes,

to crush all those, whose conscience may move them to religious inquiry, or to the adoption of Protestant tenets. The Missionaries represented this to the English Ambassador, and it was only last year, that a Firmán of Religious Liberty was promulgated, authorizing all converts to come out from their ancient and degraded Churches, and form themselves into new bodies, paying their tax separately.

The fourth head of receipt is the Customs: and with such natural advantages as Turkey possesses, this ought to be a large source of income; but it is not so, owing to unequal and oppressive treaties with Foreign States, and systematic mismanagement, and smuggling; the usual plan is to farm the whole to Armenian Bankers.

Of the fifth head, that of indirect taxes, we have six branches: 1. Duty upon shops and articles sold. 2. Stamps. 3. Town duties. 4. Tolls: this is a tax on beasts of burden passing bridges or mountain-passes; the origin of it is clear, though the funds are now carried to the public treasury, instead of being applied to local improvements, as our local agency, road, and ferry funds. 5. The Mines: these might be made a boundless source of revenue, but are nearly entirely neglected; ores of all kinds are known to exist, and coal-mines on the immediate shores of the Mediterranean. 6. The Post Office: this department is at present very primitive. All the inland posts are carried by native mounted messengers of wonderful activity and resolution; by sea, there is a service of steamers, but the greater part of the business has passed into Austrian and French hands.

The tribute from the Dependent Provinces requires no remark; it is very inconsiderable, and the secret policy of the Porte is to do away with it, and to bring these Provinces under subjection; but they are guaranteed by Foreign Powers, and here, as in every other Department, the improvement and developing of the resources of Turkey is checked by foreign capitulations, proving that the first condition of a country's prosperity is to be independent of its neighbours.

The mode of collection has much improved of late, and for this Turkey is indebted to the bold genius of Sultán Mahmúd. Every portion of the Revenue was formerly put up for annual sale, and was purchased by some one with power and influence, to the injury of the people and the Government. The Pasha, vested with plenary civil and military power, fleeced the Provinces for his own advantage, with the assistance of Armenian Bankers: to check this, the Civil, Military, and Revenue functions have been separated, special Officers, responsible to the Supreme Government, have been stationed in each District, and the aid of the Municipality and Local Council has been largely drawn upon in the apportioning and adjusting the demand from individuals.

Some remark is required on the pay of the Civil establishments,

which appear to be calculated on a very liberal scale: for instance, the Grand Wazír, the highest dignitary of the State, receives about £11,000 per annum; Ministers, with the rank of councillor, £8000 per annum; the Viceroys of Provinces, corresponding to Commissioners of Revenue and Police, £4000 per annum; the District Officers, £1600 per annum; the Mutasallim, or superintendent of police, £550 per annum; the Daftardar, or general receiver, £1600 per annum. Such are the salaries of the Executive: the employés of the Civil Courts receive nothing from the State, but are paid entirely by fees.

In an ordinary year, with a Peace-establishment, the Budget of expenditure falls but a little beyond that of the receipts, and by good management the ends might possibly be made to meet: but, if a bad season were to reduce the land-tax, and a change in European politics compel unusual war-expenses, the necessary result is a deficit, which can only be met by loans; and, until the finances become more buoyant, and an annual surplus be raised, the increase of the loans is but adding an additional weight to the millstone round the neck of the State. Three great financial measures suggest themselves to those, who have long studied the position of affairs, all of them surrounded by difficulties, the two latter, perhaps, insuperable by the present Government, as the former is based on religious prejudice, the latter on foreign treaties, guaranteed by plighted faith and protected by irresistible power. The first is a question of administration, and embraces a proposition of abolishing the capitation-tax, as an odious religious distinction, extending the conscription to all subjects of the Porte, and increasing the income-tax at an equal rate upon all; at the same time that all farms, and the ruinous system of middle men, be abolished, and all collections made direct by Government employés. There is no question regarding the policy and justness of these measures; they have been already adopted by every enlightened Government. Tax-paying is, under all circumstances, disagreeable; but it becomes doubly odious, when it falls unequally, and is influenced by religion or race, when a large profit is absorbed by a class of middle men, who plunder in the name of the State; but the question arises, whether the Sultán has at his command the administrative ability, and honesty, required to make the system of direct collections answer completely, as it has done in British India.

The second proposition of reform is one, that daunted the bold genius of Sultán Mahmúd; but still it is a necessary one, that must come sooner or later, and that forces itself on every Government, from the frightful abuses which are connected with its existence. I allude to the appropriation of all the Ecclesiastical property, which has by degrees swollen to such a size, that it embraces half the landed property of the Empire,

and pays no contribution to the State. This property is of three kinds: 1. That portion originally assigned by the early conquerors for the maintenance of religion. 2. All subsequent grants for educational or other public purposes, hospitals, libraries, and charities. 3. Fraudulent transfers by individuals to Ecclesiastical establishments, to preserve their property from secular confiscation. The existence of this class is owing to the rapacious and lawless policy of the later Sultáns, when confiscation became the order of the day, and the wretched owners saved a portion, by making covert grants of the whole to religious bodies. This has had a fatal effect on the finances of the Empire, and, as confiscations have now ceased, the nature of the tenure should be altered by law, and the whole of the landed property rendered liable to the land-tax. But in this question is involved the most valued of vested rights; still, as the present system becomes established, and the necessity becomes daily more apparent, I hope to see it some day carried out, and it will be the final and last struggle of the Conservative party of Turkey.

The third measure of reform is, perhaps, still more complicated, and the difficulties arise from the Capitulations with Foreign Powers, which were wrung from Turkey in her weakness, and which are as embarrassing as the early Treaties made with the Native States of British India. The principle of the Ottoman Government is that Franks, viz. domiciled Europeans, *cannot* possess landed property, for the very good reason, that they refuse to render personal allegiance to the Sovereign, or submission to the laws. But no arbitrary legislation can check the under-current of private life, and these Franks have intermarried with the Christian subjects of the Porte, and in right of their wives have come into possession of large properties, and then, turning round upon the Government, refuse to pay taxes as being Europeans. Shortly after the inauguration of the Tanzimát, it was determined by the Authorities to check this growing evil, and, through the intervention of Mixed Tribunals, to assess all property thus held. This has been violently opposed in some towns, but the principle has been admitted by the foreign representatives in others; and it has in itself so much abstract justice, that it is to be hoped, that a more liberal policy will be forced on both parties by the development of more intimate relations, that the Porte will concede the right of holding property, and that the Great Powers will remodel their Capitulations with reference to the very altered position of affairs.

I do not hesitate to state my opinion, that no Civil Government could do its duty, if hampered by such impediments at every turn. In British India, step by step, privileges and exemptions from the established Courts have been abolished, and I hope to see those, that remain and disgrace the Statute-book, speedily removed. Those

Courts are unfit to exist at all, that are not considered capable of doing justice to all; it is no privilege, but a disgrace, to individuals to be exempted from the ordinary Judicatures of the country in which they were born, or which they have selected for their residence. I trust, that the feeling is gaining ground, and that British Merchants and Planters will cease to aspire to the honour of being classed with debased and degraded Native Chiefs; as, when the arm of the law is shortened for any individual as a special case, it is inferred that he has been acting, or will possibly act, in such a way, as would bring him under the law, did it possess its full attributes. I feel ashamed to converse on the subject with American and French gentlemen, feeling that the Government of British India is recklessly exposing them to certain supposed evils, from which I am myself by chance of birth protected.

One of the greatest results of the Tanzimát remains still to be noticed. With the Janissaries fell the ancient organization of the Army, which had gradually become an hereditary service, supported by land and held in fief. Like all service paid in this way, and supplied after this fashion, the work was ill done, and the army became dangerous only to its employers. The present army was established in the year 1842, and is based on the principle of compulsory service, by conscription for five years, of every Mahometan subject, and, as stated above, this is being extended, or perhaps has already been extended, to the Christian community also. The army is divided into six separate Corps d'Armée. The Turkish phrase is well known in India as the name assigned to that lingua franca, which sprang into existence in the Tartar camp at Dehli. Each of these Urdu consists of two parts, the active and the reserves, the former, under the command of a Field-Marshal, is divided into two corps, fully officered, and comprising three regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and one of artillery, with thirty-three guns. The total strength of each Urdu in war is 30,000 men, but during peace it is reduced by furlough to 25,000 in three, and by the incompleteness of the recruiting system to 15,000 in the remainder. The whole establishment, therefore, is 180,000 men, but the effective strength is 120,000. The Reserve is composed of those soldiers, who have served their five years, and amounts to 210,000 effective soldiers of all arms; but in time of war, twelve corps of 25,000 each, or in all 300,000 men, would be available, bringing up the effective strength of the Turkish army to 330,000 men, and the full strength to 480,000. Besides this, there are detached corps, one in the island of Crete of 11,000 strong, a second in the Pashalic of Tripoli, and a third consisting of engineers and artillery, distributed in all the permanent garrisons in the Empire. These corps raise the effective strength of the standing army to 365,000 men, exclusive of the army of Egypt. It is distributed in the Provinces, being periodically relieved: on the whole, it is well looked after,

and the private is paid higher than the British soldier. The hospitals are attended to, the men are well clothed, the cavalry are well mounted, and though every arrangement is confessedly in its infancy, those, who have paid attention to the subject, are sanguine as to the results, and are of opinion, that not only has a force been raised capable of controlling rebel Provinces, and supporting the Civil Government, but also not entirely unable to protect its own frontier, and eventually make itself respected by its neighbours. The whole cost is more than two millions sterling, and the Navy estimates amount to £300,000 per annum. Here again there is great difficulty in arriving at any certain data.

The arrangements for the Reserve are particularly deserving of credit. It consists entirely of soldiers, who have served their five years in the active force, and who are allowed to remain on furlough for seven more without pay in their native Provinces, except during one month in the year, when they assemble at their local head-quarters and are drilled. Regiments are recruited from the same Districts, and therefore the Reserve is united, and by these annual meetings and neighbourhood, maintains an *esprit du corps*, and the men are always ready to obey the summons, and move in a body where required. The rules of conscription are simple, that every able-bodied youth of eighteen years should serve five years, without any exemption: on the whole, it is stated not to be an unpopular service; but no traveller can have failed to meet parties of conscripts, caught after a hard chase, being brought down from their jungles, and carried off to their head-quarters, like a gang of prisoners. It may be only a school-boy unwillingness to quit their home on the part of some, but, on the other hand, it is a fact unquestionable, that the conscription is so unpopular in some districts, such as the Lebanon, that all the males of some villages decamp to the wilds, until the evil has blown over. This conviction was sometimes painfully forced upon me, sometimes ludicrously, for under the belief, that Franks are all-powerful, I have been sometimes implored on my road to effect the release of a son, or a brother; and on one occasion I met a muleteer, who had been separated from his beasts of burden and turned into a soldier, but the old trade had not been forgotten, for his first inquiry on meeting my servants was after his mules, from which he had been taken away. In considering this subject, it must always be remembered, that the measure has all the evil of being new, and contrary to preconceived Oriental notions. It is scarcely ten years, since it was put in force, and has not yet been fully extended to all the Provinces. To an Englishman it appears strange, how anybody can be forced to be a soldier, to be oppressed himself, and thus become an unwilling instrument of oppressing his fellow-subjects; but it is a measure, which has been thoroughly reduced to practice by the great military Powers of the Continent. No chains

are so heavy as those, which are forged and tightened by a people on their own limbs; none are so ready to make slaves of others, as those who are slaves themselves. The British and Anglo-Indian are the only great Armies, essentially formed of free levies, and it is a matter of congratulation to the Government of British India, that the over-abundance of the population of those Provinces has furnished our armies with an exhaustless crop of recruits, and saved us from the unpopularity and danger of forced recruiting. On the other hand, we have not, as Turkey, a vast reserve of tried soldiers, always ready to assemble at a crisis, and costing nothing. Our army is in the field; but such as it is, it is all we have. The sole object of the Turkish army is to resist foreign aggresion: her career of conquest is over, and the chances are, that she will never take the field against any one of the great European Powers, except in alliance with one or more of the others. The organization is skilful, that each Urdu is raised in a certain portion of the Empire, and the head-quarters of the active force becomes at once the rendezvous of the reserves, on whichever side the alarm may be; and, if the evils of the conscription are still felt, they are as nothing under the regular and limited system now enforced, when compared to the wholesale capture of the young men of villages, who formerly were dragged off to serve for life at a distance from their homes. The term now never exceeds five years: the choice is regulated by lot, and the stations are in the Provinces immediately adjoining the residence of the recruits.

It must not be forgotten, that Military conscription, if fairly enforced, if the conscripts are well looked after, have the advantage of Instruction in reading and writing, are well fed and clothed, is one of the best forms of Education of a people in a low state of Civilization. The conscript leaves his home a mere ignorant savage: he returns a man of the world, and a new creature. The only hope of the progress of the South of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Austrian Empire rests upon regular conscription, and military training.

Such is the result of a review of the Civil and Military establishments of the Turkish Empire since the reforms of Sultán Abd-ul-Majíd, and his ministers, Reshid Pasha and Ali Pasha. The information contained in these pages is drawn from publications, which have the merit of being the most highly thought of on the spot, and the works of English and French hands. Both are decidedly favourable, if not entirely in their accounts of results, at least in their auguries and anticipations. There are others, who take a much more sombre view of the state of things, and consider the energy of the present moment as more certainly predicting a sudden dissolution. When first I took up the subject, I was of the same mind, but gradually I have taken a brighter view, and am prepared to believe, that time and peace will do much still. There is so much of liberty and wisdom in these reforms, such noble concessions to

the iron spirit of the age, such a single-minded desire to re-establish good Government on the best model, although those models are contrary to the historic traditions and religions of the ruling Caste, that I cannot but wish well to those at the helm of the State at these critical moments.

With the continued blessings of peace, there is a vast career of usefulness before them; extensive tracts of country have been depopulated, ancient cities are falling to ruins: as compared with the population of British India, that of the whole of Turkey appears very inconsiderable.

Re-distributed according to their nationalities, British India itself scarcely could exhibit so strange a variety, differing so intensely and so entirely from each other.

Re-distributed again according to their religious persuasions, we have a singular spectacle. In India we have to deal with Pagan, Mahometan and Hindu, and some minor sects, who scarcely appear above the surface. In Turkey the struggle is between Mahometan and Christian, the latter being there, like the Hindu here, the indigenous and conquered race. In addition to these grand divisions, there are Jew, Druse, and Kurd, the two latter being devil-worshippers, a remnant of the old heathens of antiquity, but too inconsiderable to notice, and included as Mahometan.

As is generally the case in an unsettled country, a very large proportion of the inhabitants are crowded in the towns, which are walled, or clustered in villages in the hilly districts, which have the advantage of natural defences. The plains are comparatively deserted, but, as order is restored, and cultivation is extended, this will cease to be so remarkable. Many Provinces have been celebrated for their productions from the earliest period of history, for the local advantages are such as to admit of the products of the tropics, without entirely excluding the staples of Europe. As the traveller ascends the plateau retiring from the coast, he comes upon the climate and peculiar productions of different countries: the vine, the mulberry, the fig, cotton, cereals in every European and Asiatic variety, are found in abundance. Each Province has some peculiar staple, for which it has a reputation, which it still keeps up. In spite of the millions, which China remits to British India for opium, there is still a large, and now increasing supply of that article from Smyrna, which avails itself of the overland route, to compete with the product of Patna and Malwa in the market of Canton.

The great cities of Turkey are indeed sights such as no other can supply. Dwellers in India know not the real and unique splendour of an Oriental bazaar: we must turn our faces to the setting sun, and tread with slow pace the bazaars of Constantinople, Smyrna, Damascus, Bagdad, and Cairo, ere we can say, that we have entered into and realized the features of the Eastern world. We

have nothing here like the solemn stateliness, the racy and varied picturesqueness of a Levantine town. Though familiar with the largest and most magnificent cities of Hindustán, I unwillingly allow, that they cannot be compared for one moment with Damascus and Istambúl. The bazaars being covered in are protected from the inclemency of the seasons, and they are an agreeable lounge, instead of being, as in India, an incorrigible nuisance. The spectacle of the baths and mosques possesses inexhaustible interest, especially the former, and amidst the turmoil and excitement of the town at the busiest hour, the stranger is startled at the visions of the white figures reposing in luxurious ease, in the coolest corner of a spacious hall, enjoying their slumber in a way, which Turks alone can enjoy, and forgetting everything under the influence of the magic hashísh. An unprejudiced observer can find much to admire in the Police and internal arrangements, and the noble Rest-houses for the accommodation of the merchant and the traveller, which open out from every side of the bazaar, with their cool fountains and marble floors, and bales of merchandize piled up in security. How different from the shabby buildings outside the walls of the Indian Town, where the traveller cannot always obtain protection from the weather, or the merchant from the attacks of thieves. Yet here the comparison ceases. Outside the walls of her large towns, Turkey has nought to bring into comparison with what has been done, with what is doing in India: no roads connecting the most distant Provinces, with an uninterrupted stream of passengers, and unbroken chains of Police-stations for more than a thousand miles; no bridges spanning the flood; no acknowledged security on the highway. Such arrangements, in an Asiatic country, where all must be done for the people by their Rulers, where the plundered man will howl over his own losses, but will not stir a foot for his neighbour's, or willingly contribute to the safe protection of his own property, must necessarily be slow: without saying, that in India all has been done that ought to have been done, upon a comparison with other countries similarly situated, we are more ready to be satisfied.

One word upon Religion and Education. In Turkey, the Mahometan Religion is not only the State Religion, but the Law of the land. The great strength of the anti-reformers is in the ranks of the Hierarchy, in whom were formerly vested the powers of the State, the Judicature, and the Education of youth. Even now the native Christian is treated to a certain degree with contumely, and the Turk cannot quite shake off his pre-conceived notions; but great changes are taking place with the present generation. The Mosques of the Provinces are no longer closed to the foot of the infidel, yet in social life among the lower orders, the Christian is still in the lower position; but the Christian Frank is a privileged person, and to him the strictness of old laws are rapidly unbinding: go where he

will, he is met with civility, if he be prepared to be civil and accommodating himself; and, if it does go against his grain, to witness some of the earliest and most magnificent of the churches of his Faith turned into mosques, or degraded to secular uses, he may learn on reflection two lessons, not to set too much value on stone walls or marble pillars, since the object of his worship dwells not in Temples built by hands, and, secondly, to make allowances for the prejudices of others, and, without pretending respect to the Temple or the mosque, to respect, when it is in his power, as it so often is in British India, the feelings of the worshipper. But, if the Mahometan Religion is the State-worship, and, perhaps, brought forward offensively so, in every public document and public measure, still the Christian Religion is not denied any liberty of action, and enjoys many privileges denied in European countries. The Bible is not an excluded volume, nor is the study of it attended with penalties to any Christian. The dignitaries of every Church are allowed to assume such titles and nomenclatures, as tradition may justify, or convenience recommend: the heads of the Church, established by law, do not solicit the assistance of the Civil Magistrate against the Bishops or Patriarchs of the different persuasions. Jews are not disqualified by their faith from their share in the Councils of their Province. Churches and places of worship can be erected without restraint, and to the Missionary the path is open. The Ulema, by opposing the march of reform from the outset, and still grasping the spoil of the Religious Tenures, to the detriment of the State, have raised against themselves the hostile feeling of those, who direct the progress of these reforms, which are now too advanced, and are too much urged on by the influx of foreigners, to be checked. No convert to Christianity would lose his life now.* The Christian Powers would not permit it. Measures for Education have not been entirely omitted in the new plans of Government, The variety of languages presents, as in British India, a great difficulty. The Osmánli Turki is the language of the ruling race, the State, and some of the Provinces. The Arabic is the language of their Religion, and is the Vernacular in Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Tripoli, and Mesopotamia. Armenian is the language of a numerous and wealthy community. Greek is spoken in large portions of the European Provinces, and throughout the islands and the coasts of Ionia. There also, and along all the shores of the Mediterranean, the Levantine dialect of the Italian is the Lingua Franca of the domiciled or travelling European. The Albanian in two dialects, the Kutso-Wallachian, the Kurd, the Syriac, the Persian, the Bulgarian, are spoken by large communities. Many of the European residents of the Turkish seaports, especially those connected with the Consulates, are Polyglotts, speaking with equal facility, English,

* See Appendix, p. 280.

French, Italian, German, Turki, Greek, and Arabic. Some add Hebrew to their qualifications.

Such is Turkey: is it then to be pronounced a corpse, or is it about to commence a long and prosperous career under its new institutions? I have tried to show what a great Mahometan State really is, in order to rectify the popular notions of the efficacy of Native rule, and the evils, which British Rule has caused in India. The Ottoman Empire, by its size, revenue, and importance, occupies the position of the first of the second-rate States in the World at the present time; its Sovereign is on an admitted equality with the Sovereigns of Europe; yet what a vast idea does it give of the extent and importance of British India, when we find, that the Revenues of Turkey are so very much less than the Revenue, which we draw from our own Provinces, independent of our paramount influence over the Native States: in the matter of population, what a small proportion do the few millions under the sceptre of the Sultán bear to the two hundred and fifty millions of British India! Still Turkey is the only Asiatic country, to which British India could be brought into comparison, as regards institutions and government: it is with a view to this comparison, that I visited its Provinces, and I saw much, that was good and much, that was to be avoided. But will a great nation condescend to take example from the spectacle of a neighbouring Empire, under somewhat similar circumstances to its own, striving to adapt the tried and approved principles of Western Government to an Oriental people? Have the rulers of India the frankness and manliness to avow the errors of their predecessors, and pursue steadily and fixedly the path of reform in spite of popular clamour or Caste-privileges? We have at our disposal great advantages, denied by fortune to the Rulers of Turkey. We have a boundless extent of Executive strength, and a store of administrative ability, such as few absolute Governments ever had; and now that the system is fully developed, that the engine is in full work, the expansion of the Empire is scarcely the thought of a moment. A new Province is annexed; with a stroke of the pen new levies are raised, new civil divisions are marked out, and the British Official sits down to his desk, or struts on his parade-ground, with the same indifference to locality, with the same official aptitude, in Barma or Peshâwar: the duties of the Government are thus carried on with rapidity and certainty; the Empire, though vast, is compact; the orders of the head of the State are delivered promptly, and are executed unhesitatingly. While the Turkish Pasha would be deliberating or protocolling with the foreign Consul, the British General, if left alone, will have done the business, and the Civil Governors will report quietly, that he has annexed the Province, and realized the Revenue. These orders are conveyed by the lightning-line, and the great impediments of time and distance are removed. The Government of India is again fortunate

in possessing an inexhaustible supply of native soldiers and of capable Native civil Officials, Hindu and Mahometan: polished, intelligent, obedient to law, free from intolerance, and, if well paid, honest: the Rulers are restrained by no Capitulations with overpowering neighbours. If the French Consul, or the Kábul Ambassador, had worried and insulted me in my office at Lahór or Amritsár, in the manner in which I heard the former functionary acting at Damascus, I should have shut him up in the Police-lock-up, till he had cooled his temper, and understood where he was; and I have no doubt, that a British Consul acting in the same way would have experienced the same treatment, and justly so, in Algeria. There are no Provinces, which rise in periodical rebellion, when called upon to pay their quota to the State, and no independent Pasha ever and anon to threaten the existence of the Empire by intestine war. On the other hand, the distance of the Indian ports from Europe still stops the influx of European capital, energy, and skill, which, flowing along the Mediterranean, and increasing with the increasing prosperity of the country will do more, and in a shorter period, than the wisest regulations and the triumphs of State-craft. If the bare hill-side is to be covered with mulberry trees, if the forgotten mine is to be forced to disgorge its hidden treasures, if the line of steamers is required to connect distant ports, if the iron-way is to be laid down to connect sea to sea, the Turkish Government has but to give the sign, to make reasonable concessions, to guarantee security of life and property, and the overflowing capital of Europe rejoices to discharge itself into a new channel. The Turkish Government has shown, that it appreciates its position, by openly proclaiming equality of law to all subjects, and we cannot do better than to follow the example in British India. Whether the Indian community is as yet fitted for a share in the local Government, whether the country would gain by an admixture of the popular element in its institutions, is a grave question: it has been brought to the test of experience in Turkey. There the local Councils have a voice in the re-distribution of the assessment, and practically that is the difficulty to the European Officer; it is not the general weight on the whole Province, but the harshness upon individuals, that causes discontent. The measure of trial by assessors and a jury has already been carried out in criminal cases in India, but in a most maimed form.

It is a melancholy sight to witness a falling Empire, to go about from Province to Province, and see nothing but remnants of the past, and present decay. At Constantinople is proudly shown a cabinet containing the golden keys of the great cities conquered by the early Sultáns, of Smyrna, of Athens, of Rhodes, of Alexandria, of Mekka, and Jerusalem: this was, till lately, a melancholy spectacle, for, wherever the foot of the invader had been impressed, desolation seemed to follow: crowded cities became howling deserts,

and famous harbours became choked with sand. The present Ruler of Turkey will have gained a victory far exceeding that of his ancestors, if by firm and judicious reform, and wise and impartial Government, he succeeds in restoring, as he already has done partially, these fertile provinces of his Empire to their former prosperity.

BANARAS, NORTHERN INDIA, 1853.

Thirty-four years have passed away, since I wrote the above. Turkey had then her day of opportunity, and has not availed herself of it. There is no hope now. "Delenda est Carthago" must be the verdict of every intelligent observer. Have the Rulers of Turkey in the hour of their might, or of their weakness, ever shown the least capacity of Rule in a substantial degree, have they realized that a Government is only allowed to come into existence, or permitted to continue to exist, when it is for the benefit of the people governed? If I did not heartily believe, that the prolongation of the period of British Rule in British India was for the benefit of the people, I for one would advocate our immediate withdrawal. The same period, which marks the continuous degradation of the principle of Government in Turkey, chronicles the constant advance of the Institutions of British India: Education, Municipalities, Freedom of Trade, Press, and Religion, Right of Public Meetings, Local Councils, Improved Taxation, Improved Means of Communication, Equality of all before the Law, and in the Courts of Justice.

Provinces have been wrenched from Turkey in this period by France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Servia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Montenegro. Other Provinces are honeycombed by the French Priest, the British Missionary, and an army of Consuls, Vice-Consuls, and Consular Agents, and a legion of Money-lenders have appropriated portions of the Revenue. Liberties are taken by Europeans, which would be tolerated by no other Government. I myself saw a Hospital on the top of a hill, commanding a city, actually with fortified embrasures, and the British Missionary complained, because the Pasha stopped the works: had any Frenchman attempted to erect such a building in British India, it would have been razed to the ground. If the Judicial Courts make a decision against a European, he complains to the Ambassador, and persuades the Executive to revise it. If the Turkish Government establishes a system of Popular Instruction analogous to the one, which the French Republic has introduced into its Colonies, and compels other European Nations to submit to it, the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and the United States begin to bluster and threaten, forgetting the long years of immunity and licence, which they have enjoyed in Turkey, and which they would look for in vain in Russia, Austria, or France. The Government of Turkey has become weak

and contemptible, dishonest and impecunious, and as there is no hope of improvement, the sooner that it disappears, the better for the true interests of the Human Race.

LONDON, 1887.

It has been asserted, that the Sultan of Turkey, who is by race a hybrid produced by Altaic Males from High Asia out of Circassian Mothers, is the lineal representative of the Kaliphs of Arabia who, were pure Semite; the assertion is ridiculous, and the claim would be admitted in neither Hindustan, Persia, nor Morocco. We can hardly conceive the idea of prayers being offered for Bajazet of the iron cage, and his descendants, by Timúr, and Baber, and Akhbár in the Mosques of Lahór and Dehli and Agra. How little the present Sultan has succeeded in getting rid of the old Tartar notions is proved by a fact recorded in the *Times* this very year, that, as a mark of favour, he presented his Grand Wazír with £1000 to *defray the expenses of the circumcision of his son.* I doubt whether the Viceroy of Egypt, or the Nawáb of Hyderabád, would be gratified, if the British Government were to convey to them such an honour. Stars and ribbons may be puerile rewards of great service, but they are at least not ridiculous. The Newspapers tell us, how from time to time the so-called Kaliph of the Faithful, Vice-Regent of God, exchanges compliments of letters, and presents, and decorations with the Pope of Rome, the so-called Pontiff and Keyholder of a sect of Christians: both these dignitaries seem to resemble that famous jar, which retained the scent of the roses very long after the last drop of Attár had been drawn off.

LONDON, AUG. 1887.

APPENDIX. (See p. 276.)

Fuad Pasha to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

"February 12, 1856.

"The official communications made formerly and recently by your Excellency, both in writing and verbally, upon the subject of religious matters, have been taken into minute consideration. The important and friendly services which the Porte has at all times, and more particularly of late, experienced on the part of her illustrious allies, the English and other Governments, are appreciated in the highest degree by His Majesty the Sultan, and the feelings of gratitude inspired by them will remain for ever impressed upon the heart of the Ottoman nation. In addition to the sincere desire entertained by the Porte to meet, so far as is possible, the friendly representations of her allies by satisfactory measures, she is also well acquainted with the spirit of the age, and she hastens accordingly, with the Imperial sanction, to communicate the decision adopted regarding the above point. In consequence the assurances formerly given to the British and French Governments with reference to the question of renegades are at present renewed and confirmed afresh, while an additional assurance is declared and made known, that the terms of the decision at that time adopted *will be held to comprise absolutely all renegades.* It is sincerely hoped that this decision, which is a new and practical proof of the Porte's refraining on all occasions from senselessly thwarting or opposing measures of a practicable nature, will meet with the satisfaction of your illustrious allies. MEHEMET FUAD."

CHAPTER XIII.

EGYPT: IS IT WORTH ANNEXATION? WOULD IT ADD TO THE STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE?

I KNEW Egypt first in 1843. I spent a month in Cairo waiting for the arrival of the first P. and O. Steamer from Suez to Calcutta. I saw the great Pasha Mahomet Ali, and his step-son Ibrahim. Cairo was an Oriental city then, and I read right through the Korán with my Arabic Teacher. I went a little way up the Nile with Warburton on his well-known voyage, the Crescent and the Cross. I was with Lepsius at the Pyramids, and I saw Wilson start off with his party to Sinai and Palestine, as recorded in the "Lands of the Bible." Sir Richard England was in the Hotel on his road back from Kandahár in the first Afghán Campaign, and Pottinger arrived from England with the ratified treaty, which closed the Chinese War of 1842. I have visited Egypt for brief periods six or seven times since, have watched its Institutions and Railways grow, and always kept myself *au courant* with the events, which were happening. I visited the country, possibly not for the last time, at the commencement of the year 1885, and made a careful survey from the sea to the First Cataract, from Suez and Port Said to Alexandria. I read a great deal of contemporary literature both in the English and French language on the subject: some of it is entirely worthless: some extremely valuable, yet indicating that the writers had exceedingly small conception of the nature of the problem presented in the Administration of a Province, a matter familiar to an Anglo-Indian Official, who had been doing nothing else all his life.

The period of my visit was no ordinary one. All eyes were on Lord Wolseley's forces on the Nile above Dongola. I left London Jan. 12, 1885, the battle of Abu-Klea was fought on the 17th: before I reached Cairo on the 24th, Stewart had been wounded, and Wilson started that very day to Khartúm. I started up the Nile on the 25th, and, before I reached the First Cataract all was over, for Gordon was killed on or about the 26th. Wilson had reached, and left Khartúm, on the 28th. On a tree at Assouan was fastened a board, to which was attached a notice of the battle of Abu-Klea, and the arrival of the troops at Metammeh on the

Nile. I got back to Cairo on Feb. 6, the same day, that Wilson got back to Korti, and a few hours later read in the Notices in the Hall of Shepheard's Hotel, that Khartúm had fallen, Gordon been killed, and I felt thankful indeed, that all prospects of our occupation of the valley of the Upper Nile had passed away, at least for this generation. The stars in their courses fought for us, for the bitterest enemy of Great Britain could scarcely have wished to see a large Army isolated for a long period of the Summer Months at more than 1000 miles from its basis, with no ulterior object, and no prospect of possible advantage. I heard at Cairo with amazement of the large reinforcements sent to Suákin, the Railway plant turned out to connect Suákin and Berber, passing through drifting sand, and over an altitude of some thousand feet. I saw the Camels, stowed away six in a railway-truck, being deported to Suez. I read Lord Wolseley's order of an advance in the Autumn, and then gradually common sense began to prevail, and on the Board in the Hotel I one day read, how that the Russian forces had advanced on the Afghán frontier, and fickle public interest was diverted (and for ever) from Meroe on the Nile, near which Lord Wolseley was encamped, to Merv and Merchak on the Oxus. The water of the great River Nile, as it flowed silently on from Emin Pasha's distant fort at Wadelai, between Khartúm and Ondurman, past Metammeh, and Berber, past Hebek, the scene of the death of Power and Stewart, past the falls of Kirbekan, where General Earle fell, past the Camp at Korti, and Dongola, could, as it conveyed our steamers down the Nile, have told many a tale of Massacre and Death, which will never be known. I never could divest myself of the conviction, that it was an insane, objectless and wicked war: we were fighting against Patriots, who fought for their country, for Religionists, who fought for their faith: we were fighting for a will-o-the-wisp idea, or the Earth-greed of an ignorant Public: the whole Sudán is not worth now, and never will be in future times, the value of the lives of the brave men, who perished, both on our side, and on the side of our opponents: so brave and grand a man as Gordon would scarcely have wished to be relieved at such a price. What a store of hate we have gathered up in the hearts of these brave races, the Hadendóa, the last remains of the free manhood of old times, whose very names we did not know, and who to this day do not distinguish us from the Turks! The messengers of the Mahdi spoke as men, who believed that they were fighting in a high and holy cause: they intended to overrun the world, and offered pardon to the British Army, if they would become Mahometan, and no longer resist the Mahdi. Sir Charles Wilson mentions, how a fine old Shaikh on horseback planted his banner in the middle of the British square at Abu-Klea: he was at once shot down, and fell on his banner: he had been noticed in the advance with his banner,

in one hand and a book of prayer in the other; nothing finer could be imagined. He never moved to the right hand nor to the left, and never ceased chanting his prayers, until he planted his banner in the square. The useless massacre of such a man is enough to tarnish any victory.

I had an interview with the Ex-Khedive Ismail, before I started. His Highness was courteous and communicative, and talked freely in French in the presence of several persons, who were present, and followed our conversation. He suddenly asked me, whether I knew the Turkish or Persian languages: on my replying in the affirmative with regard to the last, he said in Persian: "In your opinion is there any hope for Turkey?" I replied at once, that there was not. After a pause, he asked, whether I considered there was any hope for Egypt. I replied, frankly, that there was great hope; on hearing which he seemed disappointed; a flatterer would have coupled with the hope the necessity of Ismail's restoration. I did not think so. It may have been the beginning of the troubles, when he was removed, but it would only aggravate them to restore him. His career as a Ruler has ended.

Although my object was to consider whether the annexation of Egypt would pay financially or politically, yet as Egypt is still, as a matter of form, part of the Turkish Empire, it is well to consider how it has fared with that Empire since 1852. The Crimean war of 1854-55 saved it from extinction, but the Russo-Turkish war of 1878-79 ended in the material reduction of its territory both in Europe and Asia. Intermediately Tunisia had been annexed by France, and the district of the Lebanon placed under an independent autonomy. The result of the war of 1878-79 was the establishment of the independent kingdoms of Romania and Servia, the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the cession of Cyprus to Great Britain, the enlargement of the Northern frontier of Greece, the independence of Northern Bulgaria and Montenegro, the autonomy of Southern Bulgaria or Romelia, the annexation of Kars and Batúm by Russia. Then followed the bombardment of Alexandria, and practically the conquest of Egypt by Great Britain, eventuating in the shrinking of the Southern frontier of the Turkish Empire to the Second Cataract.

Nor have the Rulers of the contracted Empire become wiser, but the contrary. Sultans have been deposed by palace-intrigues, in which the eunuchs play a chief part, and one Sultan has been murdered. The reigning Sovereign feels, that any day his lot may be the same, that he may have the choice of the poisoned cup of coffee or the dagger, if he ventures to strike out a path of his own. The influence of the fanatical Mahometan party is such, that nothing but an entire destruction of their political power would be of any use: *Delenda est Carthago.* I can remember the same

thing happening in the Panjáb: there were those, who would have maintained a Sikh kingdom. When it fell, it was found how easily the country was governed: the sting was taken out of the insect: the religious establishments, their laws, their prerogatives, and the nuisance arising from them, disappeared at once and for all time.

The radical fault of the Turkish system is not so much its wickedness, as its inefficiency: to be vigorous it has no other expedient but to be cruel: then comes an outcry: no Official is sure of his position, and no one dares to suggest, or cares to carry out, a reform. Each one makes hay while the sun shines. The absolute non-existence of equitable notions aggravates the danger. According to Turkish ideas, the Mahometans were designed by Providence to rule, and the Christians to be squeezed for money, and supply women for the harems. The very existence of a class of eunuchs is an anachronism in Europe and a shame: the fact, that slaves are still imported and Slavery tolerated, at once puts the Empire out of the category of civilized nations. Notwithstanding that there is more religious tolerance in Turkey, and less Police vexation, than in Austria-Hungary, still there can be no doubt, that Turkey does not deserve to exist, and only enjoys a respite, till it can be settled who is to succeed to the inheritance.

The indebtedness of the Empire is notorious: a Turkish bond is synonymous with a worthless possession. All the promises, the tanzimát, and the new decrees, were mere paper-display. *Quid leges prosunt sine moribus?* The palaces, which line the Bosphorus, tell of a plundered and ill-used people, without the semblance of decent forms of Government; nor out of the existing material could any new system be created. The Turks are good soldiers, but there are no Officers. The subject races are as tractable and peaceful as those in British India, but some consistent and intelligent Administration, superintended by honest men, is required. If anything is worse than the Turk pure and simple, it is the Circassian and Tartar, who have immigrated from the Russian dominions: if anything is worse than them, it is the Christian renegade, who has worked his way to power, or the Greek and Armenian or Arnout adventurers, who find it worth their while to side with their natural enemies.

Let me now consider what hope there is for Egypt, the valley of the Nile as far South as the Second Cataract, and its appurtenances in the Syrian or Libyan deserts. It was remarked by Sir George Campbell in 1876, in his volume upon Turkey, "We do not want "Egypt for our share. We have been forestalled by the bond-"holders, the country is too deeply pledged to be worth anything "to anybody." This is the thesis, which I propose to argue and demonstrate. As the bondholders were the creation of the

Ex-Khedive Ismail, and the bondholders weigh down the country, it follows, that Ismail has been the ruin of Egypt, which he received unburdened from his predecessors.

I was present in Lord Hardinge's camp before Lahór in 1846, when it was determined to annex the Cis and Trans-Satlaj States, and in that Province, when it was determined to annex the remainder of the Panjáb. I was cognizant of all the details, that preceded and followed that great measure. A lapse of nearly forty years has proved, that the men of that time knew what they were about; the result has justified the policy. For twenty years I was more or less mixed up in it, and knew the rocks, which we steered clear of, the great dangers which, in the early period, we had looming before us, and the firm and steady policy, which carried us through it. Much injustice and hardship to individuals, families, and classes had to be perpetrated or tolerated. Royal families, military classes, a pampered nobility, and a powerful priesthood, had to be got rid of: frightful abuses, and intolerable customs, had to be wiped out. The older Provinces of British India looked on with disapproval, doubtings, and disparagements, rather expecting a failure, and perhaps disappointed at not witnessing one. The circumstances, which accompanied the Mutinies, and the recapture of Dehli, gave the imprimatur of success and approval to the Model Province.

Now, if any body of private bondholders, who had lent money for the private wants of the late Rulers, had urged, that the State-Revenues were hypothecated to all time for the payment, they, would have been informed, that these *bonds were waste paper:* they had demanded a high rate of interest with reference to the badness of the security: capital and interest were now both gone to the same place, as the loans taken up by the Confederate States of North America. If any such Organ, as the *Bosphore,* had had the boldness to appear, the Editor would have been sentenced to be kept *sine die* in the Police lock-up. If any French Consul had remonstrated, he would have been chucked into the Satlaj. In ruling conquered Provinces there can be no half-measures, no signs of weakness; the iron hand must be there, though covered with a velvet glove. Thus there are circumstances upon the very threshold, which would render a good administration of Egypt impossible.

Suppose, again, that when we were settled in the Panjáb, the Amír of Afghanistán had put forward rights of a Suzerain, and as a representative of Timúr and Nádir Shah and Shah Zemán, former-Sovereigns, who undoubtedly had conquered and occupied the Panjáb, had claimed a large annual tribute, I can imagine the twinkle in John Lawrence's eye, while the claim was being made, and the laconic order suggesting, that he should come and fetch his tribute, and the moral lesson read to the Amír, that State-Revenues

were only levied from a people for the purpose of a good Administration, and that British India paid no tribute to Great Britain. One necessary condition precedent of good government in Egypt would be, that the telegraphs and postal communications between London, and that country, should be totally interrupted for one year at the least. The most successful and most daring Indian Administrator would fail in any attempt to govern Egypt under its existing circumstances. Let us think out this subject.

If any one wished to build a bridge, or a house, or buy a horse, or an estate, he would consult a person, who had experience in that particular duty. The opinion would hardly be solicited of the Knights Errant, who are picked up by chance by the managers of the London daily papers, and sent out as reporters. Mr. Power, who was sent out to the Sudán by the *Times*, may have been a good and gallant fellow, but he was totally unacquainted with the country, and the subject-matter. The permanent reporter of the *Times* was clearly a malcontent. No issues of the *Bosphore* did such mischief, or were so hostile to the true welfare of Great Britain, as the letters of the *Times* correspondent from Egypt in 1883 and 1884. When I reached Cairo last January, I called for the *Bosphore*, and was surprised to find, how tame its abuse seemed after the abuse of the *Times'* correspondent, and how really wise and well informed it seemed after the unwisdom and ignorance of the same individual.

My own qualifications for writing are just these: I had about a quarter of a century to take part in the Administration of conquered Provinces, and many years in entirely newly-conquered Provinces, passing through the shifting scenes of war, annexation, revolt and rebellion, dealings with finance, Courts of law, Prisons, Police, and settlement of Land-Revenue. Having a taste for the thing, I visited Turkey more than once, and Algeria and Russia South of the Caucasus to see how things were managed there, and published notices of what I saw, and read carefully the Blue Books and the Reports of Lord Dufferin, Lord Northbrook and Sir E. Baring. As may be supposed, I heard a great many opinions. Armed with a letter from Lord Granville, I had interviews with Baring, Nubar Pasha, Amos, West, and Cruickshank. I looked into the Jail in the town, and the great central Jail some little way out. I looked into the Courts of Justice and talked with the Judges: I saw Police Courts and Schools, and marked the ways of people in the towns and in the villages. I never heard a harsh word spoken, or saw a blow struck, or listened to a bitter cry of anguish, or a groan of an oppressed one. I have lived long enough among Orientals not to be taken in by them, and yet not to overlook signs of tyranny. I had plenty of time during my long tedious rides in Syria and Palestine to think out the problems, and digest my information.

My remarks will group themselves under the following heads:

A. The personnel of the Administration.
B. The Revenue.
C. The Judicial system.
D. The Police and the Jails.
E. The Canals and Roads.
F. Education.
G. The Constitution.
H. The Financial state.
I. Taxation of European Aliens.

Egypt is like a palimpsest, the older writing is read through the new. The state of things, which we see around us, tells the tale of the long miserable centuries of misgovernment, through which the unhappy country must have passed. When people, with imperfect information, speak slightingly of the British system of Government in British India, and of the French system in Algeria, both of which I have carefully studied on the spot, it would be well for them to reflect upon the state of a people, left to the tender mercies of an alien Asiatic Power. Egypt at least had religious liberty; the existence of the Copts with their churches and convents proves that. Those great abuses, with regard to which there has been so much frothy declamation, the Corvee, or forced labour, the Courbásh, or whip, and the corruption of the Police and Judicial underlings, are by no means the peculiarity of Egypt. Laudable progress has been made in suppressing all these abuses in British India, and in Egypt a great deal has to be done to abolish or mitigate them. Forced labour is necessary to clean the Canals, upon which the prosperity of the Country depends. To the apathy and want of independence of the people must be attributed the use of the whip; there would be no corruption, if there were not those who have an interest to corrupt. I am not singular in my opinion, that the people are *not* oppressed; the petty tyrant is generally their own headman, one often of their own family, or neighbours, and not necessarily a paid Servant of the State.

A great clamour is raised about the loss of the Equatorial Provinces. I knew Egypt before she had conquered them. Egypt is complete in itself North of the First Cataract; if its boundaries are extended as far South as Wadi Halfa, or the Second Cataract, no harm will arise; but any further extension will ever be accompanied by danger and profitless expenditure. It was amazing to hear and read about the Mahdi invading Egypt: the long trench of the Nile presents no facility to the invader, and with all the appliances of modern civilization, we know how difficult we found the route to Dongola. Egypt has often been invaded from the East, and the West, and the North, but rarely, if ever, from the South. It is to the good fortune of Egypt, that it has shaken off the Southern Provinces, and the greatest blessing to Great Britain, that Khartúm was not relieved. The Census of Egypt Proper gives a population of six millions eight hundred thousand souls, about 201 to the square mile; of these, 246,000 are Nomad Bedúin of the

desert, and 90,000 are domiciled aliens. There are two cities, Cairo and Alexandria, with a population of 375,000 and 213,000 respectively: six towns of second magnitude, 113 market towns, and 3389 villages. The towns are Tanta, with 60,000 inhabitants, Zagazig with 40,000, Assiout with 27,800, Damanhir with 25,000: Kenneh with 13,000. Those, who have had to deal with the teeming millions of India and their lordly cities, can smile at a problem of such insignificant proportions. Such a Province as Egypt, if adjacent to India as Sindh and Barma, would be annexed without difficulty, and administered with little expense.

The Province is very compact and accessible, as it is permeated by the great navigable stream of the Nile. How different are the circumstances of Syria and Asia Minor! The Oases are like insular dependencies of the main Province, as the Isle of Skye is of a Scotch county. They are worth £10,000 per annum, but are not readily accessible. The peninsula of Sinai is a dependent Province, as Aden is of Bombay. For purposes of Administration, Egypt Proper is divided into three great sections, Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt, which again are divided into eight special City Governorships, and fourteen Prefectures in Lower Egypt, Behéra, Gizeh, Galiobieh, Charkieh, Menoofieh, and Dakhalieh. In Middle Egypt, Benisouef, the Fayúm and Minieh. In Upper Egypt, Assiout, Girzheh, Kenneh, Cosseir and Esneh. These again are subdivided into Districts, and these again into Cantons, each of which includes several villages. Over each of these subdivisions, great or small, there is an Official. In all these details we recognize the well-known features, which are prominent in any organization of territorial Rule. The first thing that we did, when we annexed the Panjáb, was to trace out on a map the boundaries of the Divisions, Districts, and Subdivisions, and count up the towns and villages. The absence of mountains and streams, the total non-existence of a local aristocracy, of castles, of forests, of mines; the gentleness, docility, and industry of the people, habituated by the tradition and practice of centuries to live on the verge of starvation, without manufactures or education, only religious in a very mild form: these are phenomena, rendering Annexation of Egypt and Administration very easy. Lord Dufferin in his Report calls attention to considerable infiltration of hardy foreign races, which has been going on from time immemorial, whose descendants are as much Egyptian as the rest of the population, and yet are very different in character. And according to the same authority (who however could have no information, which was not gleaned from others, and as they are not named, we cannot test the value of their evidence), there is a hope for improvement in the inert mass of the Egyptian peasantry. I quote a really beautiful passage, beautiful both in sentiment and expression: I only wish, that I could believe in its truth:

"The metamorphic spirit of the age, as evoked by the inventions "of science, intercourse with European nations, and other in- "vigorating influences, have already done something to inspire the "Egyptian rustic with the rudiments of self-respect, and a dim con- "ception of hitherto unimagined possibilities. Nor, like his own "Memnon, has he remained irresponsive to the beams of the new "dawn. His lips have trembled, if they have not articulated, and "in many indirect and half-unconscious ways, he has shown him- "self not only equal to the discharge of some of these functions, of "which none but members of the most critical communities were "thought capable, but unexpectedly appreciative of his legitimate "political interests and moral rights."

It goes without saying, that the Egyptians are totally unfit for the higher posts of Government, much more so than the people of India, and that they could not be safely employed in the lower positions without close supervision of a higher race. The Turks and Albanians, who were introduced by Mahomet Ali Pasha, were unquestionably of a stronger and nobler race, but totally unskilled in the art of Rule, rapacious and unprincipled. The introduction of Europeans was therefore desirable, but not in such large numbers, with such excessive emoluments and insufficient selection. Owing to the jealousy of European nations, many appointments have been most unnecessarily duplicated, and Lord Dufferin admits, that the excessive predominance of Europeans was the cause of deep dissatisfaction to the Egyptians. If the country were annexed by Great Britain, there would necessarily be a Civil Service; but, if the native Government is maintained, it places that Government in a false position to be surrounded entirely by European Officials. Long before the rebellion occurred, I had regarded this feature with great dissatisfaction. Lord Dufferin reported, that the number ought to be considerably reduced, and, as vacancies occur, gradually withdrawn. One of the first efforts of the Bulgarian nation was to get rid of the Russian Officials. The Native Officials resemble, in every respect, the Native Officials of India; if handled firmly and sympathetically, they will work well. Their number should be reduced, their emoluments increased, provision made for pensions, security given for tenure during good conduct, and penalties enforced for bad conduct. They are now ridiculously numerous, and scandalously ill paid and untrained, with no security of Office. What can be expected? Fortunately for the country there exists the same dualism of Christian Copts and Mahometans, that exists in India, in the case of Hindu and Mahometans, and which is such an important element in good Government. The number of paid Officials is said to amount to 21,000, dividing a wage-fund of a million and a quarter sterling. A strong and wise ruler of the John Lawrence type would soon settle this problem, but it is hopeless for an Administration consisting of men, nearly all of whom have a

harem, and therefore an infinity of hangers-on waiting to be provided for, to grapple with and overcome the difficulty. After the battle of Tel-el-Kebír the Khedive issued a laconic order: "The army of Egypt is disbanded." The same kind of order is required with regard to every civil functionary; in fact, this is what happened when we annexed the Panjáb. The village headmen, and village accountants held fast, but every other functionary, from the highest judge to the humblest messenger, was discharged, and a new order of things arose by a fresh enlisting, upon different terms, of a certain number of the same individuals. As the heirs, the spendthrift and ill-used heirs, of an ancient civilization, there is no doubt, that, with careful selection, good training, and careful supervision, there will be no occasion for foreigners, except in the highest posts. Everybody is cognizant of the rare efficiency of the native employés in India, but, if left to themselves, they would come to grief.

Next comes the question of the land, and the land-Revenue. It makes the blood of an Anglo-Indian Revenue-Officer boil with indignation to read that seventy thousand acres of cultivated land had been taken up for railways and canals, and yet still stood on the books as assessable area. Let us recollect what care is taken on this important subject in India: it is hard to take up the land, but at least pay for it, and reduce the land-Revenue. This side-glance indicates the utter recklessness and inefficency of the Revenue Officials. In the three kinds of land tenure, the experienced Indian Collector recognizes familiar phenomena disguised under new names. The Wakf is the abominable Revenue free grants, against which I, and the school to which I belonged, waged relentless war for a quarter of a century. The snake is scotched, if not killed. The only right of the State to levy a land-tax is, that the money is required for the services of the State: if, therefore, the land-tax is remitted to the owner, or if the right of levying the land-tax on any area is granted to a priest, or a fiddler, or a courtezan, it is a gross alienation of the Revenue of the State, which causes the burden to press heavier on the rest of the community. Such are the Wakf lands of Egypt, and the Inam and Jaghír of India. They ought to be extinguished. In the Khiraji land, the Anglo-Indian Collector recognizes the ordinary assessable land. In the Ashria he recognizes the cases of reduced assessments granted for a life, or lives, which ought gradually to be levelled up to the equitable standard of the whole country. The main hope of a country is a moderate assessment made with the owners, or resident cultivators, for a long term of years. Lord Northbrook records his opinion, that the assessment is not excessive in Lower Egypt, though perhaps it may be in Upper Egypt. The panacea for Egypt, as also Ireland, would be an assessment made by impartial officers on existing assets for a long period. The assessment of Egypt is unequal in its incidence,

and that is a great blot. A considerable reduction of the demand made wisely, would eventuate in a vast increase of the cultivated area; for by increasing the area of cultivation, the resources alike of the people and of the State would be expanded. There seems to be no limit to the power of extending the irrigation, and a grant of a million this year has been a wise policy. There is a power, though a rude one, of raising water to a higher level; there is an industrious and docile population, and a facility of export of sugar, cotton and grain. The time must come, when there will be a market for the cereals, saccharines and fibres of Egypt to the East, for Asia must soon wake up in the general revival of nations. Egypt had corn, when all the World suffered from famine.

No one can go up the Nile without being impressed by the wondrous and weird beauty of the scene: it is not the beauty of the lovely Sub-Himalayan Districts, which extend in a long chain of park-like prairies from Sealkot, Hoshyarpúr and Ambála to Rohilkand and Ghâzipúr, with their mango-trees and Mohwa and the snow-capped mountains on their flank; it is not the tropical splendour of the Districts of South India and Ceylon, with the fan-palm and the date-palm, and the areka-palm. The great River Nile, like the Indus in Sindh, flows solemnly, and without affluents, on its Northern course, carrying away tons of sand and mould wherewith to create new deltas in the bed of the Mediterranean: the peasant is hard at work with his water-wheels and lifting apparatus, so well known in the villages of India: the camel and the donkey are unequally yoked to scrape with a light plough the light soil. Twenty years of peace and good Government would produce wonders amidst this light-hearted and contented peasantry. There is no occasion for soldiers or cannon to keep this country quiet, but a well-organized Police, and a kind, strong, and intelligent District-Officer. I gather from some of the reports, that amidst the aboriginal population, the lineal descendants of the people of Pharaoh, there are here and there colonies of a superior race, who are, however, none the less Egyptian, because their ancestors, at some remote period, immigrated, leaving their descendants like boulders in an Alpine valley, when the force that brought them has melted away. So is it also in British India, and from this slender material good native Officials are fashioned by the plastic hand of a competent Ruler.

I now pass to the Judicial system. It is a miserable servitude, where the Law is uncertain, or the execution of good laws capricious. The state of affairs in Egypt was below contempt. The case is different now. There are two tribunals; the International and the Native: it may be hoped that in the course of time the first may disappear. If England were to annex Egypt, as France has Tunisia, it would disappear at once.

Many various nations have acquired vested interests in Egypt, which would, under certain circumstances, justify their diplomatic

interference in the Government of the country. A new and powerful international factor was introduced into Egypt by the foundation of the mixed tribunals established in 1875 by Ismail Pasha, in substitution for the Consular Courts. This, his own creation, went far to destroy him. The tribunals delivered sentences against him, which he could not execute. He, on his side, issued a decree in partial repudiation of debts, which he could not pay in full. Germany, one of the fourteen Powers, whose Consular jurisdiction had been violated, instantly protested. England and France followed the example of Germany, and a storm was raised, which ended in the deposition of the Khedive by the Porte. That Ismail was exiled, and that Tewfik, his son, reigned in his stead, is matter of well-known history; but it is not so well known, that a new right of international intervention in Egypt was first claimed and recognized at that time. Every power, that possessed extra-territorial Consular jurisdiction in Egypt before 1875, has now the right to protest and interfere, if the decisions of the mixed tribunals are not respected.

Since then indigenous Courts have been established, and in 1883 a new departure was made. I bought this year at Cairo a small volume in the French language, translated from the Arabic, of about five hundred pages. It contained a copy of the Decree constituting the Courts, a Code of positive Civil law; a Code of positive Commercial law; a Code of procedure, Civil and Commercial; a Code of positive Criminal law; a Code of Criminal procedure. I do not open the question, whether these Codes are good or not, or whether the Code Napoleon is the best type to follow: it is sufficient to note, that intelligible Codes exist in the two Vernaculars of the country. This, by itself, is an advance of centuries on the former miserable stagnation. Accompanying Mr. West, the Procureur, I visited the Courts: the drinking of coffee and smoking of pipes was peculiar: the Judges were too numerous to be well paid; the abominable red cap with a tassel was a disgrace to every Christian, that wore it: otherwise I was satisfied, that there was the germ of good things. If capable and honest men are appointed, and the Executive is prevented from acts of bribery or intimidation, a good time may be coming.

A good Police force has been organized; and for great cities this is easy enough; the difficulty is, as we know full well in India, to make the Police sufficiently strong to repress violent crime, and yet sufficiently under control as not to oppress the villagers. That the use of the whip is forbidden is a step in advance, but the effect of centuries of oppression and contempt of justice on one side, and bribery and servility on the other, cannot be effaced in a day. I visited the Jails in the city, and accompanied by Dr. Cruickshank, the Inspector of Prisons, I went out to see the new central prison at Helwán. Of course, the travelling Member of Parliament, and

the newspaper-correspondents, who had formed their ideas at Pentonville, would be aghast at what they saw. I remembered the temporary buildings, which did duty as Jails many years in the Panjáb, and was satisfied, that here also there was progress in the right direction.

The subject of canals has been carefully studied: from time immemorial Egypt has depended on them for a timely distribution of water. Many noble works have been constructed by Ismail and his predecessors; the whole matter has been well considered, and plans made for the future. The river is the great roadway. The Delta is well threaded by railways, and a line runs Southward to Assiout, which should be extended to Assouan, and a line run across the desert from Kenneh to Kosseir on the Red Sea.

There are two parallel Educational systems in Egypt: European energy and Mahometan stagnation are typified in each. First, we have the old Arab school, which is attached to the Mosque. Every traveller has seen at the corners of streets of Oriental towns a room-full of children, squatted on the floor, shouting out at the top of their shrill voices passages from the Korán, or painfully writing Arabic letters on bits of tin, while an old gentleman in flowing robes and a turban, acts pedagogue with a long stick. This is really no Education at all. The children learn nothing, the teacher is almost as ignorant as his pupil, and the chief use of the school is as a general nursery, where the little ones can be in safety, while the parents go out to work (as even the women do now in Egypt). This, unfortunately, is still the only kind of school one finds outside Cairo, Alexandria, and some of the other larger towns. However, little by little this system is being changed. Government does not maintain these Arab schools. That is done partly by religious endowment, partly by small payments of a piastre (2½*d.*) a week from such pupils as can pay. But Government has the right of inspection and of recommendation of teachers. A better class of teachers is being trained, and arithmetic is already added to the teaching of reading and writing. Parallel with this old educational system, on which the mass of the people must still depend for some time to come, and which I may call the Arab system, is the new European system of the Government. At present its schools only exist in Alexandria, Cairo, and the large towns. But their influence is being extended in the manner I have above described. These schools are divided thus: Primary Schools and Government Schools. Some of the primary schools only teach reading, writing and arithmetic, and the Korán, and only differ from the Arab schools in the quality of their teacher. But in Cairo and Alexandria these inferior schools have already been wholly superseded by the better class of schools. The primary schools of the better kind have a fixed programme of teaching, an educational course which extends over four years, and an efficient

staff of masters. No distinction is made of Religion, race, or class; all are admitted who like to come. The pupils are taught Arabic and Turkish, one European language, English, French, German, or Italian, at choice, writing in Arabic and European Characters, geography, a little history, physics, and drawing. They are either boarders or day scholars. Those of the boarders, who are reported by the authorities of their district as being able to pay, pay £26 a year. Those who can pay partly, do so; those who are poor, pay nothing. Clothing is given to the boarders, as well as food and lodging.

Government, however, claims to control the subsequent career of those among the pupils, who pay nothing and who show much promise. They are passed on to the Government-schools, to be trained for the Government-Service, and many teachers are thus being trained for the improvement of the teaching class in the primary schools. Government surveyors, engineers, doctors, and lawyers are also recruited in this way from the lower classes. Between the primary and secondary schools are preparatory schools, where the subjects taught in the primary schools are brought to greater perfection before the pupils are passed on to the Government schools. The Government schools are each of a special character. There is an Ecole Polytechnique, where the members of the scientific corps of the Egyptian Army receive their training. There is a Surveying School. There are schools of law, medicine, and the higher mechanics. Finally, there is a normal school, but only of two years' standing. Though this higher teaching, originally introduced by Mahomet Ali, but allowed to collapse by his successors, has only been revived a few years, it is producing much good result, and a certificate, that he has passed through a course of study there, already stands an Egyptian in good stead in the battle of life. Diplomas are not yet given. The reason why they are not, is a curious illustration of the manner the Egyptian Government is *exploité*. "The Viceroy does not allow diplomas, "because those, who received them, would consider the Government "bound to give them employment."

After visiting the boys' schools, I went on to the girls' schools, which are a new institution of exceptional importance in Egypt. Women have, hitherto, under the Moslem rule, led a veiled, secluded, useless, ignorant life in the harem. Here and there European governesses have been introduced, but the cases are so exceedingly rare, that it may be broadly stated, that up to two years ago women were not educated in Egypt, and consequently, national education wholly wanted the true foundation of all teaching, the mother's lessons to her children. But two years ago one of the Khedive's wives, a woman in advance of her country, determined to found and endow a school for her sex in Cairo. An ancient palace was utilized, a staff of teachers organized, dormi-

tories arranged, class-rooms and playgrounds provided, and the Cairo public invited to send their daughters to be taught, fed, lodged, and clothed free of charge. At first the invitation met with no response. Even 18 days before the day named for the opening of the school, there was not a single name entered. The Authorities were in despair. The project seemed hopelessly in advance of public opinion. It was seriously proposed to draught in a number of foundling children from the hospital, so that the school should not be wholly without scholars. But on the 18th day came an Arab mother with her daughter. Three days later a batch of 17 arrived. The school would only contain 300, and on the opening day 400 had to be rejected. Since then the applications have never ceased, and there are over 900 waiting acceptance. A second school has been opened, a third is in process of erection, and numerously-signed petitions for similar institutions have come from the large towns in the interior; in fact, popular prejudice is completely routed.

The instruction given is such as is calculated to enable a woman to become the capable mistress of her household. Twenty-four hours a week are given to intellectual training, the rest are devoted to instruction in needlework, cooking, washing, and the proper management of a house. The training is for five years.

It would appear as if a benevolent and intelligent despotism, such as exists in British India, tempered by the action of a free Press, and the independent character of the high Officials, would be the best thing for Egypt for the next quarter of a century; but the spirit of the age is in favour of Constitutions, as if they were of universal application, without reference to the culture of the people. By the organic law of May 1, 1883, there ought to exist in Egypt (i) a Council in each Province; (ii) a Legislative Council; and (iii) a General Assembly, but up to date none of the Provincial Councils had been convoked, though Nubar Pasha was reputed to be convinced of their importance. The Legislative Council is in existence, but works in private, only as a consultative body. The General Assembly has never been convoked. It is just as well, that these wretched travesties of Constitutional Government, though well intentioned, should remain in abeyance: they would be merely the screens, behind which high-handed men, of the Bismark type, would work their own wayward will.

After all, the real difficulty in Egypt is the financial state. Like the old man in Sindbad the Sailor, the country is weighed down by an incubus: it is of no use asking, how did it come about; *it is there*. Ismail tried to carry out, in a few years, what was the work, the *slow work* of a century: he took up loans, the interest of which would tax the resources of a much larger and richer country: he was plundered most outrageously in the mode of getting his loans: he was plundered still more in the mode of spending it, and

took his share of the plunder. I quote the thoughtful and reasonable remarks of an anonymous correspondent of a leading journal:

"This brings me to the remaining difficulty in the solution of the Egyptian problem, the financial question. I have no particular sympathy with the Egyptian bondholder. He is, I presume, entitled by right to just as much and as little consideration as any other investor in public funds. The senseless outcry which would represent him as the pariah of the Stock Exchange, entitled to no consideration whatever, is as unpractical as it is unjust. In abstract justice there is, indeed, no reason, why he should be treated differently to the creditor of any other bankrupt State, but whether we like it or not, we have to recognize the fact, that we cannot so treat him. He is the *protégé* of united Europe, he is the mainspring of the Egyptian policy of several European Governments, and to ignore the fact is a childish running of our head against a wall. We have to compound with our creditor quickly, or worse will follow; and our only possible course is to get rid of this prominent and disagreeable personage on the cheapest terms. The debt of Egypt is, roughly speaking, 104 millions, costing the country £4,250,000 annually. A very obvious remedy would be to guarantee 3 per cent. upon the total amount. We should thereby reduce the charge by one million, and as Egypt has hitherto paid the four and a quarter millions within £200,000, there would be no appreciable risk. Such an arrangement, however, would not only be giving a large bonus to the bondholders, but would be placing on the same footing different loans having very unequal securities. Moreover, it is clearly inadvisable to make so substantial a concession, even though unattended with risk, without obtaining adequate advantages. While we should be prepared to insist on having, for a period at least, the sole management of the country, we should endeavour to interest the other Powers in our success, or at least to ensure their benevolent neutrality. I would, therefore, in the first place determine the amount of our guarantee by the value of the stock, and limit the duration of it to such period, as we remained in possession of the country.

"Now the 104 millions of Egyptian debt at to-day's value do not represent 77 millions of actual cash, but the bondholders might plausibly argue, that the price of the stock after three years of English mismanagement, is not a figure which should form the basis of calculation. They may fairly say that we have depreciated the value of the securities by our intervention, and that we cannot take advantage of our own wrong. There was, however, a period when, for a moment, it seemed as if Egyptian stock were going to become worthless under the rule of a military adventurer. From this fate we have saved the bondholder, we shall be doing him ample justice if, valuing his stock according to the average of the

first six months of 1882, we guarantee him 3 per cent. upon that value. In other words, assuming that Privileged and Unified during that period should have proved to have averaged respectively 90 and 80, the holder of £100 stock would receive the British guarantee for £2 14*s.* and £2 8*s.* respectively, such guarantee to be contemporaneous with English government of Egypt, and to be withdrawn when it ceased.

"Speaking roughly, the Egyptian debt thus valued, would be about 80 millions, the guaranteed interest £2,400,000. Were England, devoting about £1,000,000 yearly to readjustment of taxation and public works, to place aside £3,000,000 for the service of the public debt, employing £600,000 yearly to its reduction, that debt, at the end of 30 years, would be reduced to £50,000,000, and 20 more years at the same rate would suffice to extinguish it altogether. That is to say, instead of the present expenditure of £4,250,000 for service of debt, the new arrangement would show: £250,000 for covering yearly deficit; £1,000,000 for adjustment of taxation, public works, etc.; £3,000,000 for service of debt, including extinction in 50 years; total, £4,250,000. And this, be it observed, is leaving the administrative budget unaltered, that is to say, making no allowance for the increased Revenue obtainable by taxation of Europeans, nor for the largely diminished expenditure insured by the abandonment of the present complicated international government."

One of the most abominable features of the whole affair still remains to be told: it is that every European who is domiciled, or dwells as a bird of passage in Egypt, is free from every form of taxation, and pays nothing to support the State. "The law relating to taxation ought to be applicable without distinction to the "subjects of the Sovereign of the State, and to the aliens dwelling "under his protection. This would add £100,000 per annum to "the Revenue, and remove a feeling of irritation, which not unnaturally exists in Egypt against the injustice of the present "practice. It is difficult to imagine any grievance more galling to "a people than the gross inequality which now exists between "natives and Europeans, and which makes the humblest Egyptian "artizan subject to a professional tax, from which the richest "European merchant escapes scot free." The above are the words of Lord Northbrook in his Report, dated November, 1884.

It will scarcely be credited by any one, upon whose attention the fact has never yet been forced, that in their own land the natives of Egypt are placed at a cruel disadvantage commercially in their competition with the alien settler, who can claim the protection of a foreign Government. The native Egyptian is subject to taxes, imposts, and disabilities, which the foreigner, however long resident, escapes, and the consequence is, that trades and industries, which the natives are perfectly competent to carry on, are usurped by

strangers, whose only object is to get as much as they can out of the country, and then leave it as soon as possible.

As to the connection of Egypt with Turkey, it must cease altogether. Austria had to give up Italy: France parted with Alsace: England lost her American Colonies. The tribute payable by Egypt to the Sultan was a personal matter, between the family of Mahomet Ali and his Suzerain. England once paid tribute to the Danes: *cessante ratione cessat lex.* It is a monstrous abuse, that such a tribute should be paid, and an act of oppression to the people of Egypt. Tributes from one State to another are anachronisms. The Slave trade must be peremptorily abolished under the severest penalties: slavery itself should be quietly suffocated by the application of the famous Indian Act of 1843, and intermediately every slaveholder should be heavily taxed for each slave, and their number registered: no runaway slave can be restored: in the course of a quarter of a century the custom will disappear. It is nonsense to say, that a Mahometan country cannot exist without slaves. How do the fifty millions of Mahometans in India get on without them? What short work was made of the status in Algeria and Tunisia! Until slavery is got rid of, there will always be an objection on the part of free men and free women undertaking the duties of domestic service. I found this feeling very strong in Palestine. Girls educated at orphanages refused to go out as servants, even in good Christian families. I visited the Home, that has lately been opened at Cairo, as a refuge for runaway female slaves. I cannot say, that either the locale or the method, met my approbation. I saw two runaway white slaves, who had escaped from the Palace of one of the sisters of the Khedive, who came in person to try and persuade them to go back, which they declined. They received their certificates of freedom, and went their way. I remember such cases often occurring in India thirty years ago. Female slaves sometimes escaped from the house of a Nawáb, and made their way to a Magistrate's Court and petitioned for freedom. The operation was very simple, and on their petition were scrawled the words "the petitioner may go where she likes," and their freedom was accomplished; and any attempt on the part of the Nawáb to recapture them would have been punished under the Criminal Code. By this gentle process slavery has died away in India. It is satisfactory to read Sir E. Baring's opinion, that a sense of insecurity in their tenure is spreading among slave-owners, which will prevent new purchases. Some raise up a phantom-danger in the possibility of a religious war. There is not much fear of that in Egypt: they are not very good Mahometans, and, so long as there is entire toleration of their worship, the endowments and emoluments, and influence of the religious leaders, can with safety be permitted to exist for a single life, or a couple of lives, and then lapse. I can well remember, how we dealt with the Sikh priests, and the holy men, who had

been so troublesome and influential. We told them, that they would be allowed to enjoy their property in peace for their natural lives, and afterwards for the lives of their sons, but that they must leave other people alone. If they raised a tumult, we told them, that they would be chopped into pieces, and their lands confiscated. All these good old fellows have long since been burnt on the funeral pile, and their very names forgotten. One tribe asked leave to continue their ancient practice of killing their female children. John Lawrence gave vent to a slight oath, when he heard this, and told them, that the first of them, who did this, would be hanged. Eventually we laughed them out of Court by changing their title of "Baba," or Father, by which they were called, into "Papi," or Sinner. In the first years of a new system some private hardship must be expected; let it be as little as possible, and the period as short as possible.

I perceive that some critics complain that we are "Indianizing" Egypt. I can imagine no higher term of praise to a system of administration, than that it has followed the example of British India, avoiding its faults, and making use of its trained Officials. The eternal laws of Justice are the same everywhere, and on them is based the system of British India, united with as large an amount of personal liberty, as it is possible for a Dependency to enjoy, without risking the peaceful connection with the dominating country. If we leave Egypt, the Khedive will be wise, if he conducts his Administration on the same principle.

I cannot see reason, why the Suez Canal should necessarily be considered an integral part of Egypt: it is fenced in by sand on both sides, and is a little world in itself, and might be placed under international protection and treated as an arm of the sea. It is just as much a part of Palestine as it is of Egypt, and not necessarily a part of either. It has been a heavy curse to Egypt by the amount of forced labour exacted and burdens imposed. In considering the future destiny of Egypt, it is to be hoped, that that country will be considered apart from Turkey, the Suez Canal, and the Sudán; in fact, the Egypt of the Nile Valley.

Now, if Egypt were an island, or if it were a Province attached like Sindh or Barma to India, the retention of it under British control might pay. In this way the annexation of Tunisia to Algeria has answered the purposes of the French, and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been a source of weakness to Austria. Egypt has an income of eight millions, with a possibility of large expansion. This exceeds the income of the largest of the Indian Tributary and Protected States. It may in passing be remarked, that in not one of these States has any attempt at progress been made by a Native Ruler, and they still exist. The unhappy Ismail tried to make progress in Egypt, and he has perished in the attempt, and his country been brought into great peril.

Egypt is not an island, but a Mediterranean Power: Alexandria is one of the greatest of ports. Tripolitana, its nearest neighbour on the West, is gravitating towards Italy, and as to Syria on the East, its destiny is clear. Just as the serpent covers his victim with saliva before he devours it, so has France by religious and commercial enterprises and establishments prepared Syria for absorption. With such frontiers on the East and West, the occupation of Egypt would not pay its Military and Civil expenses, independently of the debt which, under European guarantees, absorbs half the income of the Province. Then France has a sentimental feeling with regard to Egypt. It was the first European country, that actually got military possession of that country and thoroughly described it: the *lingua franca* of the country is French: the Laws and Law Courts are framed on a French type: much of the administration is Frenchified. If England were to annex Egypt, it would be an affront, *which France would never forgive.* Imagine a state of European war, and the strength and resources, which would be required to retain a really worthless Province. Then, again, Egypt is not like India: there will always be a large admixture of European immigrants and a leaven of European nations. The people have already dabbled in Constitutions. In Egypt I fell into conversation with an intelligent Egyptian, and I casually remarked, that Egypt was a worthless country. He looked at me with astonishment, and replied, that it was the finest and richest, and most desirable country in the world. No doubt every black beetle thinks himself the largest and most shiney of his species. The Irishmen no doubt have the same opinion of Ireland, and the Bulgarians of Bulgaria. It is patriotic, but not true: yet the sentiment might give a world of trouble to a foreign conqueror.

The rule of Ismail is a sad one to read of. He was most unscrupulous. I heard people say, that he got rid of troublesome servants or subjects with a cup of poisoned coffee, that one very troublesome financier was invited to visit him in one of his palaces, where he was said to be unwell, and was never seen or heard of again. I place no faith in this, but it is bad to have the credit of it. Of the loans, for which unhappy Egypt is now hypothecated, he made away with a large portion, and took it out of the country, when he was exiled. Never have Juvenal's lines been so truly applicable:

> Exul ad octavum consul bibit, et fruitur Diis
> Invitis; at tu Victrix Provincia, ploras!

What of the Governors, whom he enlisted in his service? Infamous in their private lives, surrounded by the slave, the eunuch, the concubine, and the dancing boy; utterly without principle, or knowledge, or sympathy with the people in the discharge of their public duties, no form of law existed but that of the strongest. Interspersed with such Governors were members of the ruling family

of the worst possible types. Gradually Ismail had got possession, as his private domains, of a large portion of the soil of Egypt, which he distributed among the members of his family. Something of the same kind had been effected by the ruling families in Upper India, and the Revenue of the State was impaired by alienations. The British Official, wheresoever he goes, carries with him in his Office-box the dignity of a gentleman and a Christian. Under no circumstances, in any place, and in any environment, would he condescend to do or say what is false and mean; he would shrink from what is cruel and treacherous: he would proudly turn away from what is wanton or sordid. Such have been the characteristics of Great Britain's soldiers and civilians in India with some rare exceptions, which have been noted for the stern punishment and scathing condemnation which they received. We had to clear out the harems of the Sikh Rulers at Lahór, and of the Great Mogul at Dehli: it was a perilous task, but men were found equal to the occasion. Treasuries had to be emptied, and the contents conveyed away. I, myself, in my small local treasury at Hoshyarpúr, had to receive thirty lakhs in silver, paid in as part of the price of Kashmír, and, as no room would hold it for the night, I had my bed spread upon the bags, and saw it safe under weigh at early dawn.

English Governors have oftentimes their patience tried by persistent opponents: they have by persistent efforts captured them, and tried them, and executed them, but they have never made use of the coffee-cup, or the secret dagger, or the oubliette. Under the old-fashioned *regime*, we should never have heard of Arabi, he would have been comfortably disposed of. The rule of British India is founded on justice, and mercy, and sympathy for the people, and that is the reason why it has continued. No re-called Viceroy has left Calcutta with shiploads of women and plunder to eke out the remainder of his days in the Favorita Palace in the Bay of Naples, or in a Kiosk on the Bosphorus.

So poisonous has been the official air, so foul the administrative environment of Egypt, that even British Governors have forgotten their high character, and done what they would never have dreamt of doing in a like position in British India. The name of Gordon Pasha, Governor-General of Equatorial Africa in the time of Ismail Khedive, carries within most minds its own estimation. A book was published in 1881, called "Colonel Gordon in Central Africa," by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, compiled from original letters chiefly to his sister. At page 345 we read the following remarkable words: "I "got the slave-dealers chained at once, and then decided about the "slaves. The men and boys were put into the ranks of the army, "and *the women told off to be the wives of the soldiers.*" Again: "Some of the poor women were quite nude. I disposed of them in "the same way: what else can I do?" I do not think, that any of the high-minded Officers in Civil employ in India would have,

under possible circumstances, distributed unhappy women to be wives of the Sephâis. Many of these women were already wives and mothers, who had been torn from their homes. In India they would have been carefully segregated under the care of old grey-bearded men, and the fertile resources of benevolent men would have been exercised to convey them to some shelter. Better far the tender mercies of the slave-dealer, or the coffee-cup, than the sentence to be the temporary concubines of troops on the march, to which a Christian Governor consigned them.

Then, again, the Christian Governor-General had a mosque cleaned out, restored to worship, the Priests and the Muezzin were endowed, and a great ceremonial took place for the re-opening. "This was a great coup," he writes: "to me it appears that the "Mussulman worships God as well as I do, and is acceptable, if "sincere, as any Christian." Such conduct, such sentiments, would be viewed in British India with the highest condemnation, and yet the Mahometans in India count by millions. In Dar-Fur, where this mosque was situated, they count only by hundreds. At page 100 we read, that Gordon paid for the expense attending the *circumcision of a boy.*

We have heard a great deal of the slave-dealer Zebehr, whose son was executed by order of Gordon Pasha, and at page 409 of the same volume we read how this happened: "I send you Gessi's "letter, which tells of the end of Zebehr's son (aged 22). I have "no compunction about his death; I told them that if *he fought the* "*Egyptian Government, God would slay him.* Gessi only *obeyed my* "*orders in shooting him!*" What would Henry Lawrence, or John Lawrence, or Dalhousie, or Canning have said or done in reply to such a report from one of their subordinates? How knightly seem the forms, and how noble and yet how clement, the sentiments of these great men! I only mention these instances to show how hopeless is the case of Egypt, until a clean sweep has been made of the Turk, the Circassian, the Albanian, the Arnout, and the ignoble ruling class of the Mahometans; I wish also to show, how insensibly Christians fall to a lower level from the contact, for it is shocking to record, that the ordained priests of the Coptic Church in Egypt were the most expert operators in the abominable trade of making eunuchs, and we have seen above, how one of the noblest Englishmen seemed, like a chamelion, to assume the colour of the leaf on which he rested, and to forget pity in the disposal of poor women, the precepts of Christianity in repairing mosques, and mercy in the dealing with his political antagonists.

At any rate, for the reasons given above, let Great Britain clear out of Egypt at the earliest possible date: the longer the occupation lasts, the more difficult will be the departure, and the harder the fate of those, who have been friendly to us. At the same time no other European nation can be allowed to take our place. There

is no fear of internal revolt from the people: the great Powers of Europe must be responsible, that there is no invasion across the frontiers, and, in fact, the Northern frontier is the only dangerous one, and the only invader to be feared is Great Britain, France, or possibly Italy. Let the present Khedive, who as a man is faultless, though as a Governor he is weak, be encouraged to introduce an honest, a sympathetic, and a just Government, availing himself of the aid of a few men chosen from European states, but dependent on him only. Let the bondholders wait their time, and the interest of the debt be postponed to the legitimate requirements of the country. Let the people have time to recuperate and get fat, and extend cultivation over land rendered cultivable by extended canals. Let sanitation, vaccination, education of the rural population, and municipal corporations stand over for a season, until peace and quiet, order and justice are re-established, and Egypt will then take her place among the nations, with eight millions of population, and twelve millions of annual Revenue, collected by lawful methods from a contented people.

LONDON, OCTOBER, 1885.

Two years have passed away, and the British Protectorate of Egypt still exists, and all attempts to get rid of it by a Convention has failed. We have not seen the end of it yet. Germany had her own way in East Equatorial Africa by pressing the Egyptian screw. Russia avowedly made use of the Egyptian complication to have her own way in Central Asia. France cynically declines to meet our legitimate demands in the New Hebrides until we meet hers in the Mediterranean. Great Britain will only be able to use her gigantic and world-wide power, when she realizes the small importance of the Suez Canal, Egypt, and the Mediterranean in modern Politics, where the world is the Chess-Board.

AUGUST, 1887.

CHAPTER XIV.

A TOUR IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on the 5th January, 1885, the Chairman remarked, that Mr. John Cook was not only a traveller himself, but the cause of travel in others. This is literally true. The skill and the enterprise, and the local knowledge which the firm, of which Mr. Cook is the managing partner, have brought to bear upon travel all over the world, are such, that it is now possible for an individual or a party to arrange every detail of a long tour of several months at the Central Office at Ludgate Circus, pay down all the expenses in advance, and furnished with a series of tickets and coupons, accomplish the whole with comfort and without any mental anxiety. In every chief town, and at every port of the Mediterranean and beyond, there are intelligent and obliging agents of the firm, who welcome the coming, and speed the parting guest, who simplify the transaction and make the way smooth. I write this from my own experience of twelve weeks in January, February, and March of 1885, during which, accompanied by my wife, I made what may be called the grand tour of Egypt and Palestine, and got safe home without loss of anything, and having accomplished all that I desired, and travelled nine thousand miles.

I place this on record, in gratitude to those, who managed my affairs so well, and in the hopes, that others may be encouraged to follow my example, and they will find, that the tour is one of unequalled interest, and quite within the compass of any one, male or female, in ordinary health, betwixt the age of twenty and seventy. I had myself visited Egypt ten times before on my road to and from India. On one occasion, in 1843, I stayed a whole month at Cairo waiting the arrival of the first Peninsular and Oriental Company's Steamers from Calcutta. I had travelled the whole of Palestine alone with two Arab servants in 1852, from Dan to Beersheba, but the lapse of thirty-three years made me desirous to note the changes, and mark the progress, which, in spite of Turkish misrule, must have taken place. For the benefit of those, who have never accomplished this task, I describe the salient features of my tour.

Leaving London on the 12th of January, I went direct to Milan and Rome, as a few days in the eternal city to me is almost a necessity in each alternate year: thence I followed the route of the Poet Horace to Beneventum and Brindisi, went on board the Peninsular and Oriental Mail steamer, and in three days reached Alexandria. Without losing an hour I pushed on to Cairo, passed one night in Shepheard's Hotel, once so familiar to Anglo-Indians, but now visited by so few, as the long-sea steamers pass through the Suez Canal, and the mail passes direct from Alexandria to Suez, north of Cairo. Next morning at daybreak I took train from Cairo to Assiout, up the Nile, and went on board the Khedival post-steamer, which at once started up stream in the direction of Assouan. All the steamers of Messrs. Cook and Company had been transferred by the necessity of war to the river above the Cataracts, and all the usual facilities for proceeding upwards were gone: only a few privileged travellers could find place in the mail-steamers, and it was uncertain, how long that facility would continue, for Lord Wolseley and his army had all passed up to Dongola and beyond, and, if reinforcements became necessary, all tourists would be sent about their business. As it was, we had on board two artillery officers, who were pushing on to the front to take the place of two of their regiment, who had been killed.

The steamers were unable to move during the night, and it was so arranged, that on each day, one or more of the great temples of Egypt were visited, Dendera, Edfu, Esneh, and Kom Ombo. Sufficient time was allowed to survey the wonderful ruins. On the third day Assouan was reached, just below the First Cataract. The white hospital-tents of the British soldiers were conspicuous on both sides of the river, on the mainland, and the island of Elephantine: the bazaar of the little town was crowded with soldiers, and the placards of British Bar over several doors betrayed the national weakness. But the most striking feature of the situation was, that to a large tree was attached a copy of the latest telegram, announcing the successful advance of the force to the Nile at Metammeh, and the wounding of General Stewart. The English mails were landed here, and the arrival of the mails from Lord Wolseley's head-quarters was looked for, as a telegram from Korosko announced, that they had passed that station on their downward progress.

The tourists availed themselves of the leisure to visit the Island of Elephantine and the ruins of the Nilometer, and from a high point, a view could be commanded of the great river passing out of the network of Islands, which cause the rapids, and impede navigation. An excursion was then made to visit the grave of the thoughtless Englishman, who dared to try to do what the hardy Nubians are doing all day for a few small coins, swim down the great gate of the Cataract. A little further on is the famous

obelisk of gigantic size, which some proud Egyptian king had ordered to be hewn out of the rock, but some change of dynasty, or the hand of death, or some fickle change of purpose, caused the work to be abandoned, and the monster-obelisk lies still undetached from the quarry, though its dimensions can be seen. A ride on donkeys across the desert conveys the tourists to Shilal above the Cataract: here the Nile again comes into view, and the steamer was seen working its way up to the second Cataract with the mails, and those who are wanted in the front. No dilettante tourist can work his way further: if by luck he found a berth vacant in the upward voyage, he would probably find none in the downward one, and might be left an indefinite time at Wadi Halfa, without the convenience of a Dahabeah or hotel. The island of Philæ with its beautiful ruins lies just opposite, and the scene is unsurpassed in romantic beauty. In one of the gateways is a French Inscription recording the fact that French troops, under the command of General Bonaparte, penetrated thus far in their occupation of Egypt. By a turn of the wheel of fortune, the English soldier is now here as a permanent garrison, and it so happened, that I read this Inscription with Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Prince Jerome Napoleon, standing by my side, as he was one of our party on board the steamer. The next thing to be done was to drop down the Nile in a row-boat to the edge of the great gate of the Cataracts, and, landing on the rocks, to stand on the brink and watch the Nubians leap from on high into the stream, which was dashing downwards with violence, although at the period of our visit the Nile was at its lowest, and innumerable islands and rocks were exposed to view. The return from Shilal to Assouan is accomplished by a short railway of about five miles, which passes round the Cataract-region. It is interesting to note, that the station-master was a British soldier, that the formality of a ticket was not demanded, that the trains that arrived from Assouan were laden with boxes of treasure, guarded by soldiers with bayonets in their muskets, and small square boxes containing rations for the troops in the front: as the trains arrived, the steamers were laden, and then started up stream.

From Assouan the steamer started with redoubled speed, and by midnight reached Luxor, and, landing all tourists at the comfortable and beautiful hotel, proceeded with the mails on its journey down stream with letters from the camp at Korti, and the wonderful narratives of the newspaper correspondents; for, while we were looking at ruins and enjoying ourselves, Khartúm was falling, and Gordon being killed: of this we knew nothing until a few days later when we reached Cairo. The bi-weekly service of steamers allowed a pleasant stay of four days at Luxor, and Mr. Cook's arrangement provided three most interesting excursions: two across the river to the Colossi, Ramasseum, and Medinet Abu and to the

valley of the royal tombs, and a third on the right bank of the river to Luxor and Karnak. The beauty of the weather at this season of the year passes all description, but the pleasure of the tourists is much marred by the ceaseless solicitation and cries for *Bakshish*, from a party of boys and girls and professional mendicants, and deformed objects, who accompanied the cavalcade of donkeys the whole day. Throughout Egypt this intolerable nuisance prevails: and it does not appear, that the payment of a small tribute satisfies the applicant, still less does a refusal to pay dishearten the petitioner. For many hours the ceaseless cry prevails: fragments of mummies, boxes, mummy cloth, pottery and coins are offered for sale, and indeed the same scene is exhibited in the garden and hall of the hotel.

The downward voyage requires no remark: the whole trip occupies fourteen days, and costs twenty-two pounds, everything included. Another fourteen days is required at Cairo to give time for seeing all that is of interest in the neighbourhood. There is an abundance of hotels, but Shepheard's maintains its pre-eminence. Those, who knew that city forty-two years ago, in the days of Mahomet Ali Pasha, may indeed think with astonishment of the vicissitudes, which their eyes have seen. In 1843 the only way of reaching Suez was on the back of donkeys, riding leisurely in three days across the Desert, and putting up for the night in rest-houses. In a few years came the four-horse cars tearing over the stones, while the baggage was transported on camels: about the time of the Crimean war, the railway was opened from Suez to Cairo, and Cairo to Alexandria: then came another change, the Desert-railway was taken up, and the local traffic from Cairo to Suez passed by the railway to Zagazig and Ismailia.

Cairo is no longer an Oriental town: the broad streets and the European houses have destroyed the romantic features of the old city. It is indeed enough to make Mahomet Ali Pasha leap out of his tomb to see Private Tommy Atkins standing guard over the great mosque in the citadel, while the palace of the Pasha is converted into the mess-house of the regiment. There is no space here to notice the wonderful progress of Egypt during the last thirty years, and the peculiar rocks, by which that progress is now arrested. This has supplied materials for a separate study. Nor is this the place to more than allude to the excavations in progress or completed, and the Boulák Museum, which surpasses all the Egyptian collections in the capitals of Europe. Egypt appears likely to become the bone of contention among the European Powers, a state of affairs which will arrest all legitimate progress, and, if it becomes the battle-field of nations, the unhappy people will look back with regret on the time of the Pasha and Mamlúk.

No one can have accomplished the tour up the Nile without being struck by the beauty of the sunsets over the Libyan Desert:

there is a strange charm in the scenery, as there is nothing like it in any other part of the world. No doubt there is a great sameness, and the much-vaunted life in the Dahabeah must, in this fast age, to any one who has something to do in this life, appear from description to be intolerable, and probably the days of that mode of travel are past. The steamer and the steam-launch will supersede them. During the year, however, the exigencies of the Sudán-war removed the fleet of tourists' steamers, and left nothing but the Khedival postal ones. The periodical alarm of cholera, the constant political troubles, and the crowds of Europeans and Americans, who are attracted to this particular tour, have taken off much of the charm, that used to surround a winter's sojourn in Egypt.

But the day has arrived, in which the *personally* conducted tour of Palestine and Syria commences. Up to this time I had been travelling under Cook's arrangements, who secured berths, paid hotel bills, and smoothed the way, but there was no party under the *personal* conduct of a European leader. The tour in Palestine and Syria was to give new experiences. Two members of our Nile company had, as stated above, gone up stream to join Lord Wolseley's army; two more went off in a personally conducted party, consisting of themselves and their guide, to Mount Sinai on camels. Some went off by steamer to Athens: but fresh arrivals, direct from England, swelled the Palestine-party, and by the necessity of the case, the cohesion of the members was much greater, as, for good or ill, we were associated for thirty days, in fair weather or foul, by sea or by land, until we reached Beirút. Each day's journey was marked on the programme, and as the round sum of forty pounds covered the expense of each member of the party of every kind, he had no occasion to take money with him. There was a certain amount of risk in this, as, whether a traveller was ill or well, he must move on with his fellows or forfeit his convoy; whether he found his companions on the road or in the tent to his mind, he must put up with an intimate association for a given time, and it speaks well for the health and forbearance of tourists, that troubles very rarely, if ever, arise. In some cases the temporary casual association has ended in matrimony.

The party left Cairo by train for Ismailia, passing by Tel-el-Kebír, and the cemetery, which contains the remains of those who fell in that battle. At Ismailia they embarked in a small canal-steamer, specially engaged, and proceeded down the canal to Port Said, passing by the long procession of steamers of all nationalities on their road to Suez. Here there was a halt for the night, and next day a steamer of the Austrian Lloyd's Company conveyed them in an easy night's trip to Jaffa, where they landed, walked up through the town, from the gate of which they were conveyed in carriages

to a nice little hotel in the suburbs, where they passed the night. The next day carriages conveyed them to Ramla, the ancient Arimathea, where they passed the night, after making an excursion to the neighbouring Lydda. The third day carriages conveyed them to Jerusalem, where they found good accommodation in the Mediterranean Hotel, within the walls, close to the Jaffa-Gate and Castle of David.

A great change has come over Jerusalem in the last thirty years: if it has lost much of its romantic beauty, it has gained in comfort and civilization. The walls no longer shut in the inhabitants; the gates are no longer barred and locked at night. A vast suburb has sprung up outside the Jaffa-Gate, and the city is no longer Asiatic but European. Camels, indeed, are still allowed to crush through the narrow lanes, and there is no wheeled vehicle in use, but this advance will soon be made, and we shall read of gas, and sewers, and waterworks. Russia, France, Austria, and Germany, have vast establishments, either convents or hospices, to receive pilgrims. Schools for orphans, Jesuit settlements, and Christian missions, hospitals and churches are in plenty. The interior of the Mosque of Omar, and the Church of El Aksa are no longer jealously reserved from the sight of the Christian. A conducted party, accompanied by a Kavass from the Consulate, did all this as a matter of business, and penetrated to the holy rock, whence Mahomet started on his midnight-journey to heaven. Russia, representing the Greek Church, jostles France, the representative of the Latin Church, at every turn: the sepulchre of our Lord is still guarded by Mahometan soldiers to keep the Christians from indulging in a free-fight under the sacred dome: the cradle and the manger at Bethlehem are still held by rival jealous religionists. The political future of the city and its inhabitants, is very dark indeed. The Greek and Latin Churches, backed by rival potentates, are assiduously insinuating themselves into the country, under the mere outward pretence of religion, but with the view of establishing rights, which will justify armed interference. The crisis may be nearer at hand than we imagine, for the delay of Great Britain in evacuating Egypt may give a handle to France to place a dead hand upon Syria and Palestine. The Government of the Sultan is at its last gasp: feeble and capricious, incapable of improvement, opposed to all the ordinary requirements of civilization, and therefore doomed.

A week at the Holy City can be pleasantly spent, and all the places, worthy of a visit, can be visited on the back of the indispensable donkey. What would become of Egypt and Jerusalem without the supply of donkeys, the finest of their kind, docile, sure-footed, and sweet-tempered? For a visit to Bethlehem a horse is required, and plenty of sure-footed, though not fast, animals are forthcoming, and no traveller, male or female, can be well advised

to visit the Holy Land, who cannot ride. The alternative, miscalled a palanquin, but in fact a chair placed on two poles, is about the most uncomfortable mode of travelling, the most grotesque, and the most tedious, that can be imagined. Over all the dragomans of the country, over all the horses available for riding, over all the tent-equipage and domestic servants necessary for tent-life, the great firm of the great arranger of foreign tours, Cook and Son, rule supreme. Great attention has been paid by the agent of the firm to the complicated details of conveying, tenting and feeding parties of travellers, totally ignorant of the language, the country, and the climate; the terms are most reasonable, and the programme is carried out to the satisfaction of all reasonable beings, who are capable of being satisfied. Five individuals in every hundred are never satisfied.

There are two seasons, the autumn, and the spring: in the former case the tour commences at Beirút and Lebanon, before the snow falls, and ends at Jaffa: in the latter, the tour commences at Jaffa and ends, after the snow has melted, with Lebanon and Beirút. There are advantages in both. It is in the autumn only, that the Cedars of Lebanon can be visited: in the spring the traveller is less troubled by insects, but he has to face the prospect of heavy rain and snow storms. In both my tours I chose the spring: there is a great charm in the spring-flowers, which cover the undulating plains and the hill-sides: the deserts, for a short period, do indeed blossom as the rose. On both occasions I left Jerusalem on my journey Northwards, about the 1st of March; on the first occasion I was drenched with rain: on the second I had uninterrupted and abnormal fair weather all the way to Damascus. Tent-life in rain and snow and cold, would be an abomination, and I was warned, that in venturing on the 1st of March, I ran a great risk: however, good luck was with me. Good food never failed: the horses did their work, if not pleasantly, at least they did not show temper, or break down: nothing was lost by thieves, and no incivility was shown in the towns and villages: there were three ladies in our party, and the average daily occupation of the saddle was seven hours. The hour of starting was early: there was a midday-halt of two hours, and on arrival at sunset we found our tents ready for us. The camp-servants were thoroughly efficient, and the cook an excellent one. The great drawback was the ceaseless noise in the camp all night; there was a necessity for watchers at each halting-place, and they kept themselves awake by conversation on the other side of the canvas walls of the tent, or by shouts, and the troops of jackals yelled all night, imitating the cries of children.

On Monday, March 2nd, the party of eleven left the hotel at Jerusalem, and in the small open space under the Tower of David, mounted their horses in the midst of an admiring crowd: the departure of a party for the North is an event of first-rate interest

in the Holy City: that very evening a fresh convoy of passengers, left at Jaffa by a steamer, were expected to occupy the vacant rooms. We passed out under the Gate of David, and turning to the right, filed round the walls of the Northern front of the city, passed under the Gate of Damascus, turned the North-Eastern corner, and descended into the Valley of Jehoshafat, passed Gethsemané and the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, and then rounded the Mount of Olives, without rising to its summit, passed through Bethany by the Tomb of Lazarus, and plodded on by the ordinary route to Jericho. During my visit in 1852 I had been made over to the charge of an Arab Chief, who gave a receipt for me to the English Consul, being warned, that he would forfeit a moiety of his remuneration, if he did not bring me back alive. I had at that time lived so long and happily alone amidst Sikhs and Afgháns in Northern India, that the idea did not come home to me, that my Chief might possibly forfeit his moiety, and I might lose my life. However, things have improved since then, and our party in 1885 rode down with as little anxiety as we should have ridden to Richmond, with parasols and umbrellas over our heads and no weapons. We had fine views of the Dead Sea; and, passing Jericho proper, we reached our tents, pitched at Riha, or the fountain of Elisha. It was a grand situation, for behind us were the lofty Mountains of the Temptation, and in front the Mountain of Moab rose solemnly beyond Jordan: all night we had a full moon, and in the morning we saw the sun rise, coming up from the ends of the world.

The sight of the tents was not encouraging to those, who were familiar with the snug encampments of the Indian Official. All the comforts of life, and most of the decencies, disappeared at once. Married couples were allowed a tent to themselves, the furniture of which was two narrow iron beds, fashioned like the gridiron of St. Lawrence by an ingenious combination of iron bars, so as to render sleep and repose as difficult as possible, and secure early rising; one table, with two metal basins and jugs, completed the equipment. In all the vicissitudes of my European, Asiatic and African travels, I never recollect being cut down so closely as this. To prevent the clothes worn in the day becoming damp, a friend at Jerusalem had advised us to sleep in as many as possible, and lay all the rest on the bed. The luggage, limited in amount, of each traveller, was placed in his tent, and the whole space thus occupied. Reading, writing, or sitting in a chair for conversation, were things unknown; folding stools were provided in the mess tent, which just held the party. Close under our tents were the riding horses and sumpter mules, which carried the luggage and tents, and round the whole were the guards supplied from the village. Sometimes the necessity of the locality compelled the tents to be pitched on a slope, rendering the beds even more irksome than ordinary: sometimes there was long grass both inside and outside the tents: at early

dawn there was hideous ambulatory music of pipes, and cymbals, and hand bells, to rouse up the inmates of the tents, at least those who were able to sleep. Before the dressing was finished, the active tent-pitchers were removing the walls of our migratory huts, and, while we were taking our hasty breakfasts, the mules were being loaded, and the toil of the day for man and beast commenced. Nothing but the rudest health, and the greatest determination, would carry a Cook-excursionist through Palestine. On you must go, whatever ailments you may have: it is unpleasant even to think, what would happen in the case of a broken leg or arm, or a severe illness. Most of the tourists were pledged to leave Beirút on a particular date after the completion of the Palestine-tour, so as to work their way to Smyrna and Constantinople; so, under no circumstances could the camp be stopped, any more than the revolution of a planet, without putting the whole solar system out of gear. These considerations pressed very heavily upon me the night before I left Jerusalem, and the ominous prophecies regarding the weather were not calculated to cheer. However, there is nothing so successful as success, and I am bound to say, that the wheels of the machine revolved with unerring accuracy, and we all arrived safe and well at Damascus.

As the country becomes more settled, it is probable, that small hotels will be opened, and rest-houses erected along the main line of communication from Jerusalem to Damascus; already hotels have sprung up at Jaffa, Ramla, and at Jericho, and there are excellent hotels at Damascus and Beirút. It may be hoped, that some attention will be paid to roads. No doubt it is a difficult country for locomotion. I have travelled extensively in North India, both hill and plain, up to the Satlaj beyond Simla, and into the valley of Kashmír, and I never experienced anything so bad as the road tracks in Palestine. The hills are of iron; the villages at considerable distances apart; trees can scarcely be said to exist: with the exception of the Jordan in its deep bed below the level of the Mediterranean, there are no rivers.

Some notice should be made of the midday halt: romantic youth may dream of repairing, when the sun is hot,

> To one lone grot, embedded in the hill
> By the tall pine, and near the sparkling rill.

Such are not the realities of a Cook-excursionist: if there is not too much cow-dung, he may be thankful. A grinning crowd of boys and girls, calling for *bakshish*, does not help the appetite: dry food spread upon a dusty carpet does not tempt the stomach. After the repast followed a miserable attempt to get forty winks of sleep under an umbrella, stretched upon rocks, or dusty earth, so far better than the gridiron in the tent, in that there were no cross bars, and there was a possibility of stretching. Just, however, as sleep

was won, the detestable trumpet used to sound, and we had to mount.

The party halted a day at Jericho to give time for an excursion to the Dead Sea, where the youngest and most adventurous bathed; all then moved on to the Jordan, and halted two hours at the reputed place, where the Israelites crossed, and then returned to their encampment. The next day was a heavy one: passing under the towering heights of the Mountain of Temptation, we could see the caves once occupied by eremites, and could discern one or two occupants, who find a home there to this day. The ascent of the mountain to the central table-land then commenced, and the line of advance of the Israelites to Ai and Bethel was followed: at the latter place the main line of road from Jerusalem to Damascus was reached, and after a halt of two hours the party plodded on, until they reached their camp at Sinjil, on an elevation over against Shiloh, from which a view was commanded of the Mediterranean. At early dawn the march recommenced to Shiloh, and thence to Jacob's Well, and the Tomb of Joseph at Nablús, the ancient Shechem. An excursion was made to the top of Mount Gerízim; and the magnificent panorama was commanded of the whole of Palestine, for the snows of Hermon appeared on the North, the Mountain of Moab on the South, the dark mountains of Gilead and Bashan on the East, and the Mediterranean on the West.

This is a proof, how ridiculously small Palestine is, when contrasted with the large place, which it occupies in religious and secular history. When Solomon ruled the united kingdom, he only occupied the position of a petty Indian Rája, at the mercy, for his existence, of the great kingdoms on the banks of the Nile, or the Tigris and Euphrates. Jerusalem with all its heart-stirring interests, under Solomon or under Herod the Great, was never more than a petty local capital, and the Temple, whether in its first, second, or third form, could never be compared with the Egyptian or Assyrian Temples, or the great Temple at Baalbek. I remember, when I traversed Palestine in 1852, fresh from the annexation of the Panjáb, arriving at the conclusion, that the whole country from Dan to Beersheba would barely form two good-sized Districts in area, and such must have been the case always. I looked with astonishment at the barrenness of the country: no works of irrigation, even if water existed, would make much of these hard rocks: the reports of its ancient fertility and vast populations must be an egotistic exaggeration. We know, from the contemplation of Egypt, what a fertile and populous country it is, ever was, and ever will be. A fat country cannot help being fat, and population follows fatness, just as vultures follow a carcase. It is well to consider this, as this country will give the Great Powers of Europe a great deal of trouble still. It never can hope to be independent. It does not possess

a single staple of export, or any manufacture; there are no elements of self-government, no hope for the future, and yet there is a nice sunny population, a cheerful and sweet-spoken people, whom I could have been delighted to rule over and should have learnt to love, and I cannot say so much for the Egyptians.

From Gerízim and Nablús we visited the ruins of old Samaria, or Sebaste, situated on a lordly hill, and by the rows of columns, which have survived and stand up in the fields, testifying to its former greatness. Descending into the valley, we again rose up to the high level, and had a view of the Mediterranean; further on we emerged from the Mountains of Samaria, and pitched on the very edge of the great plain of Esdraélon. Jenin must always have been a place of importance, as it holds the mountain-gorge, which leads into Samaria. As we advanced Northwards, we had the glittering snows of Hermon more and more in our sight, but now we sighted Mount Tabor, the hills behind Nazareth, and Mount Carmel, and the rich country of Galilee was before us, which was, and is, productive of agricultural wealth, but depending on the seasons. Even well-informed modern writers have allowed themselves great licence in describing the wealth and population of Galilee: but the practised eye of the Indian Revenue-Officer, who has spent years amidst the teeming and industrious populations of Northern India, who has dwelt in tents amidst an annual wealth of cereals, saccharines, and oils, thinks poorly of the profits, and rent, and State-Revenue, to be raised from the lands of a Syrian village, few and far between as they are, while in an Indian District twenty towns or villages and hamlets can be counted from any eminence. In Palestine there are no forests or mango-trees, or Mowha: not even the date-palm, which ravished the eye at every turn of the river in Egypt. I counted three palms in the city of Jerusalem, and I scarcely recollect any others: at any rate they were not a feature of the landscape, as they are all along the North of Africa from Egypt to Morocco. It is easy to say, that the forests have been cut down, and have altered the climate. I doubt whether they ever existed. At any rate Solomon had to send to Lebanon to get timber for his Temple, and in modern times ships bring timber from Europe even for the construction of private dwellings.

The authors of the historical and poetical books of the Bible wrote as honest men with the knowledge of their time: they had no acquaintance with Geography at all, and little with History, and they fell into the common and patriotic error of overvaluing their own country, the greatness of their favourite sovereign Solomon, and the vastness of the population and resources of the people, over whom he ruled. The Hindu authors with greater reason fell into the same snare, and the modern Chinese and French

people labour under the *same* weakness. I doubt, whether any one has ever been an hour in the company of a Frenchman without being *told*, that France was the finest country in the world. The Hebrew writers had just the same spirit, and it is only those, who have had the opportunity of looking into their resources, and twice making a deliberate progress through their country, not in a railway-train or a coach, but in long country-rides, can realize, how entirely contrary to facts, past and present, such ideals are. The country is a poor country: it never would pay the expense of occupation. It might be made over without a pang, by treaty or arbitration, to any foreign Government, perhaps the Russian, as that nation has a taste for absorbing unremunerative territories, while Great Britain never takes a country, which does not pay, either as a colony for emigration, or as a consumer of manufactures, or as a self-supporting kingdom, like India.

I do not write this in a scoffing or doubting spirit. I have an intelligent, and entire belief in the Inspiration of Holy Scriptures, that the hand of a mere mortal was guided as to the manifestation of things beyond mortal ken, but was allowed to make use of the degree of human knowledge, or imperfect knowledge, which he shared with his contemporaries, with regard to objects around him: if he had not been so, his utterances would not have been intelligible. When I read in the forty-eighth Psalm that "Mount "Zion was the Joy of the whole earth, and that God will establish "it for ever," and in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, "Is this the "City, which men call the perfection of Beauty, the Joy of the "whole Earth?" I believe, that the Psalmist in the one case, and the Prophet in the other, whose Geographical and Historical knowledge was restricted, wrote as they felt, expressed themselves in the same way in which good people to this day describe a person as "the best of men, the bravest of the brave." They did not anticipate, that an uncritical age would take their words "au pied de lettres."

If the whole is taken as a prophecy of the New Jerusalem, I bow to such an interpretation, though the words do not justify it; but I do *protest* against the whole handful of mediæval fancies still lingering among pious and ignorant people, that Hebrew was the language of Paradise, and the mother of all languages: that Moses wrote the Law in the Square Hebrew Character: that the Afghâns and Irish are descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel: that Palestine at any time was a powerful kingdom: that David and Solomon were any more than small dependent Sovereigns on Assyria, or Babylon, or Egypt: that the Temple in all its glory was anything to be compared with Karnak, or Nineveh. With one doubtful exception not a single Inscription has come down to us of a Hebrew origin, from a period, in which Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian abound, when the Moabites and Hittites are not unrepresented.

The great, sole, and unequalled merit of the Hebrew race was, that to them were committed the Oracles of God: the overwhelming and unrivalled blessing of this tiny Country was, that in the fullness of Time within its borders the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, and the awful scenes of the Great Passion at Jerusalem were accomplished: and this is enough to sanctify it in the eyes of all Christians as long as the World lasts.

From Jenin we crossed the plain of Esdraêlon and the Brook Kishon, a waterless river-bed at that season of the year, to Jezreel, which contained the vineyard of Naboth, and passed on to Shunam, the scene of the miracle of Elijah, and round the hills to Nain, the scene of our Lord's miracle: from this point we struck across the valley, and climbed the steep and rugged slope which leads to Nazareth, at which place the camp halted for two nights to give a Sabbath day's rest to the wearied party. There is much to interest here: there is a magnificent orphanage founded, and ably managed, by an English Society, and a medical establishment belonging to a Scotch Society, and a Mission of the Church of England, with a native church and schools. The Greek and Roman Church, ever in rivalry, have here strong establishments. The Greeks maintain, that the angel met the Virgin Mary at a fountain, as she was drawing water, and have built a chapel over the spot: the Latins maintain, that the Virgin was seated inside a cave, in a small house built within it, when the angel came through the window, and they have built a chapel over it. In both these legends we have an echo of old Pagan myths, as apparitions of deities and nymphs always take place at a fountain or in a cave. In Palestine, according to the Latins, everything was done in caves. Even in the heart of the city of Jerusalem, the mother of the Virgin gave birth to the Virgin in a cave. At Nazareth a still wilder legend has been accepted: that, when the Mahometans conquered the Holy Land, angels lifted the little house, or rather room, in which the Annunciation took place, out of the cave at Nazareth, and conveyed it across the sea to Loretto, near Ancona, in Italy, stopping at three places on the road, and dropping their burden for short periods. However, in the Latin chapel at Nazareth, and in the holy house at Loretto, it is equally asserted, that in that place the Word was made Flesh. I took the trouble to visit Loretto after my first visit to the Holy Land, and immediately before my second, and looked well into the subject, and bought all the accounts sold on the spot. I cannot but think, that this is one of the wildest legends, that the fancy of mankind has ever given birth to; it exceeds all the Titanesque conceptions of the Hindu mythologists, and rests upon the weakest testimony, and yet pious and good men believe it, and after Banáras, Jagarnáth and Mekka, it is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the world.

From Nazareth we rode to Cana of Galilee, and thence descended

to Tiberias, on the shores of the Lake of Gennesareth, passing by many spots of great interest. The scenery is very beautiful, and as the next day there was no wind, we crossed the lake in boats with oar and sail to Tel Húm, which is supposed to represent Capernaum. The weather was beautiful, and we had fine views of the shores of the lake, which is six hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, though six hundred feet above the level of the Dead Sea, into which its waters flow by the valley of the Jordan. We encamped at a solitary spot with a fountain, said to represent Bethsaida. The next morning our faces were turned to Mount Hermon, which towered above us, and leaving Safet, the city built on a hill on our left, we plodded on, always ascending, until, at a certain spot, we had our last look of the Lake of Gennesareth, and our first on the Lake of Merom, near which we encamped, over against the snowy height of Hermon, and we could see across the valley Banias, our next night's encampment, but a marshy country intervened, round which we had to advance next day. We reached the tiny stream, which represents the river Jordan, as it issues from the valley betwixt Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon: we crossed it by a bridge, and encamped at Banias in sufficient time to make an afternoon-excursion up the stiff hill, on which the celebrated Castle of Cæsarea Philippi is fixed. We had, in fact, passed through Dan, and were beyond the limits of the Promised Land, and under the heights of Hermon in Syria proper. Our eyes could see at sunset far down into Galilee, and it was our parting view, and thankful we felt for the beautiful weather, which had accompanied us; and, as the road of next day lay over a branch of Hermon, which was often blocked by snow, we were glad to be assured, that up to sunset it was open.

Several roads lead from the headwaters of Jordan to Damascus. The pilgrim-route from Jerusalem to that city crosses the Jordan, by a bridge at the spot, where the river leaves Lake Merom, and traverses the region of the Haurán. From Banias, which we had reached, one route followed the course of the Jordan up stream into the valley of the Bekáa to Hasbiya and Rasheiya, and joins the great high road from Beirút to Damascus. We followed another route: we crossed the steep shoulder of the mountains South of Hermon, which forms the watershed of the Jordan and the rivers of Damascus. It was hard work, but we reached the top at last, and came upon a fine view of the regions beyond Jordan, and descending, we stopped to lunch on the banks of the river Pharphar, and encamped at our last station, still under the Eastern slope of Mount Hermon, the village of Kefr Hawar. It was with feelings of devout thankfulness, that we left our hateful beds at an early hour next morning, and cantered our weary steeds over a flat plain into Damascus, passing the spot indicated as the scene of the Conversion of St. Paul. As we advanced, we caught sight of the minarets and

trees of the beautiful capital of Syria: we then passed from our wild tracks over mountains and plains into the excellent road constructed by the French from Beirút to Damascus: we were soon in the midst of gardens, and on the banks of the River Abana, and what was more to the purpose, returned to the decencies and comforts of life in the excellent hotel Victoria, where we found decent beds, comfortable and quiet rooms, and a feeling of painful anxiety, which had accompanied me on the whole journey from Jerusalem, disappeared. I for one determined never again to bestride a Syrian horse, or sleep in a Syrian tent, or be one of a personally conducted party in camp again. It is a good bridge, that gives a safe passage over a river, but a traveller may be pardoned, if he is not willing to cross that good bridge a second time. It took me more than two months to recover from the effects of that camp, and to regain my usual unbroken health and condition. I can well imagine, that with some constitutions and with bad weather, it might lay the seeds of serious malady. Owing to the magnificent weather, and excellent table arrangements, and the perfect discipline of the camp servants, none of our party suffered, though all were glad when it was over.

But before leaving a personally conducted Tourist party, let me say a word as to the component parts of this particular party. We were eleven in number, with three ladies, four Citizens of the United States, and four English gentlemen. The two married couples had each a tent to themselves, two gentlemen were in one tent, three in another; one gentleman paying an extra £5 had a separate tent, with a star and stripes flag at the top; one lady had a separate tent without payment, as there was no other mode of disposing of her. She was, indeed, the evil genius of the party, for, having no lawful protector, she threw herself on the protection of the unattached gentlemen, and, when their aid failed, she monopolized the European conductor. There was more trouble about putting her into her saddle, and lacing up her boots, than in anything else, from Dan to Beersheba, and I regret to say that she was English. The American travellers, three of whom were ordained Ministers, were delightful, but we had the misfortune of having no American ladies. If there is anything in this world more charming than usual, it is the American girl from Philadelphia, or San Francisco, or Ohio, in her native beauty and simplicity. As it was, the English and Americans in our camp carried on one continuous interchange of witticisms, and friendly attacks on each other. We had spread-eagleism, and aristocratic hauteur, pitted against each other, and all parted with mutual esteem, hoping against hope to meet again.

I marked but little improvement in the city of Damascus since my last visit, though it had been the scene of awful events, the massacre of the Christian population, and the vengeance enforced

upon the fanatic Mahometans by the Great European Powers. The road running from Beirút to Damascus, and the daily stage coach, were great facts: to this must be added the telegraph, good supplies of water, widened bazaars, and a few hired carriages, which could find their way through the streets notwithstanding the camels, which were still allowed within the walls. Of the four great Mahometan cities, Constantinople, Cairo, Damascus and Tunis, the last is the only one, which still retains its pure Oriental character: the first two have lost it altogether, and Damascus will probably soon lose it. The native houses still retain their singular and romantic, though rather comfortless, beauty. In the cold weather they seemed charming, but I thought of them in the hot weather: the fountains bubbling up on the centre of the court-yard, and supplying means of bathing, washing and drinking, seemed charming, until I gathered, that the water all came from the same source by a system of waterworks, and is passed by pipes through the city from fountain to fountain, and that the practice prevailed of bathing in the fountains, so that the drinking-water of the Christian quarters had already served as the bathing-water of the Mahometan quarter. I am afraid, that a Hindu would scarcely like that: we should not like it in London, if the cisterns of each house were channels of the water of our neighbours instead of being separate reservoirs filled up daily from the main-pipe for our use: but there is no bubbling up of free currents of the waters in London-cisterns, as there is in charming Damascus.

Christians are permitted now to enter the great Mosque, which is an old Christian Church, and the sooner, that it is restored to the Greek Church, the better. The bazaars are thronged with a busy and peaceful population: there are special and valuable manufactures, and a daily train of baggage carts cover the road between Damascus and its seaport, Beirút. A great deal might be made by a strong European Government out of the united Provinces of Lebanon and Damascus: there are ample natural resources, an industrious people, and a sufficient sea-port. Progress had been made since the European Powers asserted their authority in 1860, and, if the hateful and baneful Turkish rule were swept away, and replaced by a firm and sympathetic Government, powerful to punish, and yet wise enough to leave the people alone, which is the secret of our success in India, these Provinces would be developed, and some day a more secure route for commerce would be found eastward of Damascus to the Euphrates and beyond. There is good hope for Syria, but little or none for Palestine; and as for the regions beyond the Jordan, they are still only Geographical expressions, so heavily has the dead hand of Turkey pressed upon them.

At Damascus I took my leave of the personally-conducted party, forfeiting my interest in the next week's arrangements. I had had

enough of it: I secured seats in the daily coach across the Lebanon ranges to Beirút. Without a sigh I saw my former companions mount their steeds, and start off to Baalbek. Snow was in the air, and fell before night: the travellers, who reached Damascus that evening from Beirút, told us of the heavy snow in Lebanon: the long-expected change of weather had come, and I hugged myself, as I went comfortably to bed, and thought of my friends again on their gridiron-beds in their tents, no longer in warm valleys, but up in the snowy Lebanon, far above the level of the Mediterranean, in the cold month of March. We all met again at the end of the week in the hotel at Beirút, and I then heard of their sufferings, and of the snow and the cold, and I was thankful, that I had been prudent; I had already seen Baalbek, and no change whatsoever had come over it in the last thirty years, and that was all that they saw.

A long day in the front compartment of the coach conveyed me from Damascus to Beirút. I crossed over the range of Anti-Lebanon in snow, and dipped down into the valley of Bekaa, or Cœle-Syria, and then rose again to cross the lofty range of Lebanon, again in snow. From the crest of the mountains I had a grand view of the Mediterranean, and the low lands betwixt the range and the sea, and Beirút glittered in the centre of the picture. The picture was truly magnificent, as I drove along the scientifically constructed road, turning and twisting, but always at a great pace. At length I reached Beirút, and was turned out at the Office of the French Company, to whom the concession of the road has been made. I was soon in a comfortable hotel facing the Mediterranean with the prospect of six days' rest, till the arrival of a steamer, which would convey us to Alexandria, in time for the Indian Mail steamer to Brindisi on the 3rd of April. It was, indeed, a comfort to feel, that I had worked out my programme, and that there was nothing more to be done.

Beirút proved to be a place most agreeable for a sojourn: the climate was delightful, the views of Mount Lebanon pass all description, and there is a considerable European and American community and a crowd of educational establishments, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek. The hotel was delightfully situated; all the houses of Beirút are built on one model, two-storied, with large central saloons, and smaller rooms opening out. In the hotel there was a continual change of pleasant society: here, again, I met Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and the Princes of Sweden; I found English Officers buying horses for the army in Egypt, and tourists going to and fro of all nationalities. One day I drove up to one of the beautiful hill-stations on the slopes of Lebanon. I have seen the mountains of Switzerland, and of Norway, and the Himaláya, but the beauty of this scenery is intensified by the blue Mediterranean: the people seem industrious and happy. Since the

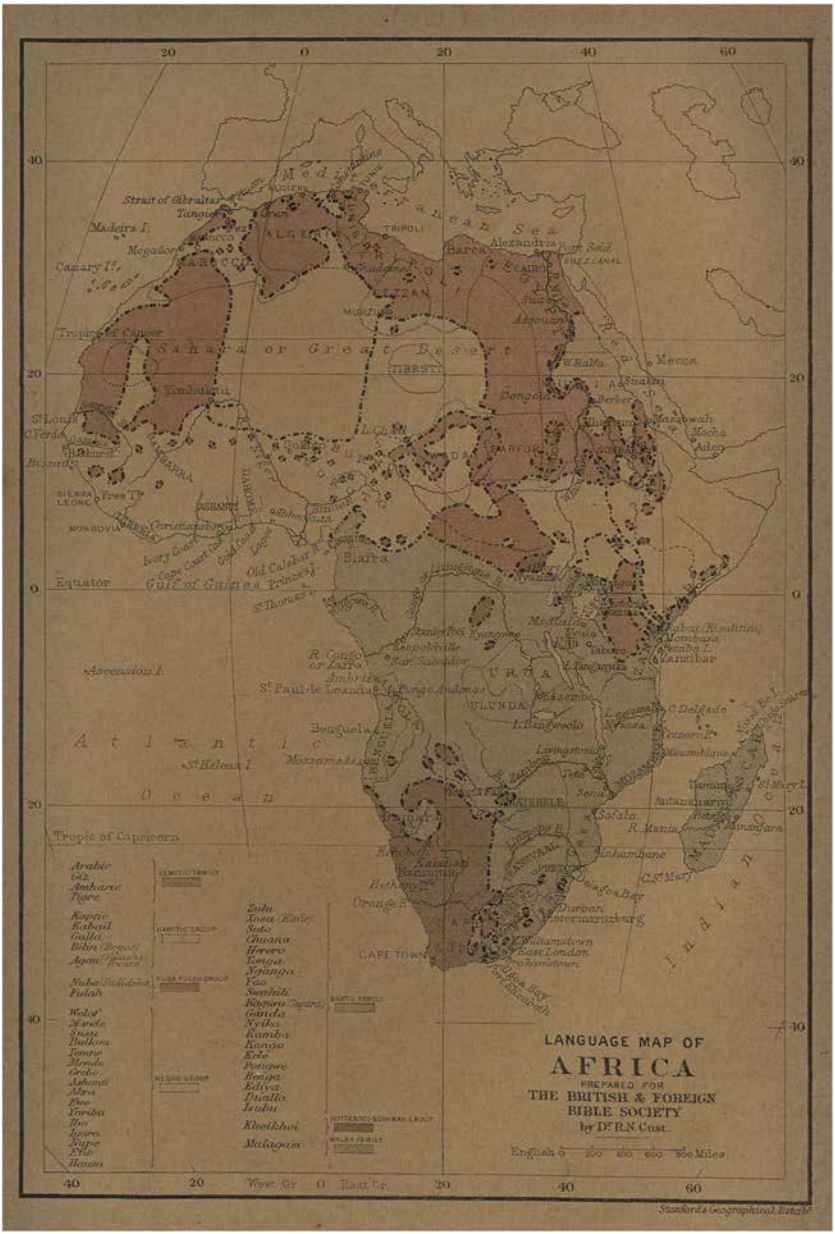
year 1860, the Governor of the Lebanon is only appointed with the sanction of the Great Powers, who are represented by Consul-Generals. Thus no serious oppression can take place in the Lebanon Provinces, though all progress is arrested by the apathy, and suspicion, and ignorance of the first principles of Government, which distinguish a Turkish Official, even the most benevolent.

It cannot escape observation, that France looks upon herself as the natural successor to the Province of Syria, including Palestine, when the sick man dies. Austria would appropriate European Turkey, and occupy the coveted sea-port of Saloníka; Russia would overrun Asia Minor; Great Britain, in an evil day, has set the example by occupying Egypt, and it is not clear, in what way it can rid itself of this dangerous and profitless possession. The disappearance of the Turkish Empire would produce a mighty change. The Republic of France, while oppressing the Roman Catholic establishments within France and its Colonies, makes use of them in foreign countries, in Asia and Africa, as skilled and crafty agents for obtaining influence. The Roman Catholic Religion everywhere clings to the support of the secular arm, and is ready to repay the service of French protection by the schools and hospitals and printing presses, which they establish. Thus in Beirút the two largest buildings are under the French flag, the great establishment of the Jesuits, and the Convent of the Ladies of Nazareth. There are other Roman Catholic hospitals and schools, teaching the French language, inspiring French ideas, and impressing on the rising generation, that France is the head of civilization, and the most favoured of heaven. The same kind of thing is going on from different centres in the villages, which glisten on the slopes of Lebanon. The priests and nuns must have a pleasant time of it: the Maronite Church has submitted to Rome, preserving its autonomy. The French Consul-General is ever active in extending his political prestige, and, as mentioned above, the road, and all the commercial communications with Damascus, are in the hands of the French. To this energy the British Government attempts to offer no resistance; Russia and Austria have no pretence to interfere. The British Syrian schools were started a quarter of a century ago by four English ladies, sisters, and have obtained a great development both in Beirút, Damascus, and all over Lebanon, but they have no political position or aspirations, except so far that they with success teach the English language and Protestant doctrines, and bring thousands under their influence. By their side, working with the same benevolent object, but entirely devoid of all political object, is the great Mission of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of North America. They have schools, printing presses, chapels, and a college with several faculties, specially a medical faculty: they give every class of instruction, and use the English language: they have existed more than forty years, have translated

the whole Bible into Arabic, and exert a great influence both in Beirút and in Lebanon. It appears to be a special Providence, which has so ordained, that the French Roman Catholic's political tendencies should be thus checked and counterbalanced by the single-minded labours of Protestant Americans, who cannot in the least be charged with political aspirations. There will be two parties or camps in the Lebanon Province; one leaning to French Roman Catholicism, and the other leaning to English-speaking Protestantism. It will be interesting to watch the phenomena, which will develope themselves. The American Mission is spread all along the Syrian coast and into Lebanon, and in Damascus is supplemented by an Irish Presbyterian Mission, of which the chief member is an American. The English language and Protestant Christianity is thus amply represented by Presbyterianism in Syria, as it is by Episcopalianism in Palestine, in direct antagonism to the Frenchifying Romanizing efforts of their rivals. As a rule the French allow of no education whatever being given in their Colonies except by French licensed teachers: the protection of France means, the extinction of all other educational efforts. In the Districts of the Gabún, in West Africa, the American Missionaries have found this difficulty: in Madagascar, this difficulty is anticipated and feared by British Missionaries.

Thus ended a Tour of twelve weeks, for the road home, from Beirút to London, which occupies about one week, requires no notice. There is a freshness and novelty and interest in such Tours, which cannot be found in the beaten tracks of Europe. It may be of practical interest to state, that nine thousand miles were travelled at a cost of three hundred and fifty pounds for two persons; that everything was paid beforehand in London, the traveller being supplied by a series of tickets, which secure him all he wants on the way.

LONDON, JUNE, 1885.


LANGUAGE MAP OF
AFRICA
PREPARED FOR
THE BRITISH & FOREIGN
BIBLE SOCIETY
by Dr R.N. Cust
Atlantic Ocean
Indian Ocean
Sahara or Great Desert
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Arabic
Amharic
Tigre
Koptic
Kabail
Galla
Bilin
Agow
Nuba
Fulah
Wolof
Mande
Susu
Bullom
Temne
Mende
Grebo
Akwapim
Akra
Ibo
Yoruba
Ibo
Igara
Igbe
Efik
Hausa
Zulu
Xosa-Kafir
Suto
Chuana
Herero
Tonga
Nyanga
Yao
Swahili
Kingani
Ganda
Nyika
Kamba
Konga
Kiziba
Pongwe
Benga
Edya
Dualla
Isubu
Khoikhoi
Malagasy
Semitic Family
Hamitic Group
Nuba-Fulah Group
Negro Group
Bantu Family
Hottentot-Bushman Group
Malay Family
English 0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles
Stanford's Geographical Estab.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.*

Light has shone in on every side of the Dark Continent, and it is possible now to give a sketch of the languages, spoken by the unknown millions who inhabit it, which would have been entirely out of the power of the most learned of the last generation. It is possible, that what is written now will be deemed incorrect or insufficient by the men of the next generation, who will stand upon my shoulders, making use, without acknowledgment, of the results of my labours, and laughing without pity at my mistakes. Be it so. It may help those scholars and critics, who are still in their cradles or their boarding-schools, if I throw a linguistic net over this vast Continent, and place on record what is known as to the varieties of living speech now spoken by the black, yellow, and brown children of the soil.

Homer tells us, that the generations of men are like the leaves of the forest. The similitude applies still more to the languages of men. In one sense nothing is so transitory as the life of a language; from another point of view nothing is so enduring, so imperishable as the words of a language. Languages have come into existence, and have melted away like drifting snow: in Asia and in Egypt, thanks to the art of the scribe, some *débris* of these extinct languages have come down to us on the painted or engraved clay and stone, or the papyrus: the pronunciation, and possibly the ordinary phraseology of the people have passed away for ever: on the other hand, the three consonants K, T and B conveyed to Moses and his hearers, the idea of "writing" and a "book," and they convey that idea to millions of Arabs, Turks, Persians, Hindu, and Malay still. Of what was spoken by men during the six centuries preceding the Christian era, and subsequently, in Asia, Europe and Egypt, we are informed, and we thence know, what manner of men they were, but of the language of the people of Africa during these long silent centuries we know nothing more

* A translation of this Essay was published at Paris in 1885 in the French language, and the same year at Milan in Italian.

than we do of the humming of their insects, and the howling of their wild beasts. This is a solemn thought: generations of men have lived in vain, if life is measured by the invention of an art, or the propagation of an idea. In imagination we can depicture them migrating through their grand forests, huddled together in their straw huts, fighting their cruel fights, dancing their wild dances, and giving way to their cruel customs of cannibalism, human sacrifices, and bloody ordeals; but of the form of words, which they uttered, the phraseology in which they addressed their divinities, their fellow-men, or their families, we know nothing.

The languages, which Herodotus heard spoken in Egypt, died away before the Christian era; and with the death of the Coptic, a few centuries back, perished the last echo of the vehicle of ideas of that nation, which was the earliest carver of Ideographs on rocks, and the inventor of Alphabetic symbols. The Mahometan invasion of North Africa swept away all traces of the languages and civilization of the great Phenician colony, and drove into the background the language of the Numidians and Mauretanians. These nations submitted to Rome and Carthage, but at least the remnants of their Hamitic languages have outlived the proud languages of their conquerors, for no remnant of Latin, or of Phenician, has survived in Africa, except in the shape of Inscriptions, or chance words. No neo-Latin or neo-Phenician language has come into existence to perpetuate the memory of the foreign conqueror or colony. To the Semitic immigration from Arabia across the Red Sea a longer existence has been given, and the languages of Abyssinia still represent a certain amount of culture. But beyond, over all the rest of the Continent, there is not a vestige of Antiquity, not a Monument, not an Inscription, not a Manuscript, not a record of the past, except the oral legends of the tribes and their customs: not a specimen of art, except the cave-paintings of the Bushman: not an evidence of Religion, except the weird and reflected light of the Mahometan invaders across the Sahára, or the crosses, bells and church ornaments left by the Roman Catholic Missionaries in the time of the Portuguese supremacy in Kongo and Mozambík, and now used as fetishes by a people, who have relapsed into heathendom and barbarism.

In enumerating the languages of Africa we have thus to deal with the present, and the present alone; how the four great Groups South of the Sahára got into their present position, we cannot say: we can only deal with them as they are, mark the unmistakeable phenomena, which are discovered, and by the process of cautious and warrantable induction, pierce back to a certain extent into an unknown, or dimly discernible, past. In prefaces to Grammars, written by unpractised hands, or notices about languages in works of travel, astonishment is expressed, and the

difficulty of their task is magnified, because the language is an unwritten one, and because it has not been subjected to rules of grammarians. Now the fact is, that the great majority of languages are unwritten, and that the difficulty is felt only in starting and soon got over, and writers on the subject of languages, which are written in Characters peculiar to themselves, unreasonably enlarge upon the difficulty of mastering the Character, which in fact is only felt for a few months. In most countries the ordinary speech of the people is unwritten, and all correspondence and literature are in a separate literary language, such as Persian was once in India, or in a special literary dialect, such as to this day is used in Bangál.

As to the assertion that grammarians formed a language, it is sheer nonsense. Did grammarians or the early Hellenic poets, form Greek? The grammatical features of a language develope themselves according to the genius of the people, and it is impossible to say, why or how this took place. No rules of grammarians could stop the process or accelerate it: it is a great wonder, but such it is. Renan has written that, after ten years more of study, he adheres to his original opinion, that the language of the tribe comes into existence *as the result of a single blow of the enchanter's wand*, and springs instantaneously from the genius of each race. The invention of language is not the result of a long and patient series of experiments, but of a primitive intuition, which reveals to each race the general outline of the form of the vehicle of speech, which suits them, and the great intellectual compromise which they must take, once and *once for all*, as the means of conveying their thoughts to others.

We may also remove from consideration the theory, that nations pass through a kind of progression in the organic development of their language. The Chinese never had a grammar, and have none still. The Semitic languages had an imperfect organism from the beginning, and have it still. Language springs completely armed from the human intellect. History does not present a single instance of a nation finding a defect in its language, and taking a new one deliberately: it is true that, as time goes on, under the influence of civilization and contact with other nations, a language acquires more grace and sweetness, and is developed more upon its original lines, but its vital principle, or its soul, is fixed for ever. If this be admitted, we must accept another fact, that far from modern languages being the development of a more simple original, the contrary is the case, and all are agreed, that in the earliest period of the history of some tribes, they used a language, which is synthetic, obscure, and so complicated, that it was the object and effort of succeeding generations to free themselves from it, and adopt a vulgar tongue, which is, indeed, not a new idiom, but a transformation of the old one.

The remark is made by many that, because the Zúlu language is highly developed, accurate, and full, and the people who use it are savages, therefore the race must have once possessed a higher civilization, which is now lost, and that the perfection of the language can be in no other way explained. It would be a great and mischievous error to accept such a conclusion. The Zúlu race have still their national life to live, and they are not the survivals of an extinct civilization. Far from being surprised at the wonderful native luxuriance, as of wild flowers, of uncultivated languages spoken by a savage people, we must accept it as a well-recognized phenomenon. The further we trace back language, with some few exceptions, the greater the wealth we find in its forms: as it grows older, it throws them off. Business, and the necessity of economy of time, compel the speakers to do so; if it dies away from the lips of men, like the Sanskrit and Latin, the new languages, which spring like a Phœnix from its ashes, do without the synthetic forms, and use substitutes. Doubt as we may, and argue as we like, there must be a vitality in the intellect of a race, endowed with a power of clothing ideas in word-forms, and a logical completeness of thought, acting unconsciously and working through the whole diapason of sound and orbit of reason, and all without any self-consciousness, and without the operators being aware of the work, which they are guided by reason to do. Thus it has come to pass that nations, hopelessly separated by centuries of years and thousands of miles, unconsciously arrive at the use of the same forms. At the first glance, the first man, who takes notes of the vocables, which are used by those around him in Central Africa, records with surprise, that the savages have a grammar to their language: as grammar is but the marshalling of words, which are but the representatives of ideas, it is no more wonderful, that he has a grammar, than that he has gymnastics, or a marshalling of the limbs, which are a distinct representation of ideas. And if the idea is thoroughly grasped, of certain natural processes of clothing ideas in words and sentences being inherent in the unassisted human intellect, all vain attempts at finding affinities betwixt races, which never have possibly come into contact, may be lightly brushed aside for the simple reason, that the creative genius of each tribe drew upon the intellectual materials, which were the common property of the human race.

Let it not be supposed, that the study of languages of savage races, while still as it were in solution, and unfettered by the bondage of contemporary literature, or the recorded testimony of monumental Inscriptions and Papyri, is useless, and leads to no further knowledge of the history of the human race, which is after all the end and object of all Science. On the contrary, it is priceless. It is the voice crying from the wilderness:

"We are men, the same in weakness, strength and passions as "you are; we are men, such as your ancestors were before the "dawn of civilization; we are men, who may become such as you "are, if we have but the chance given to us; we have held our own "against the beasts of the forest and the river; we have founded "communities, established customs with the force of law: we "have unconsciously developed languages and dialects, differentiated, "by delicate tests; some of them, like the Bántu, controlled by "euphonic laws, rivalling those of the great Arian race; some of "them, like the language of Hottentot and Bushman, disgraced "by clicks, which are alien from human speech, and belong to the "brute rather than to the man." Such considerations rouse the deepest sympathy in the heart of the philanthropist and the philosopher: in tapping these sealed fountains, he approaches nearer to the sources of the human intellect; he catches, as it were, Nature alive, and drops a lead into deep waters, when there is still no bottom.

The mere perusal of the names of the languages known, partially known, or totally unknown, while there exists a certainty of there being scores of languages, of which the names even are unknown, ought to deter speculators from lightly discussing the problem of the origin of language, and induce them to remit that momentous question to the next generation, which, at least, will have more abundant materials, upon which a judgment may be formed. We can but argue from the known to the unknown, and the past can only be deciphered by a careful examination of existing phenomena. How can we presume to speculate upon the laws, which regulated the growth and decay of languages two thousand years ago in the dim twilight of History, while we neglect the study of what is happening under our eyes, if we open them? How profound is the lesson, that may be learnt from the examination of the reasons, why and how, a certain portion only, and that portion the strongest and most independent, of the great Bántu family, adopted the clicks of the debased Bushman? How, came it about, that members of tribes so closely allied as the Zúlu and Súto are, by the action of euphonic law, mutually unintelligible, while travellers from one sea to the other across regions never before traversed, from Zanzibar to Kongo, found themselves understood to a certain extent? Questions of the most interesting character offer themselves at every corner of the subject: men of this generation can only look over the precipice, or across the yawning gulf, and wonder how it came about.

Fifty years ago all the information which we possessed, of the languages spoken in Africa at any time since the Creation, might conveniently have been tied up in a small bundle. The old Egyptian had not been deciphered: the Punic and Tifinag Inscriptions had not been discovered. Arabic was generally thought to be

the language of North Africa, for before the conquest of Algeria by the French nothing was known of the indigenous tribes. Of the long stretch of coast from the Red Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, absolutely nothing was known; from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope on the West side, little was known of a practical character South of the Equator, but the existence of grammars and dictionaries of the languages, Bunda and Kongo, prepared two centuries previously by the Portuguese Missionaries, was a recognized bibliographical fact, and a curious sight in large libraries by the side of a few Ethiopic books of the same date and stamp. As to the languages of the Negro race North of the Equator, absolutely nothing was known.

Extensive as have been of late Geographical discoveries (and the geologist, botanist, ethnologist and linguist follow the great explorer, picking up the crumbs), still we cannot say, that we either possess a grasp on the whole linguistic area, or have got possession of the details. The languages of Africa have not yet found their proper place among the languages of the world. No satisfactory description and classification, based upon scientific grounds, has yet been given to the public, though there are some scientific studies of certain portions of the field. The people of Africa belong to a great many totally different races: no wonder, that the distinctness of the difference of their languages from each other is more marked than meets us elsewhere. The confusion of so many, and such distinct, languages in the Northern half of the Continent is so great, that it seems hopeless to let light into the chaos and to classify the separate languages. In Asia and Europe we have the language-traditions of many centuries, and an unbroken supply of monumental or literary evidence: in Africa there is nothing. Such is the recorded opinion of one of the greatest scholars of comparative philology.

It is self-evident, that Africa must have been colonized from North to South: tribes were pushed forward into the interior, and their forms of speech became modified. The procession must have been in a long course of centuries from the North, and the oldest races were pushed to the extreme South, broken up into fragments, which survive in the lowest possible form of human existence, or were totally extinguished. While, on the one hand, the Egyptians occupy the first rank, as the very oldest of nations, which History has preserved to us, on the other hand, neither on the East Coast nor the West, even up to the time of Ptolemy the geographer, did the knowledge of the ancients extend very far. Homer had grasped one fact, that there were Ethiopians on both sides of the Continent towards the rising and the setting sun. The existence of Negroes is placed beyond doubt by the Monuments in Egypt, and it is in Africa alone that the pure Negro is found.

But it would be an error to suppose, that the typical Negro

represented the whole population of Africa, or occupied the largest portion of that Continent. The Ethnologist, who examined the physical features of the races, informs us, that in Africa there are two varieties of woolly-haired races, the fleecy-haired, and the tufted, and that there exist also lank curly-haired races. The linguistic division is sixfold, and, applying it to the Ethnological characteristics above described, we find the following division of the population of Africa:

1. Lank curly-haired races	...	Semitic Family of languages.
2. Ditto Ditto	...	Hamitic Group of languages.
3. Ditto Ditto	...	Nuba-Fulah Group of languages.
4. Woolly, fleecy-haired races	...	Negro Group of languages.
5. Ditto Ditto	...	Bántu Family of languages.
6. Woolly, tuft-haired races	...	Hottentot-Bushman Group of languages.

The use of the words Family and Group is made advisedly with reference to the existence, or non-existence, of proved affinity of the languages of each category to the other, and a presumed descent from a common stock, which can only be asserted of the Semitic and Bántu. A Group is formed of elements not necessarily homogeneous, but it is the only method of discussing a subject of such gigantic proportions as the present.

From the contemporaneous operation of several great causes, the isolation, in which Africa had remained for so many centuries, began half a century ago to be removed. The opening of the Overland Route to India opened out the coast to the Red Sea and Egypt generally, and the fashion began to spread, of making excursions up the Nile. France fixed permanent hold upon Algeria. The resolute, fruitless, but at last triumphant, determination of Great Britain to put down the Slave-trade, drew attention to the West Coast from the River Senegál to the River Kunéne, which had been the great nurseries of the traffic. The occupation of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope as an English Colony, engaged in constant warfare, but always increasing its territory, discovered to the astonished world the existence of the noble savages, called by the name of Káfir. The Portuguese Colonies of Angola on the West, and Mozambík on the East, remained sunk in hopeless decay; but on the East Coast, North of Cape Delgado, the Government of British India, by force of circumstances, and its supremacy in the Persian Gulf, came into contact with the Mahometan Arab State of Zanzibár, ruled over by a younger and dependent branch of the Chief of Muscát. Gradually we became aware, that the Slave-trade was as rampant on the East Coast as on the West, very much owing to the industry and capital of Indian subjects of the Queen of Great Britain, which rendered our interference to stop such a scandal necessary. It will thus be perceived, that a cord was tightening round the whole Continent. Scientific

exploring of unknown regions, and the expansion of Commerce, not always of a legitimate nature, were two of the great factors, which set individuals in motion in the wake of the impetus given by the action of the British Government on the West, South, and North of the Continent.

When peace was restored to Europe in 1815, it was felt, that the time had come to put a stop to the intolerable wrong of the Slave-trade; the people of Great Britain, Germany, and some of the smaller Protestant States of Northern Europe felt, that this was not enough to expiate and atone for the evil done to Africa by our ancestors; it was a second and more insidious evil to pour in at every African port cargoes of rum and firearms; the Missionary spirit, which had been so long dormant in the Christian Church, burst out into a bright flame, and every denomination sent out Missions to Africa: the citizens of the United States of North America joined in this grand crusade. No leave of the Government, to which the Missionaries belonged, was solicited, or was necessary: no licence of Governors of Colonies, or independent chieftains was waited for. The Missionary, male and female, with appliances of Education, Industry, and Civilization, landed at every port, the estuary of every river, in places, where the merchant had not yet sent his agents, among tribes sometimes so fierce, that it required all the meek firmness of Christian men to control their passions, and sometimes so degraded, that nothing but Christian love would induce educated Europeans to associate with them. The history of Missionary enterprise in Africa has still to be written: how many a gallant soldier of Christ lies in an unknown grave, the victim to his zeal and the climate! To the quiet and holy labour of these good men we are indebted for our knowledge of the languages of Africa.

Behind them in the second rank came the great travellers, Horneman, Caillie, Jackson, Minutóli, Salt, and many others of modern days, too many to be enumerated, some of whom walked away into space, and were heard of no more, were perhaps eaten by Savages, or made their solitary moan in some round beehive hut in some pathless jungle, thinking sadly of their Friends and their Home. Then I think of the patient philanthropists, Seetzen, Koëlle, Kilham, Clarke, Tutshek, D'Avezac, Oldendorp, and others, who sat hours in the company of naked ill-flavoured Negroes, trying to extract ideas and words, and Geographical data from brains hardly capable of conceptions beyond the actual wants of the day. I think also of the patient enthusiastic Scholar, often tried by Fever and Dysentery, and warned to fly, yet lingering on until his work was stopped by Death, bearing hardships, and discomforts, of which we can form no conception.

The map of Africa has become so familiar to me, and the history of the labours of the explorer and missionary so present to my

mind that, as these lines flow from my pen, the great drama of Africa, re-discovered and re-conquered, seems to rise as a vision before my eyes. I see the long procession of heroes of modern times, who were not unwilling to jeopardize their lives in the great cause, from the early pioneers, down to Livingstone and Stanley. Some have blamed Livingstone for leaving his narrow and useful Missionary duties, his schools and chapels, his catechists and catechisms, and starting forward to the East and the West and to the North, to reveal the existence of new systems of lakes and rivers, and discover secrets, that had been concealed since the commencement of History; yet he became the great pioneer and the parent of Missions, which sprung up from the drops of sweat, which fell from him in his laborious journeys. Some have blamed the great traveller Stanley for meddling with Missionary matters, which did not fall within his knowledge; and yet the trumpet-tones of his letters from the capital of King Mtesa woke up an echo in Great Britain, and those two great heroes, Livingstone and Stanley, have indirectly advanced our linguistic knowledge of Africa beyond any other living men. And one other trace of character unites them, the deep-rooted sympathy with the people, which irradiates all the narratives of the great Missionary, and many portions of the narratives of the great Traveller. I feel a profound admiration for this great Traveller, who while fighting for the life of himself and his company, uncertain when he should emerge from his Dark Continent, found time to record names and words, and was fortunate enough to bring them safe down the Cataracts. The vision rises before me of the great African plains, the vast rivers, the sad-looking mountains, the villages composed of straw bee-hives, with the palm-tree and the baobab, the prickly pear and the Euphorbia, and the men and women clothed in their simple nakedness, with their fanciful hair-costumes, their spears, and their bows. I see the long row of porters carrying burdens, and the European plodding afterwards, with his attendant carrying his rifle, on foot, or sometimes riding on the back of a man through the swamps, or carried in a rude litter. Sometimes I see in the jungle the long koffle of slaves being marched down to the coast, or the poor broken-down slaves fastened together and left to die, or be eaten before death by wild beasts: and still, in spite of all this cruel oppression, though this unhappy country seems for centuries to have been forgotten by God as well as by man, nothing is more striking than the traces of goodness, light-heartedness and gentleness of character, which seem to crop up on every page of every narrative, and, in spite of the very hopelessness of the case, hope for better things seems to remain. Something must be done to create a sustained interest in Africa; each one of us must feel, that we have a debt to pay back, and an interest to do something to advance our knowledge of this country.

Language has an intimate connexion with the advancement of

Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce: the disclosures made in the course of the study of a language, throw a light upon the social and intellectual characteristics of the people who use it. The appearance of certain words, more or less transformed, in the mouths of a tribe supposed to be cut off from communication with the outer world, tell a tale of some intercourse, which History has not recorded, and the presence and even absence of certain words, has an historical value. That the Pongwe and Kongo languages on the West Coast should have such affinities with the Swahíli on the East Coast, in spite of the pathless regions which lie between, and the total ignorance of the people of sea-faring, is an evidence of unity of origin, which there is no getting over. After all, the commerce of thought is the greatest and oldest form of Commerce, that the World can have known, and no manufacture is older or more wide-spread, or more ingenious, or represents more clearly the line betwixt man and beast, than the manufacture of words, which has been going on without ceasing, ever since the World began.

I do not presume to claim a personal knowledge of any one of the several hundreds of the languages of Africa which pass under review, except Arabic, which is an imported alien. Perhaps it is as well. It is said of a librarian that, if he opens a single book, he is lost, for he is apt to waste upon the *unit* the sympathy and devotion, which is required for *the whole*. I felt this, when some years ago on the languages of the East Indies, knowledge of the languages of the Arian Family was no excuse for a too imperfect knowledge of the Non-Arian, and rather served to make the latter more conspicuous. Besides, the linguist approaches a subject, such as this, with the feelings of a botanist, rather than of a market-gardener. He does not know how to set potatoes or grow them, but he knows the characteristics of the tubers, and the place, which they occupy in the botanical world, and he gathers this knowledge from the pages of esteemed Authorities. My linguistic statements rest, not upon the individual speculation of the writer, but upon the practical collection of facts by Missionaries in the field, classified and arranged by the comparative philologist, Friedrich Müller, of Vienna. In his works "Ethnologie Allgemeine," and "Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft," the whole of Africa is embraced, and placed in its proper place with the rest of the World; but other scholars have entered fully into the distant corners of Africa, Bleek on the languages of the South, and Lepsius and Reinisch on the languages of the North-East; and a great diversity of opinion is found to exist among these learned men, and a great many nuts have to be cracked before any degree of finality can be attained. All that can be done in this generation is provisional. It cannot be said with regard to any subdivision of the subject, that we have at our disposal the material for forming a deliberate opinion. Each traveller has brought home the names of new tribes, speaking

languages unintelligible to his followers, and to their neighbours, a few marches behind or onwards. In some cases a scanty Vocabulary represents all, that we know of the words, and a doubtful entry in a map is all, that we know of the habitat. Now the two elementary requisites for linguistic knowledge of the lowest order are a Language-Map showing the whereabouts of the people, and a Vocabulary of some extent, showing the words which they use, taken down on the spot, or from the lips of individuals, to whom the language was their own proper tongue, in habitual and actual use. In these simple requisites our knowledge of the languages of Africa lamentably fails: we know of the existence of tribes to the East, West, North and South of certain other tribes, and we know, that their language differs from any language known, and that interpreters are necessary, and there our knowledge ceases. We cannot omit mention of the existence of such a language; we presume, that it belongs to the same Group or Family as its neighbours, because we have no proof to the contrary, but the whole subject is uncertain. We have, in short, very much of the same knowledge of the languages of Africa, that a geologist has of the surface of the globe, *i.e.* a tolerably accurate acquaintance with the language of the Coast all round the Continent, with an occasional peep here and there into the interior, and a visionary speculation on the subject of the central region.

The ancient nations of Europe and Asia have left records of their languages, as spoken in old times, in literature or Monumental Inscriptions. With the exception of Egyptian, Ethiopic, Punic, and Tamáshek, Africa has no record of the Past. The seed-plot of all the existing Alphabets of the World is found in the Hieroglyphics of Egypt, but no other native of Africa has devised, adopted, or modified an existing form of writing used elsewhere. The Semitic Family brought with it its well-known form of Character, which spread with the Mahometan Religion to the Hamitic, Fulah, and Negro Groups, and the Swahíli of the Bántu Family. The Ethiopic Syllabarium degenerated into the modern Amháric and Tigré. The old Libyan form of script is known to us only by Monumental Inscriptions, and the modern form has a very limited use. On the West Coast a peculiar form of Syllabic writing was invented not many years ago in the Vei tribe, and excited more interest than it deserved, for it is merely an adaptation of a European method, and not an original conception; and, when once the idea of representing sounds by symbols has been invented, it matters not what the symbols are, so long as they are well understood. The Roman Alphabet, specially modified, has been generally adopted by Missionaries, and will be the ruling written Character of the Continent. From the above remarks it will be gathered that, in considering the languages of Africa, we have no means of comparing the Past with the Present: our task is reduced to ascer-

taining and recording what we find spoken by the people, and reducing the record to such an order of classification, as will harmonize with our previous conceptions of scientific requirements.

The classification of Friedrich Müller is the only one, which embraces the whole Continent, and commends itself to my judgment. It is not universally accepted, being too simple for some, who would seek a classification based on the intricacies of structure, or such grand cardinal features as the absence or presence of distinction of gender. To others it is not simple enough, for they recognize only two elements in the languages of Africa, the alien element of the North, and the indigenous element of the South. There may indeed be some truth at the bottom of this theory, and it may be presumed, that there existed at some remote period, a dark people totally distinct in race and language from the fair people, which invaded the Continent from Asia, coming in succeeding waves, at long intervals, and intermixing with the indigenous race. We can, however, only deal with facts, and Friedrich Müller exhibits these facts with sufficient accuracy in his six Families or Groups recorded above, which I will now proceed to describe in detail, after turning aside for a brief instant to notice the alien languages of Europe and Asia, which have in modern times found their way to the coast, and established themselves permanently, pushing aside, in some cases, the indigenous languages or intermixing with them, so as to give birth to a new Patois.

While some languages, in which law was once given to Northern Africa, are no longer heard, such as the Egyptian, Phenician, Ethiopian, old Persian, Greek, Latin and Vandal, other languages are now heard with authority all round the Continent. In Egypt all the great languages of Europe are familiar: in Tripolitána and Tunisia, Italian and French are spoken. In Algeria and Morocco, French and Spanish have domiciled themselves. Along the West Coast we find Portuguese in the island-groups of the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verd, and on the mainland, far into the interior, Portuguese is often the vehicle of written communication; at the Court of Muáta Yanvo, the Kazembe, and Sepópo on the Upper Zambezi, travellers mention having found that language spoken, and hundreds of Negroes use it in the Colony of Angóla on the West, and Mozambík on the East: the language has left as enduring a mark upon Africa as upon India, and it is probable, that this Vernacular has a far greater expansion in Asia, Africa, and America, than in Portugal. The Spanish has become the language of the Canary Islands, and Fernando Po. The influence of French is felt in the colony of St. Louis on the Senegál River, and in the settlement on the Gabún, and it is remarked by competent judges, that the Neo-Latin languages are pronounced by the African with fairly correct pronunciation, and do not become degraded into Patois, which is the fate of the English and Dutch. The latter language

has played a remarkable part in the history of South Africa. Some of the Hottentot tribes have adopted the Dutch language in supersession of their own: it is a very different dialect from that spoken in Holland, with its corrupt form of words, misuse of words, barbarous mode of expressions, and daring defiance of grammar: to such an extent has this prevailed, that a Grammar of Cape-Dutch has been published at Cape-Town. This language has further expansion before it, and may probably be one of the leading languages of the future in South Africa.

The English language has a daily increasing expansion and influence as an instrument of education, a medium of commerce not only betwixt Africans and strangers, but betwixt African tribes speaking distinct languages. All liberated slaves from North America speak English more or less pure; the Kru, who play so large a part in navigation, speak broken English. On the East Coast the influence of English will be still greater, as no other European language has penetrated into the interior. A remarkable feature is the prevalence of Indian languages. From Zanzibár, Madagascar and Mozambík, and up to Cape Guardafui, there were not half a dozen exceptions to the rule, that every shopkeeper was an Indian. Voyagers from India can converse everywhere with the whole body of retail dealers and local merchants in Hindustáni and Gujaráti, and their accounts were made up in Gujaráti and Kachí. In fact, the whole trade is in the hands of the industrious and wealthy classes, who, in spite of the reputed prejudice of the Hindu to the sea, find their way to East Africa. These alien influences must greatly affect the future Vernaculars, which will struggle for life on the North, South, East and West coasts of Africa. Unsupported by any indigenous literature, scores of petty languages will disappear in the general assimilation that will go on. As I advance in my survey I shall remark, that certain potent languages must and will hold their own, and are already becoming under the plastic hand of the Missionaries, mighty elements of culture, which will swallow up, or tread out, their weaker and less-gifted neighbours. It will be an interesting linguistic spectacle to watch, for doubtless the same process did take place many centuries ago, both in Europe and Asia, and we remark the outcome of the struggle, but the details of the process are lost to us.

I. The Semitic Family (for it is a Family in the strictest sense of the word) is well known. It resembles the Indo-European in being inflexive, but its method of inflexion is quite peculiar; it is most beautiful and symmetrical, but no explanation has ever been given of its origin. We find it in full development in its earliest records. The Book of Genesis gives an account of the creation of the World, but the words used for that account indicate a language in a very high state of development, and this characteristic is sharply brought out by contrasting the refined mechanism of the

speech used by Moses with contemporary Egyptian records. The influence of the Semitic on the Hamitic Group, or *vice versâ*, as some assert, is of the slightest. The Semitic nation was at all times alien in Africa, but it received from Egypt the precious gift of Alphabetic writing, which it handed on to the rest of the World, as if it were of its own proper invention. There are two branches of the Semitic family, the Northern and the Ethiopic. The Semites possessed the Eastern flank of the Nile Valley from a remote period. The notorious subjugation of Egypt by the Hyksos, and the descent of the Hebrews into Egypt, have left no linguistic traces in Africa; but the colonization of Carthage from Phenicia has left its indelible trace in Monumental Inscriptions, in spite of the attempt of the Romans to destroy all traces of the foreign culture of their defeated rival. Centuries later the Arabians conquered the whole Northern coast of Africa beyond even the Pillars of Hercules, and Arabic supplanted the Egyptian language in the Nile Valley, and pushing aside, if not destroying, the Hamitic languages of Numidia and Mauretania, became the dominant language of Tripolitána, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, with a distinct dialectic variation from the pure dialect of the Arabian desert and the Korán. A third Semitic invasion of Africa took place from South Arabia across the Red Sea, and is known as the Ethiopic, or Gíz, the language of Abyssinia. In course of time the ancient form of speech gave way to the modern Tigré and the cognate Amháric. These are spoken by a Christian population in a retrograde state of culture. Travellers have brought to notice other distinct Semitic languages, on the flanks of Abyssinia, but of no importance. The influence of the Arabic extends far beyond the limits of the settled populations of particular kingdoms. It is the vehicle of thought over a large area in Africa, either in the mouths of the Bedúin Nomads, who surprise the travellers by their unexpected appearance, or of invading conquerors, such as the Sultan of Zanzibár; of enterprising merchants, such as the slave-dealers, who are generally half-bred Arabs; of dominant races in Central Africa; and lastly, it is the instrument of the spread of Mahometanism, and of whatever culture existed independent of European contact. Up to this time it has had entirely its own way, both as a religious and as a secular power; but it may be presumed, that its progress will now be checked by the powerful intrusion of the English, French and Dutch languages, and the resuscitation and culture of the numerous strong Vernaculars, which are ready to the hand of the European civilizer and instructor. The Arabs have left names in their language, Kabáil, Káfir, and Swahíli, which can never be forgotten. For the study of these languages we have ample supplies of Grammatical works and Translations of the Scriptures in Arabic, Amháric and Tigré.

II. The Hamitic languages come next in order; they are presumed to be aliens from Asia, but at so remote a period, that

tradition fails. It would be bold, in the present state of our knowledge, to call this subdivision a Family; it is safer to style it a Group, with marked resemblances. It may be divided into three Sub-Groups: (1) Egyptian; (2) Libyan; (3) Ethiopic. They probably have linguistic relations to each other, but they have not as yet been worked out, so as to win universal concurrence, in the sense that the inter-relation of the Semitic languages is admitted as a fact of Science. All the languages of the first Sub-Group have passed away from the lips of men; the Coptic died some centuries ago, and has a galvanized existence as the vehicle of religious ritual; the Egyptian died before the Christian era, and as the tradition of its interpretation died also, it became linguistically extinct, or unintelligible, until revivified by the genius of Scholars of this century. As records carved on stone exist in this language, fully developed both as to its Grammar and triple mode of writing, as far back as 4000 years before the Christian era, no nation in the World, and no Family of languages, can compete with Egypt, and the Egyptian, on the score of antiquity. Moreover, in the handling of words and grouping of sentences, we become aware, that we are dealing with an instrument of thought indefinitely more ancient than the most ancient of Semitic or Arian records. Egyptian had its day, and under Greco-Christian influences passed into Coptic, which again disappeared before the inroads of Arabic, thus supplying one of the most notable instances of a nation changing its language, as few will doubt that the Fellah of Egypt is the lineal descendant of the Egyptian, as depicted in the Monuments.

To the West of Egypt, along the coast of the Mediterranean, stretches that vast country, known to the ancients as Libya. Herodotus, the father of History, knew about the Libyan tribes, as Greek and Phenician colonies were settled on the coast. This region was known to the Romans as Mauretánia, Numídia, and Getúlia. These early settlers outlived the Phenicians, Greeks, Romans and Vandals, and still struggle against the Arabs, Turks and French. The old Libyan language had no literature; it is dead, and is only faintly guessed at by Inscriptions. The region is known now as Tripolitána, Tunísia, Algeria, Morocco and the great Sahára. In one sense, the name Berber may include all the Hamitic forms of speech of this Sub-Group, but other terms are met with, indicating separate languages: Kabáil in Algeria, Shilha in Morocco, Tamáshek in the Sahára, Zénaga on the frontier of Senegál. The extinct language of the Canary Islands, the Guanch, belonged to this Sub-Group. The French have contributed a great deal to our knowledge: there is an entire absence of culture, and a portion of the population is Nomadic.

Hornemann, the traveller, first drew attention to the existence of the Tuwárik, and Marsden first identified them with the Berber.

Previously it was not known, that any other Nomad tribes existed in North Africa, savé the Arabs. Volney was the first to announce, that they represented the ancient Getulians. Vivien St.-Martin states, that on the occasion of the second great Arab immigration from the East, in the eleventh century, these tribes left the Tripoli Coast Districts to escape the foreign yoke, and retired to the Oases, and have there preserved their rude liberty, and their ancient language in comparative purity. The meaning of the word is supposed to be identical in the Berber language with Kabáil in the Arabic, as already explained. Whatever may be the origin of the word, the name has been applied by the Arabs, and not by the tribes to themselves, who scarcely recognize it, and call themselves Imoshagh or Amazirg. It is impossible practically to define the boundary of these Nomads, for they spread from the confines of Algeria to the limits of the Negro kingdoms of Bornu and Timbaktú. In the time of the Emperor Augustus Cornelius Balbus, Governor of the Roman Provinces of Africa, 20 B.C., led his army against these, then as now, unconquered tribes: he took Cydámis, now Ghadámis, the capital of Phasánia, or Fezzan, the Country of the Garamantes, but he was not gifted, like Julius Cæsar, with the power of wielding the pen as well as the sword. There are four confederations of tribes of the Tuwárik, I. Azjer, North-East; II. the Ahaggar, North-West; III. the Kel-Owi, South-East; and IV. the Awe-limmiden, South-West, each with its own dialect. Hanoteau, who had published a Grammar of the Kabáil, published in 1860 his Grammar of Tamáshek, adopting the first of the above dialects, which must therefore, from our better knowledge of it, be taken as the Standard. He remarks that it is free from Arabic admixture, and that it is reasonable to expect in this secluded District more of the Grammatical forms of the old language. It is the only one, which has its own special form of writing, the Tifinag, of the connection of which with the old Numidian form Hanoteau has no doubt. He got his information from a Negro native of the Country, where Tamáshek was spoken by those who held him in slavery: he had acquired a knowledge of Arabic, and from him Hanoteau learnt to speak Tamáshek, compiled his Grammar, and reduced to writing fables and stories. He afterwards had the pleasure of meeting some Tuwárik at Lagouat, and conversed with them, and they helped him to translate the Texts, which he had taken down in Roman adapted Characters, into Tifinag: his book is therefore of the highest value, and reflects great credit upon his scholarship. To complete his good work, he has attached to this volume a Language-map of the Berber Languages in French Algeria, and an explanatory notice. He adds Texts, Village Rules, Songs transliterated into Arabic, and translated into French.

The dwellers of the Oases of Jupiter Ammon on the confines of Egypt, and visited by Alexander the Great, though they understand

and use Arabic to communicate with strangers, yet they use a language in their homes quite distinct. What is that language? Anjila is an Oasis West of Siwah occupied without interruption. Hornemann, the traveller at the time of the occupation of Egypt by General Bonaparte, visited the first Oasis in 1797–98, and gathered a Vocabulary, in which Marsden detected the affinity with Berber: the second Oasis was found by Hornemann to have a similar language: subsequent travellers, Minutóli and Cailliaud, and others, have collected fuller materials. Hanoteau, in his Grammar of the Kabáil, has compared these words, and no doubt is left of the identity. Makrísi, writing about Egypt, mentions the fact also. The language is of no importance whatever, and will probably be crowded out by Arabic. But it gives a magnificent idea of the range of Berber, that it should have spread from the confines of Egypt to the Canary Islands, and that the Siwah should have survived the pressure of superimposed languages for more than three thousand years.

The Ethiopic Sub-Group of the Hamitic Group lies along the Red Sea, intermixed geographically with the Ethiopic branch of the Semitic Family already described. The languages are the Somáli, Galla, Bishári, Dankáli, Agau and several others. We have Grammatical Notes of several, and Translations of the Scriptures in Coptic, Berber, and Galla. Missionary Societies have clung with little success to the hopeless task of making an impression on the Hamitic races in Ethiopia. In this corner of Africa the prospect of improvement under European influences seems to be the least cheering. In spite of numerous attempts at exploration, little addition has been made to Geographical knowledge of that dreary region betwixt Abyssinia and the Equator. Unlike the Semitic Family, the Hamitic Group has no recognizable affinity with any linguistic Families or Groups in Asia. Its existence on African soil dates back to at least six thousand years, and the area occupied is enormous. Lepsius and Bleek would include in this Group the Hottentots of the extreme South, opening up a question, for the decision of which sufficient materials have not been collected. It must be left to the judgment of the next generation, when more accurate knowledge may find the link betwixt the pre-Semitic races of Africa and Mesopotamia.

III. I pass to the third Group, the Nuba-Fulah, the least well-known, and the most doubtful classification. Up to this time I have dealt with inflexive languages; all that remains in Africa is agglutinative. Ethnologically speaking, the Semitic, Hamitic and Nuba-Fulah belong to lank, curly-haired races. All that remains of Africa consists of woolly-fleecy, or woolly-tufted haired races. It does not follow, that the linguistic fissures should be the same as the ethnic, and we know that the contrary often prevails. Friedrich Müller lays it down, that this Group, whose habitat is

partly in the midst of the Negro Group, and partly on the northern frontier, is distinctly separate from the Negro, both by physical appearance, and other certain Ethnical details. It occupies a position midway betwixt the Hamitic and Negro; and here let it be borne in mind, that the Bántu Family is reported by some to occupy the same intermediate position; but the Bántu, both in their physical and physiological characteristics, take after their Negro progenitors, while the Nuba-Fulah approximate more to the Hamitic. The connexion between the Nuba and Fulah seems by no means certain.

The Nuba Sub-Group reach from the field of the Fulah Family Eastward, the field of the Ethiopic Sub-Group of the Hamitic Group. The pure Nubians now inhabit the Valley of the Nile, from the First to the Second Cataract. They call themselves Barabra, and are Mahometan. Schweinfurth's narrative shows, that they are a dominant race, superior in power and culture to the lower Pagan races, into whose territory they make inroads as merchants and slave-catchers. It is remarkable, that Nubians must have moved into their present habitat in historical times, as Herodotus does not mention them, and could not have overlooked them had they been there. The name Νουβαι first appears in Eratosthenes, who wrote, in the latter half of the third century B.C., of them as a great people, not subject to the Ethiopians of Meroe; they must have in the interval immigrated from the West. We read of later immigrations of the same race in the time of Diocletian, 300 A.D. The names of other languages, or dialects closely connected with Nubian, are given; these races are wholly without culture and literature and imperfectly known, and dwell in the Nile Valley. With far less certainty the Berta, on the River Takázi and Atbara, and the Kwáfi, and Masái, are included in the Nuba Sub-Group. Still more hazardous and dependent upon the collection of future material, is the assignment to this Sub-Group of numerous tribes, whose existence has been revealed to us by Schweinfurth and Junker, on the watershed of the basins of the Nile and the Welle. Unfortunately a fire destroyed the best part of Schweinfurth's linguistic collections. They are the Monbuttu, the Nyam-Nyam, the Krej and the Golo. It must be left to the next generation to decide with certainty concerning the language of these tribes.

The Fulah Family is found on the West Coast. The word means yellow. The Fulah considers himself greatly superior to the Negro, and claims a place among white men. He is found living intermixed with the Negro from the Lower Senegál in the West to Dar-Fúr in the East, and from Timbaktú and Hausa-Land in the West to Yariba-Land in the South. He first made his appearance as a plundering intruder, and is a Mahometan. In the kingdom of Sokotu and Gandu there is a Fulah Dynasty. The

name appears as Pul, Pulo, Fulah, Fulbe, Felláta, Fuládu. The Fulah race has intermixed with the Negro, which has produced other varieties. Fortunately, we have a Grammar by Reichardt, and Faidherbe, and a Translation of some Chapters of the Bible by Consul Baikie. Seven dialects are recorded; but Futa Jalo, on the River Senegál, is accepted as the Standard.

Here notice must be made of Lepsius' Monumental Work, the Nubische Grammatik, 1880, in which the learned old man condenses his experience of forty years, for I met him in 1843 at the Great Pyramid during his celebrated scientific exploration, and his attention has been continuously directed to this, his favourite subject, during his long, peaceful, and honoured life as Professor and Custodian of the Berlin Museum. Besides the Nubian Grammar, a German-Nubian Vocabulary, a Translation of a Gospel, and an appendix on the dialects of the Nubian, in a long introduction he passes under review the whole subject of the classification of African languages. With the utmost respect for the opinions of this grand old Scholar, it is but just to state, that there are too many questionable points of Ethnology and Comparative Philology propounded, to allow of their being accepted otherwise than provisionally, or as a basis for future investigation.

IV. From absence of a better name, the next Group is styled the Negro, a name unquestionably inadequate. It is, in fact, a conglomeration of totally unconnected component parts, something analogous to the old Turanian in Asia of a quarter of a century ago: a kind of bag, into which all languages, which could not be provided for elsewhere, were provisionally flung. Just as the word Turanian has gradually disappeared from Asiatic classifications, or been gradually reduced to the comparatively moderate limits of one Family, even so the term Negro, which is totally insufficient, will disappear, giving way to a scientific, or at least intelligible, nomenclature.

We must recollect, that the Negro type is a very marked one; and, though it may have undergone much admixture in the interior, it is pure on the coast. Of the purity of the language we cannot speak with certainty. The presence of the Nuba-Fulah from the North, and of the Mahometan Religion in their midst, the influence of European Nations and Americanized Negroes on the coast, must leave an influence. The Hausa is the great commercial language of Central Africa, far exceeding the limits of the region occupied by the Hausa race. It is an isolated language, and in certain characteristics resembles Hamitic and Semitic languages. It is attributed by one scholar to the Hamitic Group, by another to the Nuba-Fúlah, by a third to the Negro Group. It might have been presumed, that there was a general consensus, that these Negro languages were independent of any other Group of languages; but Bleek has laid it down, that some of the Negro languages actually

belonged to the same Family as the Bántu, and others were related to them. This shows how far we are at present from any certainty, on any portion of the subject, from the absence of sufficient material.

As far as we know, they are all agglutinative, but that is but a slight link of connexion; the Negro Group by no means extends all over Africa, but it comprises the great bulk of the population. A race with less inherent vitality would have been extinguished by the trials, which it has had to undergo, circumscribed to the South and East by the Bántu, pressed upon to the North by the Nuba-Fulah, and deported in millions by the Europeans. The Negro may be said to share with the Bushman the honour of being the original inhabitant of Africa. The tract from the River Senegál to the River Niger is the seat of the pure Negro, but the return from America, or from captured vessels, of freed Negroes of very mixed races, has affected this purity, and some of the mixed races, containing Hamitic, Semitic, and Fulah elements, are the finest.

Everything about the languages of this Group must be accepted as provisional. We know neither the extent nor the variety of the languages, or their relation to each other, or their dialectical variations, nor have we full information, regarding those languages, of which we have Vocabularies or Grammatical Notes. We cannot define the boundaries of the fields of languages, and they have absolutely no literature. One thing is clear, that they cannot have been derived from one stock. There must have been many distinct seed-plots, for not only does the Grammatical structure forbid the hypothesis of any original unity, but there is no such uniformity of Vocabulary, as would support the idea.

The region extends right across Africa in its broadest extent from the West Coast to the Nile Valley. Not a Monument, raised by Negro hand, remains to testify to the material greatness of the tribes, or tell of some extinct civilization, as in America or Asia. There is no written Character, for the Vei Character is merely a modern adaptation of an idea imported from Europe. Proverbs and oral traditions of uncertain antiquity live on the lips of men, but no Negro sage or legislator lives in the recollection of the people. In fact, there is no History, and nothing worth recording, and no Past, and it is difficult to believe, that there is a promise of a better Future. But they are not broken races, hiding themselves in the depths of forests, and few in number and poor; on the contrary, their number is as the sands of the sea, nor is the climate insalubrious to them or unproductive, but they have rude agricultural wealth, and mineral wealth is not absent. It cannot be stated as a fact, or even presumed as a probability, that before the outburst of Mahometan proselytism they were oppressed from the outside, as they were inaccessible, and neither Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, nor pre-Mahometan Arab could get at them.

They are not found to be deficient in intelligence, when trained in European schools, and selected individuals are susceptible of the highest culture. They have been cursed by chronic internal warfare, entire absence of public opinion, or personal independence, domestic slavery, the absence of any kind of exportable manufactures; men and women have not risen to the dignity of wearing decent clothing. No messenger ever came to them with a book-religion, reproving, advising, elevating, holding out examples and warnings: for be it remembered, to the book-religions, however theologically erroneous, Asia is indebted for her civilization. The Negro was never privileged to discover the art of writing, by which his language would have become the handmaid of progress and morality, and he has remained, down to our days, the prey to slavery, cannibalism, witchcraft of the most odious character, and human sacrifices of monstrous abomination.

It must not be supposed, that no progress has been made: of some languages of the Negro Group we have Grammars: we have numerous Translations of the Holy Scriptures, and plenty of religious and educational works: we have Grammatical Notes of the greatest value, and Vocabularies of others; but the most competent authorities describe many of the languages, of which we have sufficient knowledge, as isolated, admitting of no affinity to any other known variety. This by itself suggests, that the linguistic phenomena of the Negro region have not yet been fully exposed to view. We do not find isolated languages elsewhere, except in rare cases, and they are generally survivals of extinct Families. The vast empty spaces on the map, which have hitherto evaded the pen of the Geographer and Cartographer, and the tale of every explorer, warn us of the presence of a great "terra incognita" and unrevealed millions. It is like standing upon the sea-shore, and listening to the confused noise of the waves, or upon a high tower, and listening to the murmur caused by the sound of voices below, for we know nothing for certain with regard to the languages of Negro-land. Even the collections of Koëlle, "Polyglotta Africana," for which he received the Volney Prize, resemble a handful of shells, tossed upon the shore and picked up at random, after having been blown far into the interior; for he picked up his knowledge from the frail recollections of released slaves, and his records are of no use, until they pass under the hands of the skilful assorter, and not of much use even then.

There has been a constant pressure from the savage tribes in the interior down the river-basins to the sea-coast, crushing and breaking up the tribes, which have already reached the coast, and tasted the sweets of Commerce and low Civilization. In the interior are found the raw products, which are required for export, and the savage races wish to free themselves from the go-betweens on the coast:-thus new languages force themselves into notice. Even

with regard to languages, well-known scholars cannot agree as to their classification, and there is a plentiful crop of linguistic quarrels. It is worthy of remark, that great assistance in composing Grammars, and translating the Holy Scriptures, has been rendered by one who was himself a slave, and, released by British cruisers and trained in British schools, has risen to be a Bishop, Samuel Crowther, and by Archdeacons Crowther and Johnson, both Negroes.

To render the subject intelligible, I mark off Sub-Groups on purely geographical considerations:

I. Atlantic: From the River Senegál to the River Benin.

II. Niger: The Basin of the River Niger, and the Region South as far as the confines of the Negro and Bántu Fields.

III. Central: The Region which lies round Lake Tsad.

IV. Nile: The Upper Basin of the River Nile.

The Atlantic Sub-Group is subdivided into two Sections:

I. Northern: From the River Senegál to Cape Mount.

II. Southern: From Cape Mount to the River Benin.

The first Section comprises the French and British Colonies of Senegambia and Sierra Leone, the free state of Liberia, and the languages of Mande, Serekhúle, Bambára, Vei, Susu, Mende, Woluf, Felup, Bullom and Temné. Some of these languages are the Vernaculars of great heathen, or Mahometan, independent nationalities, of whom individuals are met in the European marts, while countless thousands are beyond European ken, and, in spite of the continuous exertions made by French and English to open a route from the Coast to the Upper Niger, it has not been accomplished yet.

In the Second Section are situated the famous Grain, Ivory, Gold, and Slave coasts, with the British colony of Cape Coast and Lagos, the kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomé, and the independent Republics of Yariba-Land. Here are spoken the following languages, Kru, Grebo, Basa, Éwé, Ashanti, Akrá, and Yariba.

In the second Sub-Group there are also two Sections:

I. The basin of the Niger.

II. The Region South as far as the Boundary of the Field.

In the former Sub-Group our knowledge was restricted to the Coast districts: in this territory we pierce into the interior, and our information is very incomplete. Commerce and Mission work have extended up the delta of the United Niger, but there are no European settlements. The languages spoken are the Idzo, Ibo, Igára, Igbíra, Nupé, Efík, and many others. Above the junctions of the streams, we hear of other languages.

In the Central Sub-Group we have powerful kingdoms, and a certain amount of Civilization, but Commerce in vain tries to reach it from Tripoli across the Sahára from the North, or up the Niger from the South. No European foot, but that of the hardy explorer, with his life in his hand, has as yet trod these regions.

Yet no less than Fifty-nine languages are registered in this vast Region, the Vocabularies being picked up from the mouths of Slaves brought to the Western Coast, or into Egypt. The best known Languages are the Surhái, Hausa, Tibbu and Kanúri.

The Fourth Sub-Group comprises more familiar ground, as the whole was once under the Khedive of Egypt, and includes the tribes dwelling in the basin of the White Nile. They are all downright savages, and seem likely to continue so, as the attempt to annex these regions to Egypt and put down the Slave-trade, appears to have produced greater evils in the unhappy country, than it had to endure before. For the present the veil has fallen over these regions, and linguistic knowledge will not advance.

V. We pass on to the Bántu Family, for a Family it is in the strictest sense, and therefore a mighty contrast to the great unconnected, incoherent Group, which we have just disposed of.

It was indeed a great discovery, that a single Family of languages prevailed throughout Africa South of the Equator, with certain reserved tracts for the Hottentot Bushman. The name Bántu is now accepted. In spite of the wide spread of this Family from shore to shore, there is unmistakeable evidence in their genius, their phonetics, and their Vocabulary, that all the languages had a common Mother: they can be dealt with in the same manner, as we deal with the Arian, Dravidian, and Semitic Families. Some of the features of the common parent appear in each of the descendants. The language of the Xósa, commonly called Káfir, is allowed to occupy the first rank. However, we must remember, that the linguistic and ethnical strata are not always uniform. Some tribes in Lower Guinea speak a Bántu language, though belonging ethnologically to a pure Negro type.

The language-field of this Family exceeds that of any other, but it would be unsafe to state any, even approximate, idea of the population. New tribes are being made known to us every year. It is entirely independent of any other type of language, having remarkable features of its own. It has been well studied by competent scholars, both in detail in separate languages, and as a Family by comparative linguists, such as Bleek and Friedrich Müller. It is agglutinative in method, but also alliteral, and subject to euphonic laws. It has on its frontier been influenced by alien neighbours, for we find in some languages clicks, borrowed from the Bushman. However, little is known for certain, and the development of this marvellous Family must be left to the next generation. Friedrich Müller confidently indicates Semitic and Hamitic influences, which must date back to the infancy of the language.

Bleek, who had local knowledge of the subject, in addition to a knowledge of language generally, records his opinion on the characteristics of the family. The words are polysyllabic, and the

syllables open: diphthongs rare; of derivative prefixes there were originally sixteen, but only two have a decided reference to distinctions observed in nature, being restricted to nouns respecting reasonable beings, the one in the singular, the other in the plural number. The form of this latter is *ba* actually, or in some other manner obtained from it. There are few adjectives, and in their place, most generally, a particular construction is used. The genitive is denoted by a prefixed genitive particle. The cases are indicated by prepositions; different kinds of verbs are formed by variation of the ending and moods, and the perfect time is indicated in the same way. The most simple form of the verb is the singular of the imperative.

Bleek paid also much attention to the euphonic laws, which differentiated one language, or branch of language, of this Family from the other. He showed, that the languages differed from each other more than the language of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin Family differ from each other. The greater bulk of words in each language, though identical in origin, became wholly dissimilar, owing to the action of the euphonic laws, which change their form The grammatical forms are also very different. And this difference is to such an extent, that the Ama-Xósa and Be-Chuána cannot understand each other, though in the same branch of the Family. Bleek took pains to illustrate this new form of what he calls the great "Grimm" law of transmutation of sound in Bántu. There are three clicks in the language of the Káfir-Land Sub-branch.

Some further explanation seems required of the euphonic, or alliteral, concord, which is so striking a feature. The initial element of the noun, a letter, or letters, or a syllable, appears as the initial element of the adjective; the pronoun assumes the form corresponding to the initial of the noun for which it stands; the important part of the initial of the governing noun is detached to assist in forming the bond of connection with, and control over, the noun or pronoun governed in the genitive, *ex gr.*

i Zimmi Zami Zi ya li Zua Lizai Lami.
Sheep (of) me they do it hear voice (of) me.

It is as well to record the opinion of Livingstone, the great traveller, the great Missionary, the great Linguist in the highest sense, who bestrode this narrow World like a Colossus, and had a heart larger than the area, which he revealed to his astonished contemporaries. He wrote with regard to the Chuána language, of which he was a master, and which is but a Sister of all the languages of this Family, that the copiousness was such, that every week old Scholars discovered new words: the capabilities were such, that the Pentateuch was expressed in fewer words than in the compact Greek Septuagint: the simplicity of construction was such, that

the copiousness did not lead to the inference, that the tribe had fallen from a higher state of Culture, as some of the Natives of Southern Europe had undoubtedly fallen. An interpreter told the Governor of the Cape, that the Súto language was not capable of expressing the substance of the letter of a Chief, while every one acquainted with that Chief, Mohesh, well knew that he could have expressed in his own Vernacular without study the whole of his letter in three or four different ways, which was more than the interpreter could have done in his own English. J. L. Wilson writes that students of the next generation will revel in the beauties of languages, as elaborate in structure, and as musical in tone, as any of the old unspoken languages which delight the Scholar. The general structure is marked by so much regularity, exactness, and precision, so much order and philosophical arrangement, that it would require a long period, as well as important changes in the outward condition of the people, to effect any material change in the leading characteristics of their language. The Vocabulary can be expanded to an almost unlimited extent. It is not only expansible, but it has a wonderful capacity for conveying new ideas. The Missionaries were surprised to find with how much ease they could use it to convey religious ideas: there was no need to borrow foreign words: the New Testament and part of the Old have been translated.

Bearing in mind, that vast portions of the territory of the Bántu language-field have only been imperfectly explored, or not explored at all, I adopt provisionally the classification into three Branches, Southern, Eastern, Western. Each of these is again subdivided into Sub-branches, which are sufficient for present necessities, but which, as regards the Eastern and Western, must be indefinitely extended, as time goes on, to admit of proper classification of the scores of languages which come under observation. This classification is solely based on Geographical data.

Each traveller who finds his way from the Eastern to the Western sea, or *vice versa*, or visits the coast of Muáta Yanvo at Kabébe, or of the Kazembe at Lunda, or the Kassongo, finds himself in the midst of teeming thousands. New tribes and new languages, or dialects, are revealed each year. We have the advantage in this Family of Grammatical works in two of the languages of the West Coast, the Bunda and Kongo, written by Roman Catholic Missionaries in the sixteenth century, which supply a certain standard, by which the influence of time upon these unwritten, and therefore fleeting, vocalisms can be measured.

The Southern branch is divided into three Sub-branches: I. Káfir-Land. II. Chuána-Land. III. Dámara-Land. The word Káfir was applied by the Mahometan invaders of the East Coast to all the Pagan tribes of the Interior, and is often used very laxly in linguistic books, but it is now strictly applicable to one tribe only

of this Sub-branch, the Ama-Xósa, celebrated for their constant warfare with the English and Dutch. Closely allied to them are the celebrated Ama-Zúlu, and the less well-known Ama-Ponda, Ama-Fingu, Ama-Swázi, Ma-Tabéle, Ma-Kalála, the ruling tribe in Umzila's kingdom, and the scattered bands of Ma-Viti, or Wa-Tuta, known by many other names North of the River Zambesi. The two great languages of this Sub-branch are thoroughly well known, and have become the vehicle of a large grammatical, devotional, and educational literature, under the influence of the Missionary Societies.

The Chuána-Land Sub-branch comprises the languages of the majority of the population, which occupies the interior of Africa South of the tropic of Capricorn, intermixed with the Bushman and half-blood tribes. They are separated from the Káfir Sub-branch by the Drakenburg range; Southward they extend to the Orange River; Westward to the Kalahári Desert, and Northward as far as the Lake Ngámi. The chief languages are the Chuána and the Súto. The words of this Sub-branch sound harsh, and its pronunciation offers a striking contrast to the melodiousness of the Zúlu, to which language, however, it has a greater resemblance than to the Xósa. There is an abundance of linguistic and educational works, for which we are indebted to the Missionaries.

The third Sub-branch is that of Dámara-Land, a field betwixt the Kalahári Desert and the Atlantic, bounded on the South by the Great Namá-Qua-Land, and on the North by the River Kunéne. There are three languages only in this Group, the Hereró, the Ndonga, spoken in Ova-Mpo-Land, and the Yeiye, spoken at Lake Ngámi.

The Eastern Branch of the Bántu Family is the creation of the last twenty years of English and American exploring. No book has yet been written which gives any account of the phenomena disclosed: in the course of the next quarter of a century there will be a rich harvest of accumulated materials. The outlines of the field may be marked with certainty, but it is virgin soil. I have taken the responsibility of dividing it into three Sub-branches, based upon Geographical features:

I. The basin of the River Zambési.

II. The Region betwixt the Coast of the Indian Ocean and the Central Plateau from the Northern confines of the field down to the boundaries of the preceding Sub-branch.

III. The Region of the Plateau as far West as the 25th Degree of East Longitude South of the Equator.

The first Sub-branch comprises an ever-increasing number of languages, spoken by the tribes which come into contact with the Missionaries, who have lately invaded that river and Lake Nyassa; the boundary extends as far into Central Africa as the Victoria Falls. Considering the extremely scanty extent of materials, this grouping

must be deemed entirely provisional, and only a convenient mode of collecting the names of languages, known to exist in a certain territory. It is only by constant study of the narratives of travellers and Missionaries, that information, can be gained, but the scientific character of the informants gives a value to what they state far beyond the random jottings-down of the ordinary traveller. So far as it goes, it is accurate, but it goes only a very little way.

The Portuguese occupation of the basin of the Zambési for more than two centuries has added nothing to linguistic knowledge, but small valuable treatises are now being compiled by the Missionaries, in Yao, Makúa and Ng'anga.

The second Sub-branch extends from the island of Ibo, on the confines of the Mozambík territory, along the coast of the Indian Ocean, to the confines of the Galla and Kwáfi, where the Bántu Family meets the tribes of the Hamitic and Nuba-Fulah Groups already described. It embraces all the low coast, and the range of mountains running parallel to the coast, from the confines of the Zambési Sub-branch, to the country of the Masái of the Nuba-Fulah Group. The dominant language throughout this Sub-branch is the Swahíli, the speech of the coast, as its name indicates, deeply affected by Arabic, used by Mahometans, and influenced by Arabic culture, but unintelligible to the residents of the interior. These savage languages are being slowly developed by the labours of the Missionaries. For the Swahíli much has been done, but of the other languages we have little more than brief Vocabularies, or short notes, but it is a promise for the future to have got so much. It gives some idea of the rapidly expanding knowledge, to mention that Friedrich Müller only gives three languages of the Sub-branch, which, owing to the diligence and energy of explorers, is now so rapidly expanding. It is pleasant to read year after year, that such a one is busy at the languages, has Grammars and Vocabularies, or a Translation of a Gospel in hand, and this is going on all down the line; and the funds are entirely provided by Religious Societies, who thus indirectly contribute to the extending of Science.

Several islands, such as the Archipelago of Komóro, are included in this Sub-branch; but Madagascar, as belonging to a different linguistic system, is excluded. If any Africans are in that island as slaves or settlers, they must be treated as aliens. It is remarkable, that our great explorers have generally accomplished their tasks by the aid of Swahíli, and a class of interpreters seems always available, who speak this lingua franca. We predict for this language a remarkable position in the civilization of Eastern Africa, but there are twenty-three other recorded names of this Sub-branch, such as the Shambála, Boondei, Zarámo, and Gindo.

The third Sub-branch is the result of Stanley's famous

journey across the Dark Continent, and the two great religious Missions planted in answer to his challenge. If in so few years so much has been done, what will be the result at the end of a quarter of a century? In connexion with Victoria Nyanza many languages have been indicated, and their existence substantiated. In the language of the Court of the King of U-Ganda, a portion of the Scriptures has been translated; of the Nya-Mwézi we have a Grammatical Note. The Northern boundary of this Sub-branch is the line of contact of the Negro, Hamitic, and Nuba-Fulah Groups. On the East it is conterminous with the Zanzibár Sub-branch, and to the South with that of the Zambési. To the far West an imaginary line must be drawn due South from Nyangwé on the Lualába (which Stanley proved to be the Kongo), until it reaches the Zambési. Beyond that point the languages recorded must be entered in the Western branch of the Bántu Family, until, in due time, we have collected enough material to establish a separate Group or Family, as the case may be, for Central Africa South of the Equator and North of the Zambési, which is now wholly unknown. In connection with Lake Tanganyika we have information, owing to the English Missionaries established on one part of Lake Tanganyika, and French Roman Catholic Missionaries at another. Nothing of a tangible linguistic character has reached me yet; but I am enabled to record the names and position of the tribes, speaking distinct languages, or possibly dialects of languages, and leave it to time to fill in the picture. I can see no limit to the expansion of this Sub-branch, which will comprise all the unknown tribes inhabiting the basin of the upper waters of the Kongo, and the mysterious lakes of Moero and Bangweolo. Commerce will soon develope itself upon the road traced out by missionaries and explorers. The names which come practically before us read like the names in some fairy tale: they will fall into the places allotted for them, and the great frame of East Africa in the Southern tropic will gradually be filled up, and in a few years the explorers from the West will shake hands with the explorers from the East at Nyangwé. We have reason to believe, that the same Family of languages are spoken in the whole basin of the Kongo, but Northward of Nyangwé there is a terra incognita betwixt the West side of the Albert Nyanza and the basin of the River Welle. In the fullness of time the Geographical and Linguistic secrets of this region will be revealed, and we shall be able to trace the line, where the Negro and Bántu races march together, and impinge on each other, and possibly affect each other's languages.

The Western Branch of the Bántu Family comprises the Western half of South tropical Africa, from the River Kunéne on the South, as far North as the Kamerún Mountains. An uncertain boundary of unexplored territory divides it from the Negro field. To the East there is the vast space of unexplored Central Africa, on both

banks of the Kongo, savages, cannibals, and warlike. There are two Sub-branches:

I. The Portuguese Colony of Angóla and its dependencies.

II. The basin of the Lower Kongo, and of the Ogowáh-Gabún and the country North of the Equator as far as the Kamerún Mountains. The whole of this Branch presents a hopeful field for inquiry, as there is a great deal of life along the coast, under the influence of English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish and American visitors for different purposes.

Within the Portuguese Colony of Angóla, the Bunda language is spoken. We have the advantage here of a Grammar published at Lisbon 1504 A.D., and a later Grammar and Dictionary of the commencement of this century. It apparently extends over a large tract, but later travellers have reported the existence of another language spoken at Bihé, and other names are given beyond the Portuguese frontier, and the German travellers, Pogge and Buchner, who penetrated to Kabébe, the capital of Muáta Yanvo, have brought back other names, and new Vocabularies.

The Kongo basin contains the germ of new discoveries, as Missionaries and explorers are pushing up the river far beyond Stanley Pool. The Kongo is illustrated by a Grammar by Brusciottus, published at Rome 1659 A.D. We now have steamers from Stanley Pool to Stanley Falls, and a row of new languages revealed to us. We may reckon with certainty on receiving very shortly full information of the languages of the basin of the Kongo, and Translations of the Holy Scriptures.

From this Region, so replete with undefined promise, yet at present with so little fruit which is the result of modern culture, we pass Northwards into the Ogowáh-Gabún basin, and find several well-defined languages illustrated by works of great merit, revealing to us most completely the nature of the Pongwe, Dualla, Isubú, Bimbia, Kele, and Ediya, spoken in the island of Fernando Po. We have Grammars, Translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures, and abundance of smaller works, the results of the labours of Missionaries over a long course of years.

We have recorded two hundred and twenty-three languages and dialects of this Family, probably one-third only of the vast number, of which we know nothing, but which will emerge into light. Some of these names will represent dialects only of a greater language: some will be mere synonyms of languages already recorded, for this pitfall is always open to the linguist. Travellers may bring home a Vocabulary with a new name, but after careful sifting, it may be found to be an old friend with slight variations. We take leave of this magnificent Family with the feeling, that it is the only one, which, in the magnificence in its power of word-compounding and wide territorial expansion, can compete with the great Arian Family.

VI. Driven down to the extreme South of the Continent of Africa, and only saved from extinction by the advent of British Rule and by the efforts of Christian Missionaries, we find the sixth and last linguistic Group, which, but for the smallness of the population, ought to form two Groups, as the component parts have no relation to each other. We allude to the Group Hottentot-Bushman. Their existence is, however, important, as throwing some light on the character of the earlier, if not aboriginal, inhabitants of the Continent, as unquestionably we have to deal with tribes broken and reduced by the powerful inroad from the North of the great Bántu family. However the word Hottentot may be spelt, or from whatever cause assigned, it is not the real name of the tribe, who call themselves Khoikhoi (men of men), and are called Lawi by their neighbours. They number 350,000, and are considered to have four dialects, Nama, spoken in Namá-qua-Land to the North; Kora, on the Orange River; a third is spoken by the Eastern division of the tribe; and a fourth, and a very impure, variety, in the neighbourhood of Capetown. To these must be added the dialect of the Griqua, or bastards, issue of Dutch and Hottentot, speaking a mixed language. There are many works by Missionaries about and in this language, and it may be considered to be sufficiently well known. In all probability its days are numbered. Friedrich Müller records his opinion, that it is isolated, with no connexion with any other African or non-African form of speech: though morphologically agglutinative, the roots are monosyllabic; there are genders and numbers formed by suffixes; the pronoun is the vivifying element, and, joined to nouns and verbs, differentiates the meaning. The oral literature consists of songs and animal stories, which have been collected by sympathizing Scholars. The great feature of the language is the existence of four clicks, formed by a different position of the tongue. The dental click is almost identical with the sound of indignation, not unfrequently uttered by Europeans; the lateral click is the sound, with which horses are stimulated to action; the guttural click is not unlike the popping of a champagne cork; and the palatal click is compared to the cracking of a whip.

A variety of opinions may be quoted as to the Ethnological origin of the Hottentot. Hovelacque declares, that he is but a cross-breed, and that, whatever may be said as to the isolation of his language, he has no pretence to independence of race. Such assertions must, at the present stage of the inquiry, be supported by actual proof. We must deal with actual facts, and, in their absence, it is of no use hazarding theories of an archaic race extending in a continual line down the whole Continent of Africa. No doubt the Hottentot and Bushman are, like the Basque in Europe, the survival of an Ethnological and Linguistic stratum,

which has disappeared elsewhere, and, in the absence of written records, left no trace behind. Bleek and Lepsius, as stated above, connect the Hottentot with the Hamitic Group.

A Missionary being invited by the Government to send books in the Kora dialect to be printed, remarked, that his experience was, that it was easier to teach the young to read Dutch, and that the old could not learn at all. Still later, the publication of the Holy Scriptures in Nama has been arrested, because the whole tribe have begun to speak Dutch.

The Bushman is an isolated language, and in a very low state of linguistic development. The name was assigned by the Dutch, because the tribe dwelt in the bush; they call themselves Saan, and are totally distinct from, and shunned by, the Hottentot and Bántu. The language belongs to the monosyllabic order, as far as we can judge; there is no gender; the formation of the plural is exceedingly irregular, and of the sixty ways of forming it, reduplication of the noun is the most common as the most natural; but the use of the plural seems to be as abnormal as the formation. In some particulars there are analogies common to the Bushman and the Hottentot. Dr. Bleek made many years study of this subject, having members of the tribe in his household, and collected materials for grammar, dictionary, and folk-lore before his premature death. It must be remembered, that the Bushman are a broken and despised race, in the lowest state of culture, neither pastoral nor agricultural, but living by hunting, and nomadic; they have no appearance of tribal unity, and no Chief. Before the English Rule they were treated as little better than wild beasts. The click-sounds are believed to be their original property, and to have been communicated by them, in always decreasing proportion, to the Hottentot and Káfir-Land Sub-branch of the Bántu Family; for the Bushman, in addition to the four clicks already described as a feature of the Hottentot language, has a fifth, sixth, and sometimes a seventh and eighth, and not only before vowels and gutturals, but before labials. Such sounds are almost incapable of expression by Europeans, and it would almost appear, that they are connecting links between articulate and inarticulate sounds. One remarkable feature still remains to be noticed. No trace of the invention of Writing has been found South of the Equator; but the Bushman have acquired a wonderful power of painting scenes on rocks and in caves. Animals, human figures, dancing, hunting, fights, are portrayed with fidelity, and that the art has existed down to modern times, is evident from the appearance of Boers in some of the fights. It appears, that the art of sculpture was also known, and that the outlines of some of the figures are excellent.

With the Hottentot-Bushman Group must be included two interesting Sub-Groups, of whom we know little or nothing, except that they exist: I. The Helot races. II. The Pigmies. Every

traveller mentions the existence of the first Sub-Group, a Helot class in an extremely low state of culture, expert hunters, without habitations or vestments, living in jungle and forests, using the bow and arrow, and, if not always linguistically, at least ethnically, distinct from the dominant and superior races. When Africa is well known, and the names and distinguishing features, and language of all these scattered races are brought together and submitted to intercomparison, then only will any classification be possible. Their colour is often yellow, and when compared with the colour of the black Negro, and brown Bántu, has even been called white. The Second Sub-Group is a more marvellous instance of the perpetuation of Ethnical phenomena, for Homer mentions the existence of Pigmies, and later ages have placed their existence beyond doubt in the persons of the Akka, the Doko, and the Obongo. Specimens of the Akka have been in the possession of Europeans, and one found its way to Europe, and the language has been recorded. It is yet too early to form any theory: we can only record facts, and wait till the unexplored tracts in the centre of Africa have been revealed. While, on the one hand, we may rest assured, that no monstrosities, or abnormal variations of the human form have been discovered, on the other hand, we must admit the existence of every variety of stature, colour and proportions, and, as a convincing proof of the wide difference of man and beast, we find unlimited variations of sound, word and sentence to express the thought, the wishes, and the fears, fantastic and innumerable fashions of hair-dressing and personal adornments, and customs differing in detail, but resembling each other in abominable and pitiless cruelty.

Over and above the names recorded by travellers or word-collectors, is a great multitude (which no man can as yet number) of peoples and tongues, which it must be left to future generations to discover and record; and, till that event takes place, no one can presume to say, that his account of the languages is complete. And there is this further complication, that writers constantly record the fact, that such and such a language is dying out, and, as this process has been going on for centuries, leaving not the faintest impress on the sands of time, an idea may be formed how remote is the solution of the problem of the origin of human Speech. Moffat also records his opinion, that new languages are in the course of formation. I must admit, that in all my reading I never came on the suggestion of such a possibility in Africa, America, or Oceania. Lepsius also remarks on the ceaseless changes of the Vocabulary, though the structure of the language remains the same. How the phonetics of a language change from day to day, we have evidence all over the World.

The great propagandists of linguistic knowledge all over Asia, Africa, America and Australia, have been the Missionary Societies. The motive of their linguistic labours is a higher one than the

promotion of Science, but it has brought together a *repertoire* of languages and dialects in the form of Translations of the Scriptures, the like of which the world never saw, and which is the wonder of foreign Nations; and this remark specially applies to Africa. No other motive is conceivable to induce men of scholarship and industry to run the risk of disease and death for the purpose of reducing to writing the form of speech of downright Savages, except for the one purpose of religious instruction. In many languages the Scriptures are the only book, and a linguistic scholar would be devoid of all feelings of gratitude, if he did not heartily thank the Missionary for opening out to him channels of information, hopelessly concealed, and for scattering it broadcast below the cost of mere printing and paper.

To the Anglo-Saxon race in Great Britain and the United States falls the honour of being foremost in the re-discovery of Africa. No one can dispute that fact. The Portuguese dropped the skein. They picked it up. They have not the sweetness nor light of the great French people, nor the solidity and depth of knowledge of the Germans, but they are practical, strong, and self-willed. A camel to them is a beast of burden to carry bales of cotton, or of Bibles: a tribe is an aggregation of men and women to be clothed with these cottons, and converted with these Bibles; the languages are learnt, and books are composed in them for practical purposes, and neither Romance, nor Science, is thought of. It is well, that a Scholar is always available for such work as composing Grammars, translating Bibles, and managing self-supporting missions, for the Anglo-Saxon has no time for such pursuits. Great is the debt of Africa to the great Scholars, who have examined the truthful, though incomplete, works issued by the labourers in the field, and instituted comparison of language with language, Group with Group: thus gradually some order has been introduced, and future Scholars will labour with some feeling of certainty, adding brick by brick to the great fabric, the plan of which has been sketched out by great linguistic architects. Though Africa has no works of Art and Science to show as the result of the long silent centuries, which have passed away since the time of Herodotus, the existence in the Negro Group of isolated and totally distinct languages, side by side with the Great Bántu Family, with its scores of kindred languages, with different Vocabularies, and phonetic variations, clothed upon the same backbone and skeleton of the Bántu organization, is a wonderful record of human intellect, acting spontaneously and unconsciously.

Twenty years ago there was a rebellion against the tyranny of the Arian and Semitic Scholars, who attempted to cut down all languages to the length and breadth of their method, forgetful of the infinite variety of the then dimly-discerned Families and Groups of agglutinating languages in Asia. The great problem of the origin of language, however, cannot be solved, and is not ready

for solution, until the secrets of the languages of Africa, Oceania, and America are revealed, and arranged in such order, that the lessons taught by the study of each of them may be considered with reference to the linguistic phenomena of the whole World, and this work will not be completed in the present generation. I may not live to see any of these secrets revealed. Africa has become the solace and plaything of my old age, as India and Asia were the joy and interest of my manhood. At the Fifth International Congress of Oriental Scholars, held in September, 1881, at Berlin, I read a paper in the German language on "Our recent knowledge of the languages of Africa." In the same same month I exhibited at the Third International Geographical Congress of Geographers, at Venice, a new Ethnical and Linguistic Map of Africa, specially arranged for me by the cartographer, Ravenstein, as an embodiment of all existing knowledge. Attention was thus drawn to the subject, and assisted me in my task of publishing, in 1883, a volume on the languages of Africa, exhibiting by the help of language-maps, and bibliographical catalogues, illustrated by a historical narrative, the extent of our knowledge, half-knowledge, and ignorance on this great subject.

I began my work knowing nothing, and, though my materials have accumulated beyond expectation, and kind friends have rallied round me, I seem to be laying down my pen with the feeling, that I now know worse than nothing. I feel intuitively, because I know the subject, that I have often been incorrect, and still oftener incomplete. Readers, who have a special acquaintance with some particular part of this vast subject, will easily point out flagrant and stupid mistakes, and easily suggest sources of information, which I have neglected, and arguments, to which I have paid no attention. But is not fullness of knowledge of some limited portion of the Field incompatible with the undertaking at a fixed period of so vast an enterprize? I want to push on the whole subject. I might have delayed publishing another five years, and enjoyed another lustrum of delightful picking up of crumbs, and clearing up of doubts, but Time is against me. I wish, that I could commence again, and go again over the reading; but the period of life, at which I have arrived, warns me. Lane and Goldstücker left their great works unfinished, or uncommenced, from the desire to be too perfect.

No one will sit in severer judgment on my shortcomings than I shall myself, and my first step after correcting my last Proof-Sheet is to make my first entry by way of correction and addition in my interleaved copy. I feel how large a flank I have left exposed to criticisms, both from those who know a great deal, and those, who in reality know nothing. At any rate, here is something in the place of nothing. My book may be thrown into the abyss and form a platform, on which a better edifice may be raised, and, as my sole object is to advance Science, I shall be con-

tent to perform the part of an African wife, who is laid alive on her face in the newly-dug grave, to form a comfortable resting-place for the dead body of her husband. I have no pet theories of my own, and no knowledge wherewith to form them; but I have an eye to recognize by intuition the work of a great master, when I read it, and to detect the vagaries of a charlatan, and the unsoundness of the man, who plays, as it were, at dice with words and syllables with a view of working out shadowy and impossible affinities. I sit at the feet of Lepsius, F. Müller, Bleek, and Krapf, and other great men, and try to follow *longo intervallo* the steps of Adelung, Vater, Balbi, Prichard, Latham and Julg, whose object was to report the present state of our knowledge. If it prove a bad and useless book, I shall be sorry for it, for it has cost me a great deal of money, for which I do not care, and a great deal of the remaining working hours of my life, for which I do very much care. At any rate, I have done what I could, and roused an interest in many a slumbering quarter. In the centre of every conglomeration of rubbish there must be an atom of something useful: if this book prove to be that atom, I shall be content, for the ball is set rolling. Perhaps the errors and omissions may be forgiven, when the vastness of the subject is considered. He would be a bold man who, without a long study, attacked the whole work, but so exposed is the flank, that from any quarter may come an arrow for Philip's right eye.

My materials consist of copious extracts, methodically arranged, according to my classification. I cannot but think that a confessedly imperfect book, constructed upon the methodical lines followed by me, will be of use in the present dearth of information, and enable some more efficient compiler to hit off something better out of the collected material.

One other result has come from my extensive reading of African literature. The common form of description of an African is, that he is cruel, dirty, superstitious, selfish, a cannibal, and addicted to fetichism, human sacrifices, sorcery, and slave-dealing, besides being a drunkard, polygamist, a neglecter of domestic ties, a liar and a cheat. How different is the impression gained from an extensive consideration of the whole subject! A Japanese, on his return to his home lately, gave an unfavourable account of England and its people; but it appeared that in his short visit to this Country he had never got beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the London Docks, and drew his picture from that unsavoury quarter. The average white man's opinion of any people is of little value, as he is apt to form that opinion from what came under his observation during a short visit, when he came into contact with the least attractive classes, by whom, no doubt, he was cheated, while he was trying to overreach them.

Ewald remarks, that we cannot be reminded too often, that all so-

called philosophy of language remains a matter of utmost imperfection, as long as we do not possess a correct idea of the extent and nature of all languages. As I lay down my pen after so many years of due examination of the map, so much checking of lists of names, and taking notes from books, the thought came over me: how large, after all, is the undiscovered area, and how many the unrecorded names? The sound of a voice comes crying from the wilderness, a faint sound, such as is heard through a telephone: "We are "here, though our voices have not reached you, nor yours reached "us. The twentieth century, with many other wonders, will "reveal the secret of our existence, though to you it is not given." This gives the subject a strange fascination. I little thought, when I left India, that I should live to extend the empire of my interests "ultra Garamantas et Indos," but it grew upon and enchained me, as new customs and new languages opened out, new phenomena presented themselves. The map, by being constantly inspected with a magnifying-glass, began to be very familiar, and then the solemn procession of Nations and Tribes began to explain itself. Still there was a dark side to the shield. I can hardly describe how heartily tired I became of the great work, for it sat upon me like the old man in the story of Sindbad the Sailor, and kept me away from lighter and more airy studies, which had to be shunted, until the African Goods Train had passed by. It may be well to have some stock-work always on hand, but too much Africa on the brain is apt to cause insomnia and dyspepsia. One word to those, who think it waste of time to record the characteristics of languages, destined to be swept away by the broom of Modern Civilization. We deem it, forsooth, not unworthy of our civilization to bring over to England the fragments of Egyptian and Greek Art, because they tell of the intellectual power of the Races, who have preceded us. But how much more wonderful is the mechanism of a language than the execution of a statue or an obelisk? It has been wrought out by the silent process of unconscious generations, who each in their turn fashioned the original vocable, cemented it with others, each in its own way, and differentiated it by Tones, if the genius of the people preferred a monosyllabic vehicle of thought, or left it to the friction of after-ages, and to live in the mouths of millions yet to be born, as an indestructible inheritance. I mentioned one day at the Geographical Club, that I had at last traced Barth's lost Vocabularies, our only knowledge of certain Languages of Central Africa. "Of what use will they be," said a cynical friend; "who will look at them?" This remark was discouraging, but it was not philosophical. Of what use are the labours of the Conchologist and the Botanist? I took up one day a large quarto, newly published by the Dublin Philosophical Society, on Conchology, and though I am endowed to a great extent with the gift of sympathetic receptiveness, I could

not understand one word, and a cold shudder passed over me, for I thought of my own Book in the unsympathetic hands of one, who did not care for Philology and Africa.

The next step of Generalization is for some trained Scholar to take all the Vocabularies in hand, bring them to the same method of Transliteration, examine each word, reduce it to its simplest form, cast out all Loan-Words, and then publish a carefully digested Polyglott of a limited size. To help this forward, I have availed myself of my opportunities to distribute among all the Missionary Societies in Africa a copy of a form of selected Words and Sentences, in order that it may be filled up in all the Language and Separate Dialects of Languages in one in their different fields, and one system of Transliteration.

When all are assembled before the great White Throne, pleading with one voice in mutually unintelligible words the merits of the Saviour, One alone will understand all. There will only be one Language then, the Language of the Angels. The imperfect coinage of words, and marshalling of sentences, will no longer be required. Language will have had its day. "Lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, all Nations, and kindreds, and People, and Tongues, and they cried with a loud voice."

Let me turn away from the subject of language, and say one farewell word of the Missionaries; those good and unselfish men, who for a high object have sacrificed careers, which might have been great and honoured in their own countries, and have gone forth to live in hovels, and sometimes to die: who, as it were, in the course of their striking hard on the anvil of Evangelization, their own proper work, have emitted bright sparks of Linguistic Light, which have rendered luminous a Region previously shrouded in darkness, and these sparks have kindled a corresponding feeling of warmth in the hearts of great, and to them, personally unknown Scholars, working in their studies in Vienna, Berlin, or some German University; Scholars, who, alas! cared little for the object of the Missionary's going forth, but who rejoiced exceedingly at the wonderful, unexpected, and epoch-making results of their quiet labours. It was, as it were, Deep calling to Deep, where Ewald, Pott, Steinthal, Von der Gabelentz, F. Müller, Prætorius, and many others, turned away for a moment from the well-worn track of Arian and Semitic Philology, to look into and expatiate upon the wonderful novelties revealed by Schlenker, Koëlle, Christaller, Krapf, Moffat, to admire the wild flowers of luxuriant development blooming in the African garden, no longer sealed up. I read the remark of a Missionary in the Kalabári Desert, that the sight of the Great Bear above the horizon made him somehow feel nearer home. Such must have been the feeling of the African Scholar, when he read in the Leipzig Journals the criticisms by the German Doctors, and felt that his labours were appreciated.

Appreciated! the time has hardly come for a just judgment on the subject. The Missionary is the peculiar outcome, the most wondrous development, and the great glory of the Nineteenth Century. I am not careful as to who reads, or leaves unread, these last lines, which are dictated by a long and tried experience in Asia, and a close observation of Africa from a distance, and a conviction, that it is well for mankind in the midst of Colonies, Commerce, and War, that there should be in addition to the sounding of the War-drum, the selfish cry of the Merchant, and the lash of the Slave-driver, in every part of the World, specially in the darkest, an honest, unselfish man, representing the highest and most chivalrous form of Morality in Regions, where it is least practised and most wanted, one who is not afraid to be the champion of the oppressed, the denouncer of the evil custom, the protester against the bad Law. And if to some few of these Ambassadors of Christ it is given to be great Scholars, as well as good men, it is well also. I am not unmindful, that of all the Languages, in which Xerxes, King of Persia, issued his letters to each Province in his own Language, only those two have survived, and are still living on the lips of men, to which the oracles of God have been committed, Hebrew and Greek. I do not find, that any Language has ever perished from the great Reservoir of Human Knowledge, which has been elevated to the dignity of being the vehicle of Divine Knowledge, and I draw the attention of the Negro Scholars on the Niger to these two facts, in order that if, as true Patriots, they desired a prolonged life to the wonderful languages of their Country, they should lose no time in committing to them some portion of God's Word, for the very fact of a language being the chosen instrument of conveying Divine Truth to poor Mortal Men would confer upon it Immortality.

"Nulla Dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo."

LONDON, 1883.

Since the date of the publication of my two volumes "The Modern Languages of Africa," and this Essay in English, French, and Italian, the increase of our knowledge in every part of Africa has been very considerable. Whether this result is "post-hoc," or "propter hoc," matters not. The fact is beyond doubt. I have become aware of it, because every Author is good enough to send me a copy of his new work, and I notice them all in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Many labourers also in the different parts of the field have sent me Manuscripts of Vocabularies, Dictionaries, Grammars and Texts, the publication of which by the Bible Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, or at my own cost, I have promoted. The venerable Dr. Schön has worked steadily on. Professor Reinisch has published valuable works: quite an Army of Missionaries have been at work on the East, West, and South Coasts. I have received lately from Professor Reinisch the third volume of his Afar or Dankali Sprache,

from Professor René Bassett his Manual of the Kabáil: from Dr. Sims a series of Grammars of languages in the upper basin of the Kongo. I have been correcting the proofs of Don Osorio's Vocabulary of the Fan language, on the West Coast, Mr. D. Rankin's Vocabulary of a dialect of the Makua language, on the East Coast, Dr. Rebman's Dictionary of the Nika language on the East Coast, and I have received from Watson Pasha of Suákin his excellent Vocabularies of the Hadendóa, and Beni Amer, collected while stationed at that Port of the Red Sea. A Gospel is being printed in the language of U-Ganda. Mr. Bentley has published a Dictionary of the Kongo languages. Dr. Junker tells me that he has Vocabularies of several new languages. The annual out-turn indicates the great intellectual movement that is taking place all over the Dark Continent.

LONDON, JUNE, 1887.

ABSTRACT TABLE OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS.

No.	Family or Group.	Branch or Sub-Group.	Number of Languages.	Number of Dialects.	Total.
1	Semitic	I. Northern	2	8	10
		II. Ethiopic	8	1	9
		Total	10	9	19
2	Hamitic	I. Egyptian	2	2	4
		II. Libyan	9	15	24
		III. Ethiopic	18	10	28
		Total	29	27	56
3	Nuba-Fulah	I. Nuba	16	3	19
		II. Fulah	1	4	5
		Total	17	7	24
4	Negro	I. Atlantic	67	24	91
		II. Niger	38	13	51
		III. Central	59	11	70
		IV. Nile	31	1	32
		Total	195	49	244
5	Bántu	I Southern	10	14	24
		II. Eastern	78	16	94
		III. Western	80	25	105
		Total	168	55	223
6	Hottentot-Bushman	I. Khoikhoi	1	4	5
		II. Helot	12	1	13
		III. Pygmy	6	1	7
		Total	19	6	25
	LONDON, 1883.		438	153	591

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FRENCH NORTH AFRICAN EMPIRE.

It is openly asserted by French publicists, that the only chance for France maintaining her position as a Great Power in Europe is to found Colonies in Asia and Africa, and the cherished desire of the French nation is to have a great African Empire. To give birth to great Colonies, such as Australia and Canada, they are confessedly unequal, as, owing to the well-known domestic habits, which discourage the maintenance of large families of children, their population is stagnant, and has no annual surplus thousands to throw off. To govern great subject Empires such as India they are not qualified, for they have not, as a nation, sufficient self-restraint to be content with the affairs of the Empire, and to leave the property in land of the subject races absolutely unviolated. What they mean by a Colony is a country like Algeria, in which French citizens are encouraged to settle on lands, from which the ancient proprietors have been ousted, not, however, cultivating them entirely themselves, but by the agency of the indigenous races reduced to serfage. Their object again is to make such Colonies the strictly guarded commercial preserves of the Mother-Country, the raw products of the subject-country being collected mainly for the advantage of the conquering race. The manufactured products of the Mother-Country are to be poured into the subject-country, all competition with other European countries being barred by protective duties; the *raison d'être* of a Colony is to constitute an exclusive mart for the home manufacturer.

Even in the mode of acquisition of their so-called Colonies the French nation has a method of its own. Neither the Russian nor the British nation can plead innocence in the matter of annexation; but, when each case is examined, it will be found, that there has been no deliberate design conceived beforehand of seeking an entirely new country for purposes of conquest. The uncontrollable force of circumstances has driven both these Nations forward on the path of Empire, against the wishes of the Rulers, and even their repeated prohibition. The French Nation, however, usually selects the spot, which seems suitable to their operations; an explorer is sent forward, and makes a Treaty which founds rights; the

THE FRENCH
NORTH AFRICAN EMPIRE.
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Bay of Biscay
FRANCE
Genoa
Marseilles
Corsica
ROME
Sardinia
Barcelona
Balearic Isles
Meridian of Greenwich
C. Finisterre
Oporto
PORTUGAL
MADRID
Valencia
SPAIN
LISBON
Azores
C. St. Vincent
Carthagena
Malaga
Mediterranean Sea
ALGIERS
Constantine
Strait of Gibraltar
Gibraltar
Oran
Tangier
Ceuta
Arish
Fez
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
Malta
Cabes & Gulf
Madeira Isles
Asamor
Tadla
Tuggurt
Gerara
S. Jerid
TRIPOLI
W. Tensift
MAROCCO
Mogador
C. Ghir
S. Cruz
Tafilet
Ghardaia
Metlili
Wargla
El Erg
Ghadames
El Hammada
Canary Islands
Tallahint
C. Nun
W. Draa
C. Juby
Ain Salah
Tuat
Tidikelt
Tasili Plat.
Asgar
FEZZAN
MURZUK
C. Bojador
Bel Abbas
Grona
Semur
Muydir Plat.
Amguia
Ideles
Jeb Ahaggar
Afelele
SAHARA OR GREAT DESERT
Tiris
Maghter
WADAN
El Juf
Taodeni
Mabruk
C. Blanco
Arguin
ADERER
Asawad
Awelimiden
Asiu
Shado
C. Mirik
Tejigja
Taganet
Tishit
Akela
Walata
Arawan
Kelowi
Air or Ashen
Tin-tellust
Bilma
TIMBUKTU
Gao or Gogo
Agades
Senegal R.
Meshila
Baghena
Kasambara
Sonrhay
ST. LOUIS
SENEGAMBIA
Gambia
Bandaba
Kita
Jenne
Damerghu
Nigigmi
L. Tsad
Futa Jallon
Tuabo
SEGO
Arre
Kulfela
Wogodogho
HAUSSA STATES
Kano
Yakoba
Mandingoes
Kong
Bussa
Kong Mts.
SIERRA LEONE
FREE TOWN
Musardu
ASHANTI
COOMASSIE
Ibadan
Abeokuta
Benin
Abo
Wari
Tika
Kunde
Bayong
Bimahung
ADAMAWA
Kanchu
Katsena-allah
Ngaringa
MONROVIA
LIBERIA
Grain Coast
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Slave Co.
Biafra
BIGHT OF BIAFRA
Princes I.
THE GUINEA COAST
W. Gr. 0° E. Gr.
SCALE OF 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 MILES.
Stanford's, Geog. Estab.

Treaty is of course broken by the Native Power, and it is naively admitted, that it is meant to be broken, and invasion and annexation follow, unless some obstacle arises or catastrophe intervenes. The exploration of the Sahára is a notable instance of a deliberate attempt to appropriate a vast region, without the consent of the inhabitants, and without the shadow of a complaint against them as bad neighbours. Their country was wanted for the purpose of opening-up a new market; their country was being annexed by a railway line.

France has two Colonies in Africa North of the Equator. Algeria with Tunisia, which fronts to the Mediterranean, is bounded on the East by the Turkish Province of Tripolitána, on the West by the independent Kingdom of Morocco. The jealousy of Italy as regards Tripolitána, and of Spain as regards Morocco, prevents all hope of French extension on either flank, without a rupture with a European Power. To the South Nature has apparently placed a boundary in the Great Desert, which extends from the Atlantic to the Nile. This desert is not entirely uninhabited, for one of the most ancient Races in the World maintains in its midst a precarious nomad existence, known to their neighbours as the Tuwárik, and to themselves as the Imoshagh, or Amazirgh, or "Free." They are cognates of the settled inhabitants of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, who are known under the general name of Berber. They have outlived all the conquerors of North Africa, Phenicians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, and Turks, maintaining their rude liberties, and perhaps are destined to outlive the French Rule also.

This great Desert extends over fourteen degrees of North latitude, from 32° to 18°, at which point it reaches the great bend of the River Niger, on the North bank of which is the town of Timbaktú, inhabited by a pure Negro population. Fifteen degrees of West longitude, 1° to 16°, from Timbaktú, is the important French Colony of St. Louis, on the River Senegál. The banks of the river are occupied by independent tribes, and the nearest potentate of importance is the Mahometan Sovereign, who dwells at Segu, on the East bank of the Niger. No European Power has any interests or Commerce within many hundred miles; the climate is deadly and the exports insignificant. Yet it is the openly expressed policy and intention of the French people to extend this Colony up the basin of the River Senegál and one of its branches, to cross the watershed of the Rivers Senegál and Niger, and place gunboats on that river, by means of which they hope to dominate over all the tribes inhabiting that all but unknown region as far as Lake Tsad, and finally to connect these regions by a railroad, which is to find its way across the Sahára, in spite of the awful Desert, and the unconquerable Tuwárik, to the frontier of Algeria. The conception is magnificent. Time and the sacrifice of a vast amount of treasure and lives will be required, and, whatever may be the motive, it

will be a great gain to civilization to have connected by a permanent way the Sudán with the Mediterranean. The first attempt to carry out this design has met with a rude check in the total destruction of the Exploring party by the attack of the Tuwárik, who felt that their liberties were at stake. I wish to describe the nature of this check, and it is necessary previously to describe briefly the physical features of I. Algeria with Tunisia, II. The Senegál Colony, III. The Sahára, and then to narrate the history and the tragical end of the Expedition, which took place in the last days of January or the first of February, 1881. No attempt has been made by the French Government to avenge their death, or prosecute their undertaking.

In October, 1882, accompanied by my wife, I visited the Province of Algeria with Tunisia, with the double object of observing the French mode of managing subject Provinces, a duty, with which I had been familiar in India, and to study on the spot this great problem of the Trans-Sahára Railway. The story of the massacre was very fresh then in men's minds, and it was constantly alluded to in the public press. The idea of this railway had something of fascination even for an outsider. It was a delightful exercise of fancy to draw straight lines across several degrees of latitude without coming within a hundred miles of a single village or well of water the whole way. A service of balloons seemed more suitable for the conditions of the country. I traversed the Provinces of Algeria with Tunisia from Oran, on the frontier of Morocco, to Tunis, the capital of the newly-annexed Tunisia. The old Bey, who had become a mere puppet, died while I was there; but the French Consul promptly placed a new puppet into the vacant chair, who did quite as well as the deceased dummy, and there was no perceptible change. The French system of Administration is strong and judicious. A Civil Government has succeeded to the former military despotism. Although I looked with the eye of a critic into the details of management, I could find nothing to complain of. There was peace and order in the towns, and entire safety to person and property in the open country. Excellent roads and railroads extended over the whole Province. In the Bazaar, which it was a pleasure to visit, Commerce was active. Not a soldier was to be seen, except in their proper cantonments or fortifications. There were schools and Courts of Justice, with too much of the French language and too little of the Native Vernacular to please me; but it is the characteristic of the French Nation to believe, that culture and progress can only be expressed in French, and in a conquered country the Rulers need not learn the language, as the people must be made to learn French. This is just the contrary of our system in British India, where the Vernacular is made the instrument of civilization and order.

The Province consists of one long narrow strip of country, though

which a trunk-railway runs from Oran to Tunis between the mountains and the sea; from this branches run to the ports of the Mediterranean, and branches cross the Atlas ranges to the South. The longest branch is that, which connects Constantine with Batna, an important fortified town in an elevated situation in the Aures Mountains. I was present, when this line was opened in person by the Governor-General, and had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony and hearing the speeches at the public dinner. They were highly characteristic of the Nation. From Batna a diligence drawn by eight horses, four abreast, conveyed us in sixteen hours through the pass of Kántára, down into the Sahára, and to the Oasis of Biskra. I passed the engineers on the road, lining out the extension of the railway, which has been carried out. For all practical purposes Biskra may be deemed the Northern terminus of the Trans-Sahára railway, as Timbaktú is the Southern terminus.

All round Batna are the Aures Mountains, till lately occupied by the Showiah, one of the hardiest of the Kabáil tribes: they represent the ancient Numidians, but blended with them are the remains of the old Roman Colonists, who fled to the hills, when the Mahometans invaded the country. Many of the women are still as fair as Europeans, and a sweet savour of their lost Latin language still clings to their rude form of speech. They call a garden "orto," an elm "olmo." The salutation of the new year is "Boniné," or "Bonon Annus," they use the Solar year and call their months Yenar, Mars, Maio, Junio. On these people the hands of the French fell heavily, when they took vengeance for the uprising during the Franco-German war of 1870; all their fair lands were confiscated, and distributed among French Settlers. I thought in my morning walk of Ireland, the Lady of the Lake, and the First Eclogue of Virgil. The ousted Kabáil still stalk about like ghosts in the town and the suburb, passing by French nurses and children in perambulators. There will be a massacre and a rebellion some day, and the French know it. Batna is a walled town, and the gates are closed at night. I stepped into a barber's shop to be shaved and found a gathering of Colonists smoking their cigarettes; we talked of the country, the crops and the prospects; the barber was, as usual, an authority: "Messieurs," said he, "you may be "kind to the native, pay his wages, take care of him when he "is sick, teach him in your schools; but when the opportunity "comes (he waved his razor in the flourish of a semi-circle), il vous "coupera la gorge. Voilà l'indigène." A murmur of assent was given by his compatriots. The speeches at the public dinner were characteristic. The Governor, like all Governors in all lands, simulated wisdom, if he had it not, and spoke with reserve and a becoming sense of responsibility. I fancied, that I heard the echo of the platitudes of an old friend in the Panjáb, and of another in the North-West Provinces. But the Deputy for the Department of

Constantine in the House of Representatives at Paris, who was visiting his constituents, allowed himself the usual free license of lies and flattery of his supporters. He spoke of the confiscation of the lands of the indigènes, and the duty which La Belle France owed to her people, and remarked that "Les Français sont Colonistes par excellence."

From the Oasis of Biskra I drove across the Desert to the small but beautiful Oasis of Sidi Okba, where the great Arab conqueror of North Africa is buried. Very few holiday-travellers ever see more of the Sahára than can be seen in this trip. Forty years hence perhaps a visit to Algeria will be incomplete without a run across the Sahára to Timbaktú. However, a great deal of the novel and strange beauty of the Desert can be realized by a trip to Sidi Okba. It is a wonderful sight to drive out, as it were, on a sea of sand, while the lofty mountains of the Aures Range seem to sink into the horizon, and at length nothing but a few palms here and there mark an Oasis. The Oasis of Sidi Okba comes into sight as a green island, with clusters of palms and minarets. After visiting the tomb of the great conqueror, the traveller is taken up to the circular gallery of the minaret, where the muezzin was calling to prayers, when I ascended, and a view of the vast desert extending to Timbaktú can be enjoyed. It is worth while making the excursion to the Sahára to see the palms, and taste their fruit while it is fresh, hanging in luscious branches from the stem, quite a different article from the dried article of Commerce. There are 100,000 palms in the Oasis of Biskra alone: this tree delights to have its feet in water and its head in the fire of the sun.

The Algerian Sahára consists of just so much of the region South of the Atlas and Aures Ranges as the French have found it convenient or possible to annex: a chain of military frontier-stations extends from the Morocco frontier, which will be gradually connected by railways to the High Plateau and Tell; they are Geryville, Laghouat, Golea, Ghardaia, and Wargla. From Biskra to Tuggurt is the Wadi Rhih, which has a dark-coloured settled population, is a distance of 139 miles, and from the military station is about the same distance to Wargla, the extreme frontier. These tracts are in the real Sahára, but there will be no difficulty in constructing a railway thus far, though it had not advanced to the stage of practical politics at the time of my visit.

In this Algerian frontier we have a fair specimen of the much-talked about *scientific* frontier, which some years ago proved such a delightful snare to the British public. The science, if any, consists in a great European Power laying its hands upon as much territory, belonging to a weaker State, as it happens to want, or is able to hold. Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Germany have given most instructive instances of this wolf-and-lamb policy; the strangest feature is, that the countries, which like France are most

sore at having a portion of their own territory lopped off by a stronger Power, are the most ready to violate the frontier of weaker States, having a strong feeling for their own independence, but none at all for that of their African and Asiatic neighbours.

Biskra is 410 feet above the level of the sea; after sunset I found it exceedingly cold in the month of October, and this is one of the features of the Sahára. Just below Biskra the traveller comes upon the chain of Inland marsh-lakes, which stretch across Tunisia to the Mediterranean. They represent the estuary, or drainage of the vast river-courses of the Great Sahára, which are now dry and choked with sand. They are known as the Shott of Tunis; the three largest are Melghir, below the level of the sea; Jerid, which is higher; and Rharsa, which is lower. In ancient times they are said to have been an arm of the Mediterranean, known as Lake Tritonis. One of the magnificent conceptions of the French is by a cutting to let the Mediterranean into this basin, with the object of improving the climate and rendering the Great Desert accessible to steamers. M. Roudaire, backed by M. Lesseps, has placed his scheme before the public, which has been met by serious objections, the initial one being the certainty of an enormous expenditure with a very doubtful profit. All the French Colonies cost the Mother-Country very much more than they can ever return. The budget of Algeria presents a serious deficit, and no wonder, when it appears that an army of 60,000 men is required to control a population of less than two millions in Algeria, and an additional 30,000 for Tunisia. British India would not pay its way, if the army had such a proportion to the population. At Tunis I asked my friend, the late Dr. Nachtigall, the Consul-General of the German Empire, what were the nature of his instructions, as far as they could with propriety be divulged. His reply was very frank, that the French were to be encouraged to annex as large a portion of Africa as they could possibly desire. Prince Bismark foresees the advantage of a large proportion of the French Army being detained on foreign duty.

Let me turn my attention first to the Senegál Colony. The prominent position occupied by this previously unimportant colony is entirely due to the energy and determination of a most distinguished military officer, General Faidherbe, now Grand Master of the Legion of Honour, but for twelve years, from 1855 to 1864, Governor of Senegál. I had the honour of an interview with him at the Palace of the Legion of Honour at Paris in 1882, and he is distinguished as a Scholar, as well as an Administrator. I found him entirely a cripple, and he attributed his malady to the pestiferous climate of his Province. It occurred to me, that I and scores of other public servants had been twenty-five to thirty years in India, and that we were generally stronger than our contemporaries, who had never left England; in fact, it is another feature of French colonization,

that they are induced to choose unhealthy localities, such as the Senegál, the Gabún, and Tonquin. General Faidherbe presented me with a small pamphlet, which he had just published, with the interesting title of "Le Sudán-Français," giving an account of the experiences and aspirations of the Colony. A great many other writers have published works much in the same strain. It is worthy of remark that the General thinks poorly of the Trans-Sahára Railway scheme, and would prefer to have the Commerce of the interior brought by his railway from the Niger to the Senegál. He also in words repudiates the use of brutal force, as condemned by public opinion, and yet every step of the advance, made by himself and his successors, is based upon cannon, soldiers, and gunboats. It is not the quiet progress up-stream of the Missionary or the merchant, but the deliberate advance of armed forces, storming towns, fighting battles, building forts, and annexing territory. And if this is not *force brutale*, it is difficult to translate the word. And the whole policy emanates from the Republican Ministry at Paris, and not from the insubordinate high-handedness of the local Governor.

Up to 1854 the French had only a few commercial establishments on the Senegál, St. Louis on the Atlantic Coast, and Bakel and Senudébo were the furthest points in the interior on the Rivers Senegál and Faleme; on the North of the river the wild Berber tribes, known as Zénaga, had much their own way; to the South were several kingdoms, some Mahometan and others Pagan Negro. The island of Goree had also been occupied just South of Cape Vert. The position of the French traders was weak and humiliating, something like that of the English in Bangál before the Battle of Plassy. Like Clive, Faidherbe changed the position of affairs; he thoroughly thrashed and subdued the Berber tribes on the North; he extended the Protectorate of France over the petty States on the coast to the South. He fortified Bakel, and drove off the invading army of a great Mahometan Sovereign, who from his capital on the Niger gave out his intention of subduing all the Negro kingdoms, and driving the French into the sea. He extended the French influence further up the Senegál, and fortified the post of Medína, which had to undergo a long and dangerous siege from the Mahometans. Faidherbe in person relieved the garrison, and totally defeated the invading army, which never appeared again in the neighbourhood. During the years 1858, 1859, and 1860, Faidherbe extended the influence of the French over all the Negro kingdoms North of the River Gambia, occupied the harbour of Dakar, sent embassies to the Berber Chief of Adrar, and the Mahometan Toucouleur Chief of Segu on the Niger, offering terms of peace, and by the year 1865, when he left, this able and resolute Soldier-Governor had not only placed French interests on a solid foundation, but he had sketched out plans of magnificent

annexation, which stood over for eleven years in the bureau of the Marine Department at Paris.

In 1876 they were carried out. Bafulábe was suddenly occupied on the Senegál, which here unites the two branches of the Ba-Oule and Ba-Fing; along a branch of the former, the Ba-Khoy, lay the path of victory. Gallieni was sent forward on an embassy to Segu, where he made a Treaty, but had his camp attacked and plundered: after him came Desbordes, who in 1880, 1881, and 1882, defeated the tribes right and left, founding a chain of garrisoned posts at Badumbe, Kita, Kundu, Niaggasola, and finally Bammaku on the Niger. This place is distant from St. Louis on the Senegál 1600 kilometres, or 1000 miles, and from Khayes, a little South of Medína, where the navigation of the Senegál is interrupted, 520 kilometres, or 325 miles. Over this last distance the construction of a railway has been sanctioned (1879) by the French Republic, and is actually under construction, and in the last Report is a photograph of large viaducts already made. Another railway has actually been constructed from the commodious harbour of Dakar to St. Louis, the access to which is difficult on account of river-bar. Thence steamers ply to Khayes: thence the railway will in a very short period run to Bammaku. On the Niger are placed war-steamers, which will run up and down the great stream, and domineer over the tribes of this great river, up-stream as far as the kingdom of Tembo, and down-stream as far as Timbaktú and beyond. But Timbaktú is the Southern terminus of the great Trans-Sahára Railway, and that is the object of the above diversion. The Treaty with Ahmadu, the Mahometan Sovereign of Segu, secures the French Protectorate, and the exclusion of any other European State or merchant whatever. Protection in every sense is the beginning and end of every French Commercial Treaty, but the outlay is such, that it may be doubtful whether the game is worth the expense of the candle. We have yet to learn, whether there is any Commerce worth developing in these countries, where the inhabitants are in such a low state of culture, and the line of railway through a population exceedingly hostile, not held in subjection, as in India, by a strong Government, but only domineered over by a chain of posts, appear to be liable to conditions, of which we have no experience in any part of the World. Commerce may be and is carried on at its own risks, and in its own peaceful way, in foreign territory, in caravans or river-steamers, in many parts of Asia and Africa, or it may be carried on in a country entirely subdued like Algeria, or British India; but the state of affairs from Medína on the Senegál to Timbaktú on the Niger differs widely from either of the above conditions.

Duponchel, one of the earliest and most enthusiastic advocates of the scheme, formulates it thus: solidly established in fortified posts on the Niger, connected by rail with Algeria and the Senegál,

is a climate relatively healthy, domineering over the Upper and Lower Niger from its source to its mouth, the French will be masters of the Sudán. The object is to get the exclusive monopoly of the products of Central Africa, by being the first to get at it. The writer dreamt of a vast Empire of one hundred millions. He laughed at the idea of other European nations attempting to do the same, as if it were robbing France of its prerogative to have a preponderating influence in Central Africa, as it was not only her right, but her duty to claim the exclusive privilege of civilizing the people, and the benevolent work of establishing an African India, to which France had a much better right than Great Britain ever had, or could possibly have, to the East Indies.

Such is the situation of the two Colonies of France, Algeria with Tunisia on the North, and the French Sudán and Senegambia on the South. Between them lies the Great Sahára. A few words on the political and physical features of that mighty region. On the East the posts of Ghadámes and Ghát are within the Pashalik of Tripolitána, and are part of the Turkish Empire. An English Consul has from time to time resided at Ghadámes; a Turkish garrison has from time to time occupied Ghát. On the West Figuig, Gurára, Angeroudh, Tidikelt, and Ain-Salah, in the Túat Oasis, belong to Morocco. The more advanced class of French pamphleteers suggest as a step precedent, that the Empire of Morocco should be divided between Spain and France, or taken entirely by France, or at any rate Morocco should be asked to give up all the places above mentioned. Such an idea perhaps scarcely enters into serious politics, as the annexation of Morocco would mean war with Great Britain as well as Spain; yet still, when once a tiger tastes blood, he never can have enough. No doubt the long necklace of Oases, 160 miles long, with 400,000 inhabitants, known as the Túat, are exceedingly tempting, and Ain-Salah and Ghát are the keys of the position. Ain-Salah is equidistant from Algiers, Timbaktú, Mogadore, and Tripoli. Yet France dares not violate either frontier. She must work a central line from Wargla to some point equidistant from Timbaktú, and Agades in the Oasis of Air, which is in constant commercial intercourse through Ghát with Tripoli, as indeed Timbaktú is with Sus in the Empire of Morocco. There indeed the shoe pinches. There used in former days to be a direct caravan-route from the Niger to Algeria, but it consisted entirely of slaves, who carried themselves and the light articles of export, such as ostrich feathers and gold dust; but with the abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery, the intercourse with Algeria ceased, while it still continues in full force with the less scrupulous (in this particular) people of Morocco and Tripolitána.

But right in the passage of the French to the Sudán, between the Morocco and Tripolitána frontier, dwell the indomitable tribes known as Tuwárik or Amazirgh, citizens of a Republic freer than

that of France. These children of the desert are divided into two classes, the nobles and the serfs: the latter are black in colour, probably the aborigines of the country, before the Berbers, under pressure of Arab invasion, retreated from the coast to the desert. The nobles are divided into four great hordes: 1. The Ahaggar. 2. The Azjar. 3. The Kelowi. 4. The Awelimmiden. Both nobles and serfs possess Negro slaves. The nobles are a remarkable race, preferring the desert and the tent to cities and fixed houses. They are monogamous, and allow their women full liberty in their action, and choice of their husband. The men wear veils, but the women have their faces exposed to view. Both sexes are tall, handsome, and intelligent, but as false as the Afghán, as addicted to rapine as the Turkoman, as quarrelsome among themselves in their tribes as the dogs of Constantinople. The inheritance of a man passes not to his son, but to his sister's son, and a man's nobility is graded by the rank of his mother. These tribes never have known a master, and probably never will. They may be improved off the face of the earth, like the Red Indian, but they will not knuckle down as subjects. But there are other human factors to be dealt with in the Sahára, besides the Tuwárik. Some are Berberized Arabs, like the Shamba, who reside near Wargla; some are Arabized Berbers. All are lax Mahometans, and still laxer in morals. Some formidable tribes are known as the "beni" or "aulád" of some particular person, like the Sons of Diarmid, in the Scotch Highlands. Such are the people.

Popular belief pictures the Sahára as an immense plain of moving sand, dotted here and there with fertile Oases; it used to be deemed a flat ocean, devoid of all differences of level, vegetation, and water. Experience has taught us, that it has a great variety of levels and characteristics, and it has its peculiar flora, and a certain, though limited, supply of water, which might be greatly increased by art, storage, and good government. There are lofty central mountains, as extensive as the range of the Alps. Barth, on his journey from Ghát to Agades, crossed a range at Egeri, by a pass of an altitude of 4000 feet; the mountains are entered on the map as 5000 feet; these are the Azjar highlands. The highlands of Ahaggar are still loftier; there is snow in these central ranges, and in all the narratives of travellers mention is made of the violent storms of rain, which carry all before them. Vast beds of rivers are traced through the whole region, and it is by them that the traveller finds his way, for they are entirely dry. The waters which flow Southward from the Southern slope of the Atlas, and Northward from the central highlands, instead of flowing in these beds, sink into the sand, and take a subterranean course, known to the Tuwárik by covered reservoirs, to which they get access, by a well in some hollow, or they develope into an Oasis. The French have largely introduced, and with great

success, the use of artesian wells. The soil is good, if only water can be obtained. Palms spring up in hundreds round the newly discovered water, and under the shade of the palm other vegetation. The fatal desire of the Tuwárik to conceal these wells led to the destruction of many, and care has to be taken to keep new wells in repair, and prevent their being choked by the sand in motion.

The Wadi Igharghar and Wadi Mia are the two great roads, by which access to the central watershed of the Sahára has been sought by the French, and never yet been effected. Guides are found with difficulty, but still they are found to show the way, and names have been assigned by tradition to numberless localities. The leading physical features are high rocky plateaux of hard gravel, which retain no mark of the camel's foot, vast dunes, the sand of the surface of which is raised by the winds. These dunes are grouped in lofty chains, extending in parallel lines North to South, and separated by stony defiles. Then there are isolated flat-topped cones, rounded off by the wearing away of the wind and rain; to all these features there is a distinct terminology; the horror of the scene can only faintly be portrayed in the pictures, with which the narratives of travellers are illustrated, and the intense fatigue and suffering, both of the man and the camel, cannot be described fully in words. The climate is indeed exceedingly healthy, but the heat intense; it is significantly recorded, that no firewood or substitute for firewood being found, water and coffee were during the expedition boiled by powerful lenses attracting the rays of the sun to brass vessels, and in a few minutes boiling heat was attained. On the other hand, the cold at night is intense, and such a sudden change of temperature must prove deleterious to health.

Commerce is put forward as the motive, but clearly conquest and glory are the chief attraction; there are no manufactured goods worth speaking of to be got from the Sudán, the raw produce consists of ivory, ostrich feathers, gold dust, ground nuts, and possibly cattle; on the other hand, there are inexhaustible stores of salt in the desert, and no salt at all in the Sudán; the profit of the salt imported into the Sudán is fondly calculated upon as being likely to pay for the expense of the entire railway from Biskra to Timbaktú.

I now come to the last act, and the details of the tragedy. The Government of the French Republic were induced to make the experiment of a preparatory survey of the Sahára, and the greatest prudence was evinced in the selection of the means; it was to be a Civil, not a Military, enterprise, and was placed under the command of Colonel Flatters, an Officer of tried experience on the frontier at Laghouat, from which point he had well considered the question. I certainly gathered from the Public Press, that he and his companions, though well versed in Arabic, were totally

ignorant of the language of the Kabáil, spoken by the Shamba, their guides, and the Tamáshek, spoken by the Tuwárik. This was a serious deficiency. They had with them one of the members of the religious fraternity of the Mahometan dervishes of the shrine of Temashin, near Tuggurt, which was believed to be a great assistance. Their guides were mainly of the tribe of Shamba, who were on friendly terms with Azjar Tuwárik, but very hostile to the Ahaggar. Camels were purchased at a heavy price in large numbers. It was determined to follow the line of Wadi Igharghar, the Ghir of Ptolemy the Geographer, and leaving Ghát considerably on the East, to get to the South of the central highlands, whence there would be an open road to Timbaktú. The distance from Wargla to Timbaktú can be expressed either as 15 Geographical degrees of latitude, or 1800 kilometres, amounting to 1100 miles.

The Expedition left Wargla on March 5, 1880, and halting at many places, the chief of which were Feij Damran, Ain-Taibah, El Adhan, El Biodh, reached Temassinin on April 1, and Ain-al-Hajaj, April 6, where two Tuwárik emissaries came to the camp, and told them that the Chiefs of the Azjar Tuwárik were at Ghát. This placed Colonel Flatters in the dilemma of either going to Ghát, to which he objected, or waiting for an unknown period the arrival of the Chiefs. It is characteristic that, though on an Expedition of a purely peaceful nature, he regretted, that he had not one hundred and fifty or two hundred of his soldiers to enable him to force his way. In his journal he tries to satisfy himself, that such an organization would be quite as pacific, and much more independent, as the fear inspired would be more potent than the presents which he distributed. He gives us also his views of the political situation. In the check now offered to his progress he detected the influence of Turkey, which had lately occupied Ghát, under the pretence of putting a stop to the eternal quarrels of the Azjar and Ahaggar Tuwárik, and behind Turkey he detects the cloven foot of *perfide Albion*, always ready to thwart the legitimate expansion of France. Such reasoning would read as the expression of the narrow and jaundiced mind of an imperfectly informed soldier bitterly disappointed; but General Faidherbe, in 1881, after the destruction of Colonel Flatters, allows himself to indulge in expressions about the ingratitude of Great Britain in thwarting France in her scheme to civilize Africa. It appears incredible, that Great Britain should have anything whatever to do with Colonel Flatters' first expedition across the Sahára, or even any knowledge of the project.

On the 16th April the expedition had moved to Lake Menkough, which proved to be their final stage. Colonel Flatters tried in vain to get an interview with Ikhonúden, the aged Chief of the Azjar, who kept himself out of the way, but sent some of his subordinates

to spin out delays, while he, through the Turkish Governor of Ghát, applied to Tripoli for the orders of the Sultan of Turkey. The Colonel dared not advance into the territory of the Ahaggar Tuwárik without some previous communication; he was therefore obliged to give up his hope of working his way through the territory of the Azjar to the Lake of Amadghór, which was the object of his journey; there was nothing for it but to retrace his steps to Wargla, and put off the Expedition for another year. Colonel Flatters went himself to Paris, to report the diplomatic complications which had supervened. Thus ended without success, and yet without loss of life or disgrace, the first Expedition.

On the 4th December of the same year Colonel Flatters found himself on his return from Paris again at the head of his Expedition, slightly modified in details, but prepared to attempt the passage across the Sahára by another and more Westerly route. Before he started he received a message from the French Consul at Tripoli, full of anxious and sinister meaning, when read by the light of the coming catastrophe. The Governor of Ghát had written to Tripoli that Ahitaghen, the Chief of the Ahaggar Tuwárik, had received the letter, which Colonel Flatters had written to him from Lake Menkough, intimating his intention to pay him a visit, and had himself visited Ikhonúden, the Chief of the Azjar Tuwárik, and reproached him bitterly for having encouraged the Mission to return; this reproach was quite unjustifiable, but it indicated the hostility of Ahitaghen.

The second Expedition took the line of Wadi Mia. No European lived to return, so their progress can only be traced by their letters despatched on their route. They were heard of at Hassi Inafel on December, 17, 1880, at Hassi Messaguem January 6, 1881, at Amguid on Wadi Igharghar January 16, 1881, and Inselman Tikhsin on January 29, 1881. Beyond this we know nothing for certain. The fate of the Expedition could only be collected from the confused narrative of a few natives, who straggled back to Wargla on the 2nd of April. In this progress, Colonel Flatters had indeed avoided the Turkish influences at Ghát, but he had got within the sphere of Morocco influence at Ain-Salah, in the Túat Oasis. He recommends, in one of his last letters, that a mission be sent to Ain-Salah, strong enough to defend itself, but not having a military appearance, *but the name of France speaking loudly behind it.* He was clearly quite prepared to bring pressure upon Morocco, though not on Turkey. He came across a caravan working its way with merchandize from the Sudán to Ghadámes and Tripoli. The exports from the Sudán were ostrich feathers, gold dust, henna, dates, some cotton manufactures, carpets of the Sudán, and some black slaves. He found that the return caravan from Tripoli would bring European cotton manufactures, brass vessels, tea, and sugar. He came to the conclusion, that slaves were the most valuable article

of commerce, and, as Slavery was forbidden in Algeria, it might be expedient to substitute caravans of negroes under engagements for service, which would be in fact Slavery in all but name.

It is noticeable, that no member of the Ahaggar tribe had met the Expedition. A messenger had been sent to Ahitaghen, but, as he had not returned, they halted five days at Amguid. Colonel Flatters felt, that he was deflecting too much to the East, but he dared not venture across the great and waterless plateau, which obstructed his course Southwards. Their guide knew no route, and none of the Ahaggar tribe had hitherto volunteered to show one. At length the messenger returned with a letter from Ahitaghen, intimating that his brother-in-law, Shikkat ben Hanfu, would meet him at a halting-place further on, and would be his guide. The Colonel believed the message, and his last letters were written in the highest spirits, as he fancied that his passage to the Sudán was secured. He moved on to Inselman Tikhsin on the 29th January, and wrote his last letters full of hope and confidence to his wife, his friends, and the French Government.

Nothing was heard further of the Expedition, till on the 2nd of April, forty native followers reached Wargla, in a miserable plight, with the sad news, that all the Europeans had been killed and the camp plundered. Several conflicting accounts of the details are given. Colonel Flatters, and some of the chief of his assistants, were induced to leave the camp, and were killed, the Colonel falling by the hand of a Shamba, Saghir ben Shaikh, who had accompanied him on both his Expeditions. Twenty-nine persons perished in this first onslaught. Lieutenant Dianous, who commanded in the camp, beat a retreat, but he was followed. Some Tuwárik, pretending friendship, supplied them with food, which was poisoned. They then attacked the retreating party, sixty-three in number, and killed nearly all. A few took refuge in a cave, and held it, sending four men to Wargla to beg for help. When help came, twelve alone found their way to Wargla: all the rest were starved.

On the other hand, the following letter, which is published as authentic, was sent by Ahitaghen to the Governor of Ghadámes: "You warned us to protect our land against the foreigner, and we "have done so. Colonel Flatters came into our country, but the "people have waged a holy war, and massacred them all, and it is "finished. Dear friend, let the news of these great actions be con- "veyed to Constantinople; let them know there what has happened, "that the Tuwárik have waged a holy war against the Christians in "an exemplary way, and that God has helped them to destroy "them."

In another letter to a notable of Ghadámes, Ahitaghen writes: "For what reason do these Christians come to travel in our "country? We never in all our lives saw them passing through "our country. It is an impossible thing: they are not Christians

"under the protection of Mahometans; they belong to those Chris-
"tians, who wage a sacred war against the Mahometans, and do
"you pretend, in the letter that you have written to us, that they
"will cause us no injury? All is to-day finished. They have
"come, and they are dead."

We must not forget, that the object of this Mission, under whatever form disguised, was to place these regions under the French Protectorate. The railway would only be the thin end of the wedge; it would lead to collision, facilitate invasion, and guarantee subjection. The Tuwárik are among the few nations, who have never submitted to a foreign yoke. They resisted the Phenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Arabs, and they instinctively felt, that the crisis of their liberty was approaching.

No one seriously proposed to send a French military force to avenge these men, though they fell actually in the service of the State. Perhaps it was felt, that they had no business there, and that it would have been better not to have sent them. It is shocking, however, to read in the Journal of the French Geographical Society, of April of this year, an exulting letter from the brother of one of the killed Officers, announcing that the head of Hamm-al-Shikkat, who murdered Captain Masson, had just then been brought into Wargla. A Shamba had deliberately gone on an expedition of assassination, and brought back this head, which may or may not be the head of the brother-in-law of Ahitaghen, who betrayed the party. At any rate, it is scarcely credible, that a Christian should have expressed in a public journal a hope that M. Tirman, the Governor-General of Algiers, who happened to be on a tour at Wargla, would encourage and stimulate the Shamba in their hereditary hatred of the Ahaggar to such enterprises as the one, which cost Hamm-al-Shikkat his life, in order to insure the due punishment of the Tuwárik, and to avenge, at least to some extent, the massacre of the Flatters Mission. Such an introduction of revenge and assassination is hardly a good type of Christian civilization, which it is the asserted mission of the French to extend to Africa, and it sets a dangerous example to a conquered people, as any Arab or Berber might kill any Frenchman taking him unawares. This is a mode of revenge and punishment, which no one would tolerate in British India.

Looking into the future, I fear that the next century must see the extinction of the unruly liberty of the Tuwárik in the same manner as the present century has seen the tribes of the Caucasus, and the Turkoman, pass under the yoke of a Great Power. It is the law of progress, but it should be done gradually, and by extending the arts of peace. The Tuwárik depend for their existence on the commodities, which they can only purchase of the settled inhabitants in the different Oases of Ghadámes, Ghát, Ain-Salah, Agades, and others. The Oases must be conquered first, and well governed,

and from them a repressive control exerted over the Nomads. The French must adopt this quiet policy, and they will find, that the Sahára will be more profitably conquered by the boring rod of the artesian well than by the sword and chassepôt of the soldier.

Having thus described the Colony of Senegál, and the intervening independent Sahára, and the unsuccessful attempt to penetrate it, I now propose to give the history of the Province of Algiers. Fifty years have elapsed since the invasion and conquest of this Province of North Africa by the French. The idea was started by the Legitimist Monarchy, carried out by the Constitutional Monarchy. Under the Imperial regime the greatest attention was paid to the welfare of the country; under the Republic an attempt is being made to introduce civil government, and, as a corollary to the complete domination of Algeria, a policy of expansion has been inaugurated by the practical annexation of the adjacent Province of Tunisia.

Nor is the expansion of the French power in Northern Africa to be deplored. The extinction of the weak and retrograde Mahometan domination was absolutely necessary, to allow these once fertile Provinces to regain their old position as the granaries of Europe. France is the only European Power, that has the strength and the will to make and retain the conquest. The pretensions of Spain and Portugal to the Western portion of the Coast belong to the past: their population is not sufficient for their home-requirements, and they have not the resources for a great struggle. Fifty years hence Italy might possibly be ready; but the pear seems to be ripe and ready to fall, and the solution of such a problem cannot be deferred till a particular nation is strong enough to take a part in it. The kingdom of Greece might, on the same grounds, put in a claim for a share, obviously without the power to obtain or retain it. The Northern Powers can afford to look on with quiet disdain. It is a positive advantage to commerce to get rid of the Mahometan system. Bismark is credited with a kind of Satanic delight at seeing his enemy thus weakening her resources. Great Britain can feel nothing but a quiet satisfaction at seeing her friend developing her energies in North Africa, on the Senegál, and in Cochin-China, regions beyond the orbit of British influence, and interests, for the very simple reason, that they are, and probably will ever remain, entirely unprofitable.

It does not lie in the mouth of a Briton, leastways of an Anglo-Indian, to dwell on the moral side of the question, on the iniquity of foreign conquest, and the destruction of national independence: the story of Afghanistan and the Transvaal is too fresh in the annals of the time. It can only be surmised, that great nations are periodically liable to savage outbursts of lust for conquest and annexation; that they feel that they have

the strength of a giant, and must use it, even if it be to their own shame and injury. Whenever this tendency exhibits itself in another Power, it is at once sternly condemned: no words are too strong for the reprobation, but, when the fierce privilege is indulged in, however wantonly, it is qualified at home by the necessity of vindicating national honour or the public weal. This is the light, in which, with a kind of pitying wonder, the policy of France fifty years ago, when it annexed Algeria, and during the present year, when it has laid its hands upon Tunisia, must be regarded. My object is to describe the manner, in which the French Nation rules subject peoples, and the degree of qualification, which it possesses for introducing Occidental notions of justice and equality without offending hopelessly against Oriental prejudices.

Great Britain has under its control constitutional Colonies, such as Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and others: Crown-Colonies, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Hong-Kong, and others: and subject Empires, such as British India. The circumstances of each class are very different, and the attitude of the Mother-Country is not the same to all. That Great Britain has succeeded in the mighty work of colonization by her own people is a fact, which History can testify: that France has failed seems a fact, that cannot be doubted. It requires no great skill for a superior military power to hold possession of a Crown-Colony, such as Malta, or Hong-Kong. Portugal is able to do thus much. But the most difficult problem is the last, *viz.* to rule a subject Empire firmly, yet justly; to give every blessing of civil and religious liberty, while independent Parliamentary institutions and political liberty are sternly denied, as things inconsistent with foreign domination. In this particular, Great Britain may be said to have, to a certain extent, succeeded. Portugal and Spain have miserably failed in Asia, Africa, and America. Holland is considered to have had but scant success, and France is still on her trial.

There are abundant books published in France to help us to form a judgment with regard to the success of the last fifty years in Algeria, and I approach the subject without prejudice, and with the advantage of a tolerably accurate knowledge of British India during the same period. The problem is, therefore one, that is not strange to me, and I have further had the opportunity of personally examining the Administrative system of Turkey in Asia and Egypt. The great story of Roman domination in North Africa is to me not unfamiliar, and my particular attention has of late been turned to the state of the people of Africa generally, North and South of the Equator. I have long had it in my mind to do what I now propose to do, succinctly and impartially. M. Mercier, a Frenchman, who has resided in Algeria for twenty-six years, has opportunely published a volume in French, called "Fifty Years of

a Colony; or, Algeria in 1880," in which he impartially, and with full knowledge, reviews the history of the vacillating policy of France, and the progress of the Colony. Another Frenchman, Jûles Duval, who devoted his life and best talents to the interests of Algeria, published several volumes in his lifetime, and since his death his Essays, written at different intervals in leading periodicals, have been published collectively, and are store-houses of facts and suggestions. Meritorious works have been published by English authors, too, as Algeria has become of late a place of resort for invalids, who seek to avoid the winter of Europe.

The physical appearance of the country is simple. There are three regions: I. "The Tell," extending from the sea-shore to a distance varying from fifty to one hundred miles, an undulating cultivated strip of territory, but including the Atlas mountains, which run right across the Province, and the mountainous home of the Kabáil. II. The "High Plateau," formed by vast plains, separated by parallel ranges of mountains, increasing in height as they recede from the Tell, and again decreasing, as they approach the third region, the Sahára. During seasons of copious rain, and, where there are means of irrigation, this plateau produces abundant crops of cereals, but otherwise it presents to the eye an unbroken stretch of stunted scrub-plants, on which browse the herds and camels of the Nomad Árab. III. The third region, or Sahára, consists of the Lower Desert to the East, on the confines of Tunisia, and the Higher Desert, which extends into the kingdom of Morocco. Their features are quite distinct. The moving sand, which is conventionally supposed to be a feature of the Sahára tract, is found in both, but does not cover one-third of the region. In the Higher Desert there are rocky steppes, and the depressions between these are filled with sand: the greatest depression not exceeding fifteen hundred feet above sea-level. In the Lower Sahára not one point reaches that altitude. In the one, the plateau is the prevailing feature, in the other, the depression; in the one, rocks abound, in the other, they are totally absent. These facts should be borne in mind, now that it is contemplated to traverse this region by railways, to inundate portions with the waters of the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, and to pierce it here and there with artesian wells.

The political divisions are the central Province of Algiers; the Province of Oran on the West, extending to the frontier of Morocco, and the Province of Constantine to the East, extending to the frontier of Tunisia. Algiers and Oran are sea-ports; Constantine is inland, but connected by railway with the port of Philippeville. Betwixt Constantine and Algiers is the famous country of the Kabáil; the Eastern division has Bugie for its port, and the Kabáil of Jhurjura have Dellys for their port. These are the African highlands, so celebrated for their picturesque beauty, and the dauntless independence of their indigenous inhabitants.

In the time of the Romans the Province of Oran was known as Mauretania Cæsariensis; the Province of Algiers corresponds with Mauretania Sitifensis, and the Province of Constantine with Numidia. Space is wanting to go back to the time of Syphax and Masinissa, or to those still more ancient days, when Carthage was the ruling Power in Africa. There appear to be no remnants of indigenous African races, such as are found South of the Sahára. When the first Phenician settlement, who were of the Semitic Family, came from Asia by sea to North Africa, they found races already in possession, cognate with the ancient Egyptians, belonging to what is called the Hamitic Group; but it is reasonably supposed, that there were also immigrants from Asia at a still more remote period by land. These races were called haughtily by their superior Arian conqueror by a name which survives in the word Berber, and the language which they speak, extends under varying dialectal varieties from the Oasis of Ammon on the East, to the Canary Islands on the West, and Southward to the basin of the Rivers Senegál and Upper Niger, and the confines of Lake Tsad. They are the same people, who resisted the Romans, and they have preserved their speech in spite of the successive domination of Vandals and Arabs, though the ancient Egyptians have lost their language.

Of the first invasion of the Semitic Family, the Phenician Colony of Carthage, nought remains, but a few Inscriptions; but many centuries later came a second invasion of the Semitic Family, bringing with it the new religion of Mahomet, and the Nomad Arabs established themselves as the superior race, and imparted their Faith to their inferior, if not subjugated, neighbours. There was a period of splendour and prosperity during the time, when the Mahometan power subjugated Spain, and threatened Sicily and Italy. But the tide turned; Spain not only freed herself, but carried reprisals into Africa, and for a long period Oran was occupied by the Spaniards. In the mean time the town of Algiers passed into the hands of pirates, under the nominal Suzerainty of Turkey, and became for centuries the public enemy of Europe.

The poetry and prose of Spain, France and Italy tell what seems to us now the wonderful story, that the ordinary navigation of the Mediterranean was normally exposed to perils, which at the present day seem incredible. Thousands of Christian slaves languished in African prisons, or were redeemed by heavy payments; special charities and religious fraternities were founded to do the pious work of liberating unfortunate galley-slaves. The fact is testified by clauses in wills, leaving sums for the purpose, Inscriptions in churches, the plot of many a play, the thrilling portion of many a story. Cervantes himself had been a captive, and in Don Quixote one of the most celebrated stories is on this theme. Even in the City of London special charities exist for the liberation of

slaves with the Moors, which have now been diverted to the duty of educating the Arabs of the streets. The evil had become intolerable, and continued down into this century: no sooner was peace restored to Europe in 1815, than Great Britain undertook to chastise the Dey of Algiers, and in 1816 captured Algiers, and set no less than three thousand Christian captives free. But this lesson was not sufficient to bring down the pride of the savage dynasty, for in the course of an altercation about the compensations, due by the French Government to a Jewish subject of Algiers, the Dey had the imprudence with his own hand to strike the French Consul, and declined to make any apology. This led to an invasion in 1830 in force by the French, then ambitious of recovering their lost military renown, the dethronement and banishment of the Dey, and the occupation of the country. And from whatever point of view it may be regarded, it is a distinct gain to civilization, that such an abominable Government should be put an end to, and the North of Africa brought under the influence of European civilization.

Nature has been bountiful to Algeria, both in its soil and its climate. Its Geographical position fits it to become the entrepot of an annually increasing trade. It possesses in itself the potentiality of unlimited expansion by a more scientific husbanding of resources, and a vast increase of population, and therefore of cultivated area. The products of India and North America have to be conveyed great distances; the products of Algeria are within easy distance of Spain, France, and Italy, and its earliest harvests of European products enables it to supply the markets of those countries with fruits and vegetables in anticipation of the tardier harvests of Northern climates. The legend of the city of Rome having been fed with the corn, and other agricultural wealth, of North Africa has come down to us, and appeared almost incredible, considering how scanty were the exports from that Continent under its Mahometan rulers. But the Exhibitions of London in 1851, and Paris in 1855, 1867 and 1877, opened the eyes of Europe to the extent of the resources hitherto undreamt of. Cereals, oils, fruits, fodder, wines, fibres, tobacco, cotton, silk, wools, dyes, wood, marbles, minerals, all these are forthcoming: it would appear, that in some portions of the Colony are found the products of the North, in other portions the products of tropical climates. Some of these are long established in the country: other industries have been introduced by the French. Mines have been re-opened, or worked more scientifically: every mineral, but gold, seems to have come to hand. The culture of the vine, forbidden by the Mahometan, appears to have been most successful, and the phylloxera of France has been Algeria's opportunity. Under a wise Government, and congenial institutions, Algeria has in it elements of wealth and prosperity. And there is no doubt, that Commerce has been

developed, and new exports discovered: conspicuous among them is the Alpha grass exported to Great Britain in such large quantities to supply the material for the paper of the British Press.

A contemplation of History, past and present, leads to the conviction, that all depends upon the inhabitants and their institutions. Australia and North America remained for centuries unproductive, until the time came that the virgin soil was broken up by the stout arms of the Anglo-Saxon. Other countries of fabulous fertility have died away, like Mesopotamia, for want of men. Even an abundance of men is not sufficient to perpetuate prosperity without good government, and the History of British India, during the last fifty years, tells the tale, how material wealth, expanded culture, and increased commerce, are the sure results of a strong and equitable Rule. On the other hand, countries, not naturally fertile, have been brought to a high state of productiveness by the determined industry, and the sound institutions, of the people. We thus see, that three elements are required for the sustained well-being of a country: productiveness of soil natural or artificial: sufficiency, and capacity of population, and a good government. Before I proceed to describe the nature of the institutions introduced by the French in Algeria, I must notice the living material, with which they had to deal. With the exception of a considerable number of Jews, the whole population, exceeding two millions, are Mahometan, partly Arab, partly Berber, or a cross betwixt the two: partly dwelling in villages, with the institution of individual property, partly Nomadic, with the property held in common by the tribe. Thus, it will appear, that there were no rival Religions to balance against each other, an exceedingly sparse population for so large an area, the fatal defects of Nomadic habits and tribal holding of land, and the entire absence of manufactures. Owing to the habits of piracy, no seaborne Commerce existed: by land the intercourse with the neighbouring states of Morocco and Tunisia was most restricted: if caravans found their way across the Sahára to the Sudán, slaves were the chief objects of the Commerce. Of freedom of Religion, freedom of travel, education, enlightenment, and progress, there existed no trace whatever.

It may be, that the population has been described in colours which are too dark, and that rumour spoke worse things of them than the facts justified. This certainly is the case with regard to the Sahára. As it has become better known, its fabulous horrors have been reduced, and it has been discovered, that the arts of civilization, by storing surface-water, and piercing artesian wells, can turn a desert into a garden, collect scattered populations, and increase indefinitely the number of smiling Oases, some of which had survived through all ages, as a token of what was possible, by the sole agency of abundance of water. M. Duval, to whom we

have alluded above, draws particular attention to the undeveloped resources of the Sahára, and the evidence of better things in former times in the existence of ruins half buried in sand. The industry of man has sometimes on the shore of the sea, or in the basins of rivers, to contend against excess of water by strong embankments, or to drain marshes caused by imperfect levels: in the desert that same industry and engineering skill can triumph over obstacles of a different kind, and the success, which has attended the efforts of the French, augurs well for the future. It must be remembered, that the Sahára is not a dead level, but presents an infinite variety of surface, and the indigenous inhabitants have in their rude way stored the surface-drainings, or pierced rude wells, erected their huts upon some elevated ground, planted palm trees, erected walls to protect their gardens from the encroachment of the sand, or the attacks of the Nomads. But their labours till now have lacked stability and scientific supervision, and intestine wars and tribal feuds have often proved fatal. The wonderful date-palm is the feature of such desert-settlements, tall, elegant, fruitful, clustering together in dense forests. The date forms one of the main staples of the food of the people. Under the shade of these palms spring up figs, pomegranates, peaches, and a coarse kind of grape. The rare beauty of these Oases is described in the brightest colours, as the verdure of the trees, and the cool shade present a grateful contrast to the lurid yellow heat of the sand. Animal life is described as gathering to these retreats. Professional surveys have been made of this region. During a certain season of the year the steppes are covered with a luxuriant and spontaneous vegetation, and a wealth of flowers, supplying pasture to herds of unlimited magnitude, and the pastoral life is the necessary complement of the agricultural life of the other portions of the Province. We must not place an undue value upon this region, and, while the area of the Tell and the high plateau regions is so thinly populated, it would be premature to dream of Colonies in the Sahára; but its immediate occupation and domination have been found to be a political necessity. No civilized country can tolerate a "No-man's-land" in its neighbourhood, as it becomes the refuge of rebels and criminals, as witness the jungle of Central India in the old days, the bush of Australia and South Africa in modern times. The French Government has therefore extended its jurisdiction to certain Oases, notably Laghouat, Geryville, Biskra, and Tuggurt.

Beyond the actual confines of the Province, to the South, lies the mysterious Oasis of Túat, a district of considerable size, enjoying a desert independence. Here all the caravans from the North meet, from Ghát, Ghadámes, Tripoli, Nepta, Algiers and Morocco, to form a united party to traverse the great desert which separates them from the Sudán, and the kingdoms of Timbaktú on the Niger and Segu. The residents of the Oasis of Túat are Berbers of the

same stock, but speaking a dialect affected by alien elements from the South. The most enlightened Frenchman can never free himself from the deep-rooted conviction, that all depends upon the action of the State; while the Anglo-Saxon, whether in England or North America, knows that all success results from the uncontrolled energies of the people.

Though the fact is unrecorded in History, there is reason to believe, that for many generations and centuries there has been an intercourse of caravans betwixt the Sudán and the Provinces of North Africa. Like the navigation of the ocean, it is indeed attended by dangers, but it is stated, that natives of Algeria are to be met with, who have found their way backwards and forwards to Timbaktú no less than eighteen times, and for proper remuneration travellers are always found ready to make the journey. The physical danger and suffering are aggravated by the savage character of the Nomad tribes, who infest the main tracks, and levy tolls from the merchants. But all these features are known elsewhere, and yield to better acquaintance, mutual advantage, and the gradual infiltration of civilization. The Tuwárik, as stated above, are Berbers in a wild and uncultivated state, who have been pushed back into these inhospitable tracts by the more powerful races, who occupied the better-favoured regions. The fact of their using an indigenous Alphabet, only gradually giving way to the Arabic written Character, marks their position in the ladder of culture far above that of the Negro or the savage. Their Religion sits lightly upon them. The work of civilization appears to require the labour of a century rather than of the few years already bestowed upon it. Good organized caravans, proceeding at stated periods, within a reasonable time, appear to be the practical aim, which any English administrator would place before his eyes in this generation. He would mark out stations by the most convenient route at fixed distances; conciliate the Nomads by regular payments, and firm yet gentle treatment; teach them new arts, and accustom them to unheard-of luxuries for themselves and their women. Their right to levy tolls, if they protect the passing caravans, would be admitted, and thus gradually a reign of order would be inaugurated. It is not clear, that the extent of the Commerce, thus nursed and encouraged would for many a long year cover the initial cost, or pay the working expenses, of the cheapest form of Railway. We all know in British India, that the railway and telegraph are the emblems, and the agents, and the crowning triumph, of a Rule firmly established. No one seriously proposes a line connecting Quetta with Kandahar, since the Afghán spectre vanished into the air, and British India awoke from the nightmare which for two years had oppressed it. The Tekké Turkoman look upon the Railway from the Caspian to Merv as a badge of subjection, and will tear it up

on the first opportunity. So will it be in this generation, and probably the next, with the Tuwárik of the Sahára.

Such then is the country, and such are the people, with whom the French have had to deal. In the whole of the half century of occupation circumstances have been in their favour. They have had plenty of money and plenty of men, and they have been willing to bury a great deal of both in Algeria. No hostile fleet in the Mediterranean has intercepted their convoys: no long European war has weakened their resources: no change of dynasty, ministry, or form of government, has modified the fixed determined policy to occupy Algeria. The captive Sovereign, whom they displaced, was deported with his family, and neither have been heard of since. The patriot Abd-ul-Kadir, after waging an unsuccessful war for liberty, gave in and was deported also. The Sultan of Turkey gave in with a good will, and, being used to the process of amputation of limbs, made no sign of dissatisfaction at the blow inflicted upon his rights as a Sovereign, and the heavier blow upon the Religion, of which he pretends to be the spiritual head. Europe looked on in silence: Italy at first was too disunited, and after that, was too indebted to France for her own liberty, to make any objection to the occupation of Algeria. The extension of that Power to Tunisia, and the creation of a new Carthage, as a rival to old Rome, has not been submitted to so calmly. Spain and Portugal, which might have looked upon the African Coast, or at least the Province of Oran, as their own, were too weak to raise even a cry of remonstrance. Morocco submitted to the existence of a new neighbour at her very doors in sullen silence, and has been careful of giving offence. The Bey of Tunis did more, and entertained friendly relations, feeling no doubt all the time that cold shiver, which indicated that some one was walking over his grave. The sturdy mountaineers of the Kabylia at last gave in, and knuckled down to the new system. Be it ever remembered, that the struggle has been one of a united nation of forty millions, in the foremost rank of civilization, with every appliance of modern warfare, and an army and navy of the first class in the World, against a weak, disunited congeries of tribes, not exceeding two millions, in a low state of culture, entirely devoid of military science, or a standing army, with a long, unprotected sea-coast, dotted with practicable harbours, the whole of which were within three days' voyage from Toulon and Marseilles. Such were the opportunities.

From the first to the last the Province has been ruled by a military Administrator, in spite of the constant protest of public writers at Paris. At this moment the Governor-General is a civilian, but it is clear that the principles, upon which the Administration is based, are not those, which in Europe are considered to be essential to Civil Administration. Let us sum them up: the Judicial

Courts independent of the Executive: the reservation of the power of making laws to the Legislature, however constituted: the prohibition to any soldier to do any act of any kind, until called upon to do so according to law by the Civil Magistrate, or ordered to do so by the Civil Governor, to whom the Commander of the Forces is entirely and completely subordinate; the subordination of the Civil Governor to the head of a Civil Department of the Ministry of the Mother-Country. We have a striking instance of this in British India. If there is a fault in that system, it is that in some cases, such as that of the frontier-forces, the Civil Power has intruded upon the strict prerogative of the Military Authorities. But, as a fact, during the last half century, in the newly-annexed Province, as in the oldest, no soldier, as such, has the least authority over the people of the country. If any Military Officer is employed in any Civil Department, for that period he ceases to be a soldier, or under the orders of the Commander of the Forces, just as much as a Military or Naval Officer in England ceases, while on Civil employ, to be more than nominally in the Army. It is true, that in non-Regulation Districts the Civil Executive Officer exercises Judicial functions, and that the Civil Executive occasionally issues Ordinances having the force of Law, yet under no circumstances, short of rebellion, when Military Law is formally substituted, does the Commander of the Forces exert any authority, except over the soldiers and camp-followers. We do not allude to freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of locomotion, freedom of worship, freedom of education, freedom of commerce; such are the privileges and peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon alone in his Mother-Country, his Colonies, and subject-dominions, extended to all under the British flag; but such privileges are unknown in their entirety to any other nations, except Great Britain and the United States, and are not, therefore, necessarily a constituent portion of a Civil Administration.

What was the conception formed at Paris under a Constitutional Government, continued under an Empire, and allowed to continue under a Republic? The control in the Mother-Country is vested in the Minister of War, who, and his subordinates, contrary to the English practice, are always soldiers. The Governor-General was to within a short period, and may soon be so again, a Marshal of France, commanding the troops, with the instincts and weaknesses of a soldier, and totally ignorant of the very elements of Civil Government. Under him were three Generals of Division, placed over the Civil and Military jurisdiction of Algiers, Oran and Constantine: in each Division there were Subdivisions under the control of Generals or Field-officers. Gradually, as time went on, and French colonists established villages, a distinction arose between two kinds of Districts: 1, those, which might be called more completely civil, and where property was held in severalty; 2,

those which might be called tribal Districts, where the land was held in common by the tribe. Over the former, presided Prefects, and Sub-Prefects, after the fashion of France: over the latter, the "Bureau Arabe," the peculiar feature of Algeria, an institution with regard to which we shall have more to say, for from one point of view, they seem to have done their duty nobly, and protected the natives against the overbearing colonist: from another point of view, they appear justly open to the severe condemnation, heaped upon them by some of the Parisian journalists, by one of whom this sentiment is expressed, the result of experience, as he himself had spent some years in Algeria, that the worst form of Civil Government was preferable to the best system of Military Government. I agree in this sentiment, for such rule is the worst form of personal rule: the military Officer is liable to constant removal, from military considerations: he is entirely ignorant of the language of a people, with whom he has come in contact for the first time: of the laws, the customs having the force of law, the procedure, the details of administration, he is as totally and entirely ignorant as the civilian is of the drill, and the orderly room: the French soldier has, moreover, a hearty disdain for the Pequin, or civilian, even in France: what would be his feelings towards the Arab, the Berber, and the Algerian Jew?

Those, who are acquainted with the details of our rule in British India, can realize what this meant by imagining the disappearance from that country of the Viceroy, his Council, the High Courts, and all the Civil staff, from the Lieutenant-Governor down to the Magistrate, and the Commander-in-Chief being vested with the power of Civil Governor, the Divisional Generals, increased in numbers, placed in charge of the jurisdiction now exercised by Commissioners in the Panjáb, and Field-officers exercising the power of the Deputy Commissioners; Officers fresh from England, and not relieved of regimental duties, moving about according to the annual reliefs, ignorant of language, customs, law, and routine: no doubt they would be brave, honourable, right-minded men, a little hasty, and self-willed, quite ready to draw the sword and take strong measures. We can imagine them the dupes of their native Officials, the Native Police and Revenue-officials in the so-called Civil Districts. On the other hand, the Bureau Arabe, entrusted to able and competent Officers, would be very effective, though rather high-handed, and jealous of interference. That such is the case, there can be no doubt, as one of the complaints against them is, that they stand up against their countrymen in the interest of the people entrusted to them, a fault of which the majority of the Officials in British India are, we are thankful to say, equally guilty, and that, though technically subordinate to the Officer commanding the District, they are prone to exert an independent authority, which, considering that they are well acquainted with the people from continuous

residence, and that the Commanding Officers are birds of passage, and totally ignorant, is not a matter of surprise or regret.

It occupied quite twenty-seven years to obtain full military possession of the country, and the progress of the French arms was chequered by great disasters: however, in 1857 peace was restored, and the French domination fully established over the whole of Algeria, with a population of two and a half millions. No doubt, some of the institutions, which came into existence during these times of trouble, outlived the necessity which created them, from the operation of that tenacity of life, which is often the lot of antiquated and useless Offices. It is quite clear, and admitted by the chronicler of the fifty years' occupation, who was himself a witness of what he relates, that the French Government entered upon and carried through the conquest of Algeria without any fixed plan, any decided policy: they were taken aback by the extreme facility, with which the conquest was made, and hung back from the responsibility, risk, and expense of a direct occupation. They would gradually have made it over to some subservient native chieftain, but it was not to be, and France, during a quarter of a century, had a costly struggle, and for another quarter a costly possession.

The first pressing question was: how to deal with the native tribes, so as to keep them in order, and yet not drive them into rebellion? After futile attempts to do this by the agency of an "Agha of the Arabs," selecting a Turk, or a Frenchman, or a native, for that Office, the idea of selecting a special body of Officers, and making over to them the duty of holding relations with the natives, something analogous to the Political Agents in British India, was as early as 1832 approved, and Captain Lamoriciere was the first head of the "Bureau Arabe." With a properly constituted Civil Government, supplied with Police, Revenue and Judicial Officers, who lived among the people, such an institution would have been superfluous; but, while power was centred in the ill-informed Commandant of the troops, the Bureau Arabe became a necessity, a great help to the conquest, and the cause of great blessing to the people. Marshal Bugeaud, in 1841, definitely fixed their jurisdiction: under them were the native Kaids, and under them a subordinate Staff of native Officials, much as they existed anterior to the conquest. One cannot fail to recognize the wisdom and policy of this measure; the only wonder is, that it was not permitted gradually to enfranchise itself of military control, and expand into the full proportions of civil government. A kind of political instinct seems to suggest, that this development must take place still. The Officers of the Bureau Arabe seem, indeed, to have become "ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores," to have adopted the Arab dress, to have gone about surrounded by Arab chiefs and horsemen, to have gone in for being friends of the people. Perhaps they were right

in protecting the tribal lands of the Nomads from the appropriation of land-speculators, and agricultural companies; perhaps they were wrong in adopting the loose social views of their protégés, and forgetting that they were Christians, and gentlemen; but such men as these are of the same type and brotherhood as that great and glorious body of Political Officers, and non-Regulation administrators, who have saved British India in the hour of peril, kept at bay the men with the red-tape and the Revenue-sponge, and staved off Rebellion in newly-annexed Provinces by the iron hand in the velvet glove, the personal rule, the rough and ready administration, the gallant and daring bearing, which awed and attached, and at length subdued, those who came under their influence. Such men are handed to us in the legends of Northern India, Sleeman and Dixon, John Nicholson and James Abbott, and many others, who respected and loved the people, whom it was their destiny to rule, and who were respected and loved in return.

Let us hear what the French historian says of the Officers of the Bureau Arabe: "The results obtained by the energy, tact, and "spirit of justice of some of these Officers were remarkable. Some "of their names have become entwined in the legends of their "people. With their lives always in their hands, without the pos-"sibility of any success or escape, they learnt the art of disarming "their antagonists by their dauntless bearing, and established a "respect for the French name, and thus brought about a state of "security of life and property previously unknown. Their mode "of procedure was inexorable severity, rapid conception of plans, "and instant execution, and such a policy was indispensable to "rule such a people. From the first they dazzled the eyes and "daunted the spirit of the tribes, and established the moral superi-"ority of a dominant race." If to this be added open-handedness, *purity of morals*, unflinching truthfulness, and a wealth of pardon and forgiveness without limit, the art of ruling subject-races in an inferior state of culture is revealed. Failure can always be traced to some niggard economy, some low deceit, some rancorous revenge, some discreditable intrigue.

Unhappily, the best of institutions have a tendency to decay, or to transformation, from the influence of lower motives. The exercise of uncontrolled power brings with it the seeds of its own ruin. The Bureau Arabe did not escape this fatality. The head of the Bureau Arabe became a Sultán, or, in Anglo-Indian parlance, "Bahádur," and roused the envy of his brother Officers in military service, and the indignation of the French colonists. Their honesty was suspected, and instead of courting, they resented, the criticism of the public Press. In 1857 arose a terrible scandal in one of the Bureaux; all the years of good service were forgotten, and the failure of one led to the unjust condemnation of all.

The constant change of the political horizon in the Mother-

Country appears to have had a disastrous effect on the institutions of the Colony. In 1848 the Republic inaugurated a dualism of Civil and Military Authorities, which must have ended in conflicts, for Frenchmen seem incapable of conceiving the simplicity of a Civil administration with the Military Department in entire subordination. With the Empire in 1851, the Military Authorities obtained predominance, because political offenders were deported from France to Algeria, and the necessity of further military operations became paramount. In 1858 a Ministry of Algiers and the Colonies was created under the superintendence of Prince Jerome Napoleon, the victorious Plonplon, who never even visited Algeria, but who initiated a number of reforms, some premature, all abortive, for the war in Italy broke out the next year, and his connexion with Algiers at once ceased. The tendency of his reforms was to increase the extent of territory under Civil Government, and to restrict that under Military Government, and to introduce the system of Provincial Councils in each of the three Civil Departments. A considerable expropriation of land was proposed by allotting to each tribe a proportion supposed to be sufficient for their wants, and appropriating the remainder to French colonization. Moreover, the portion allotted to the tribes was to be divided, as personal property to each individual. Bureaux Arabes with a civil complexion were to replace similar institutions with a military complexion in certain localities.

These measures were abortive; they were well-intentioned, but mistaken. Of what possible use could a Council be in the administration of departments in their rudimentary state of civilization? An intelligent Civil Commissioner was sufficient to work out the principles laid down by the Governor for his guidance. What a deep sense of injustice would be roused among the tribes at the sight of the reduction of their ancestral grazing grounds, and the sale and grant of their lands to French colonists? It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant. The notion of individual, as opposed to tribal, property is one, that can only be inculcated gradually.

The Emperor Napoleon visited Algeria in 1860, and another change took place. Marshal Pelissier was made Governor, corresponding direct with the Emperor; military predominance was again established, and the Bureaux Arabes of the military type had another turn of triumph. More than that, in a famous letter in 1863, the Emperor announced to the Marshal, that Algeria was not a Colony in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, but an *Arab Kingdom*. This raised a violent excitement among the French colonists, who had been tempted to invest their money in the country, and who protested strongly against the idea; but their delegates to Paris were not admitted to an audience, and the Emperor carried out his policy, and ordered surveys to be made,

and the property of the tribes to be reserved to their use. In maintaining a military regime, the Emperor may have been wrong, but in protecting the tribes from the wholesale spoliation of their land, he was certainly right, and there is truth in his assertion, that Algiers was not a Colony, but an Arab Kingdom. In spite, however, of the strong Military government, and the justice promised to the tribes, a serious revolt broke out on the frontier of the Sahára; a French detachment was cut to pieces; the Kabylia rose in arms, and it required the work of a year, and the aid of reinforcements from France, to restore order: Marshal MacMahon succeeded Marshal Pelissier, who is said to have died from vexation at his want of success, and a terrible famine followed. The starving tribes crowded into the cities: half a million are reported to have perished, and acts of cannibalism took place in several localities: the Press was strictly gagged, but private letters and an address of the Archbishop of Algeria roused the whole of France. To the sword had succeeded famine; to the famine now succeeded pestilence, to which many of the French colonists succumbed. Alien Rulers of great foreign dependencies must calculate on the recurrence of such scourges. Great is the responsibility of a nation, when it charges itself with the care of the weal and woe of subject-millions. The most conscientious and parental system of Government may fail to arrest such evils, but it can mitigate their consequences. A harsh, unfeeling system, mainly directed to the interests of the alien colonists, will eventuate in the annihilation of the subject races.

The power of the Emperor was unmistakeably growing weaker, when in 1869 the Senate appointed a Commission of Inquiry, the result of which was the determination to abolish the Military system of Government. The news was received with enthusiasm in Algeria. In the mean time the war with Prussia broke out, the Empire disappeared, all the troops were recalled from Algeria to fight the fight of the Mother-Country, the Military Government ceased to exist, and by decrees of the Assembly at Bordeaux, a Civil Government was established, or supposed to be so, for, in fact, the state of affairs amounted to anarchy. The natives of Algeria looked on in astonishment: gradually they felt, that their position and their interests were threatened: the fall of the Emperor, to their notion, relieved them of their allegiance. The Bureaux Arabes, finding themselves the subjects of unjust attack, made no exertion to calm the tumult and keep their subordinates in a right state of mind. At length a serious rebellion broke out, and a number of colonists were massacred: order was restored by troops sent from France, but with difficulty. If the natives had commenced their revolt earlier, the disaster might have been much more serious. At any rate, it is a subject of serious reflection, that an unsuccessful or prolonged war in Europe, must entail a rising of the tribes

in Algeria. The result of the revolt was the confiscation of a vast area of tribal land.

Under the Presidency of M. Thiers, a system of Civil Administration was restored, of the usual type, and an Admiral was appointed Governor-General; but he fell in 1873, with M. Thiers, and General Chanzy was appointed Governor-General by the reactionary party. He had been an old chief of the Bureaux Arabes, and knew the language and the secret policies of the tribes. He appears to have had singular qualifications for his duty, but, justly or unjustly, he raised against himself the feelings of the colonists, and, when the result of the elections of 1879 crushed the hopes of the reactionists, he retired from Office, and was succeeded by the first Civil Governor, M. Albert Grevy, brother of the President of the Republic, who was succeeded by the present Governor, M. Tierman.

General Chanzy's failure was not owing to his wishing to introduce the military system, for he was Civil Governor, and acted as such, but because he did what appeared to him justice to the natives, and therefore drew upon himself the hatred of the party of the French colonists. As stated above, a vast territory had been confiscated, and the colonists looked upon this with greedy eyes. But the General felt that a *modus vivendi* must be given to the tribe upon their submission, and he consequently settled them in villages, and assigned them a sufficiency of land; in fact, he allowed them to redeem their own lands. He did his best to carry out the law, establishing individual in lieu of tribal property. Any one, who has studied such subjects, knows that such a measure must be the result of time, and of spontaneous action. A less well-informed public opinion fancied, that such changes could be effected by a stroke of the pen, and blamed their Governor for the slowness of his reforms.

The question fairly arises: would the Empire of British India have been built up to its present magnificent proportions, if, on every change in home politics, radical changes had been made in the local administration, and the shadows, that passed across the sky at home, had been reflected in the distant sea of the subject territory? There is little doubt, that the opportunity of adding to, or consolidating, or maintaining, our Empire, would have been lost, had there not been an authority like the East India Company, independent of party and insensible to the contemporary current of popular feeling. Sometimes, indeed, a popular cry, a doctrinaire expedient, the craze of some great man or dominant school, has floated over the Province, and for a moment infested the pages of the local press, or the discussions of the Council Board, such as the settlement of Englishmen upon waste lands, the general introduction of a perpetual settlement of the land Revenue, the invasion of a neighbouring kingdom like Afghanistán, as a supposed measure of self-defence, but the delusion has soon been lived down, and the Rulers of the country have

returned to their well-understood principles of governing *that great country on the highest principles, and for the benefit of the people of that country.* Esto perpetua!

From the first Algeria was treated as a Colony, and schemes of colonization were made, of the most faulty nature, evidencing the incapacity of the French nation for such enterprises. M. Duval expresses his wonder, that the vast stream of emigrants should flow to the United States and the distant British Colonies, and not seek out Algeria, which is so much nearer, but the wonder ceases, when the history of the fifty years is examined. In 1848 the discontented workmen of the great towns were tempted, by great material assistance, to rid their native country of their presence, but they were not the material for agricultural colonies: an attempt was made to garrison the country with military colonies, but the old soldiers gradually disappeared. To check the schemes of the land-jobber, concessions were made gratuitously in small lots interlaced with the holdings of others, who were entire strangers, and some of these lots were in numerous detached fields. Those, who are familiar with the interior history of villages in British India, can realize the complications arising from such needless entanglement. Moreover, all the concessions were conditional and liable to forfeiture in certain periods, thus rendering all advances to the holders from banks impossible, as there was no freehold to place in mortgage as security. Upon the principle of the Latin races, the State was expected to do everything: to select the village site, to make the roads, to open the canals: nothing was left to individual choice, or municipal exertion. The gratuitous concession of lands opened the door to favouritism and tedious formalities and delays, instead of the simpler and more acceptable expedient of public sales. Wild schemes were broached, of introducing particular modes of culture and particular products, ending in disappointment. British India has not been entirely free from such snares, as if the experience of centuries had not taught the resident agriculturist the mode of culture most suitable to the soil, and the product likely to give the best return. In the region confiscated from the tribes, there was always the risk of reprisals from the ancient proprietors, and we read of massacres of whole villages, and hazardous escapes to the cities.

When the Emperor Napoleon, in 1860, announced the new idea of the Arab Kingdom, or in other words "Algeria for the Algerians," French colonization received a rude check, or, in other words, *French citizens were robbed of their patrimony*; for the idea, that the waste lands of Algeria belonged to the French people collectively, and not to the Arabs and Berbers, who had held them in undisputed possession for centuries, had taken deep root in the public mind, and it will be curious to watch the growth of this idea in the adjoining Province of Tunisia. In 1871 justice was again done to

the people of France by extensive confiscations, and emigrants from Alsace and Lorraine, who could not brook the domination of their country by the Germans, who were people of their own kin and language, left Europe and settled in Kabylia, upon lands, which had been held by the free and independent Berbers since the time of the Empire of Carthage, so strange is the inconsistency of the human mind when roused by political passion. The ousted Kabáil were not pastoral Nomads, but dwellers in houses and villages and cantons, after the manner of the Swiss Confederation, living a settled life, practising the ordinary arts of their particular stage of civilization. The Cantons were leagued together in a kind of savage Bund, based upon Republican principles, but tempered by an aristocratic element, evidenced by the existence of families of military or religious origin. It is as if the Government of British India had ousted some of the time-honoured Rájput settlements in the Lower Himaláya, and divided their lands among European colonists, to prove an apparent element of strength, but a certain element of weakness, when the great struggle for Empire has to be again fought out, and the hand of Great Britain's might is shortened. The great emigration from Alsace was not a success. Of the ten thousand, who landed in Algeria, a great many sold their grants, and disappeared: the void appears to have been filled up by grants to members of the new class of the issue of French colonists born in the country, with the singular condition, that the grantee should be married, giving, as it were, an incentive to the increase of population. We have, however, yet to learn whether the issue of French parents in such a climate as North Africa retains the vigour and patriotism of his European parents.

There are two regions in Algeria open to the colonist: in the littoral region, where the soil is peculiarly fertile, small holdings may be exceedingly remunerative, and life in a village may be tolerable. But in the region of the Tell, where the country rises in successive swells of mountains and valleys to the high plateau, nothing but farming on a great scale can answer, and a piteous picture is drawn of the adventurous colonist, who enters upon such an enterprise without abundance of capital; and capital is just the one thing which the French colonist does not possess. It is worthy of remark, as bearing upon the political future of Algeria, that a very considerable Spanish Colony has settled in the Province of Oran, and many other Nationalities are represented. Experience has told us, that gratitude to the Mother-Country is not to be expected from colonists of the same race and language: how much less from a motley collection of emigrants from people of other race and language. Moreover, it will long rankle in the mind of the colonist of the next generation, that France has always treated Algeria as a foreign country. Influenced by the political necessity of protecting certain powerful interests at home, the products of

the Colony have been placed at a disadvantage. Repeated protests against the unjust fiscal policy have been made, and in vain.

An acute observer remarks, that the French peasant, or farmer, is not an emigrant by choice: it is only those, who have failed in their own country, that are induced to venture, and these are just the class not likely to succeed. There is no religious persecution now, which has the effect of inducing the very salt of the earth to leave their ancestral homes: this germ of colonization has, thank God! ceased for ever. The Frenchman has now no political necessity to fly his country, and nostalgia is one of his greatest trials, and it has been found in practice, that the facilities of return are too great, and France is too near to her Colony. The unsuccessful adventurer returns penniless to his native village, and by painting a sombre picture of the state of affairs, and suppressing all mention of his own misconduct, he discourages others. The real colonist burns his ships, and lays the foundation of a new home, and this is the secret of the success of the Anglo-Saxon colonies. Owing to the strange phenomenon of French domestic life, openly alluded to by religious and secular writers, that in a French home there is never a large young family, the material for healthy colonization is not forthcoming. It is the surplus, the young, healthy and vigorous, of young men and women, who seek an opening, that enables the English to people the remote parts of the World with a never-ceasing stream of emigrants.

Another strange feature has forced itself into notice this very year. In spite of fifty years' domination, the French power has not been so exhibited, as to convince the Arab and Berber tribes of the hopelessness of any attempt to throw off the yoke. It is a struggle of a nation of two millions against one of forty, whose resources are within two days' voyage. In British India the problem is being worked out of a population exceeding two hundred millions being kept in subjection by a nation of thirty millions, whose resources are at the distance of one month's voyage, and no doubt there is great peril for the future. It is, indeed, strange to hear of an insurrection in Algeria following at once upon the occupation of Tunisia, and, no doubt, we are by no means at the close of that drama yet. Another notable feature is that the Spanish colonists of Oran, who have suffered so heavily in this insurrection, do not consider themselves French subjects; but those who survived, hurried back to Spain, and urged, through the Spanish Government, a claim to compensation from France for their losses. There may be tea-planters of French or German origin in British India, or German and Dutch colonists in South Africa; but we doubt, whether any claim to compensation, urged by a foreign Government, would be listened to by the British Government. It would be, indeed, hopeless to found a Colony, if the integral parts still maintained their original Nationality.

The French Colony has escaped the religious snare, and has incurred the wrath of the Ultramontane party in consequence. Entire freedom of worship is guaranteed, and there may be said to be no established dominant Church. Here, however, the true line of policy has not been followed. We read of mosques converted into churches: this is an outrage unworthy of the century. We read also of mosques erected at the expense of the State: this is an insult to the common Christianity, which is presumed to be the heirloom of every French colonist. The priests loudly denounce the firm and prudent Government, which will not permit, in a Mahometan country, the offensive and needless display of a foreign cult in the public streets: they equally denounce, and with as little reason, the free licence allowed, from time immemorial, to the Mahometan to celebrate, in public, in his own country, his annual festivals. Religionists must be blind, who do not perceive the equity, which underlies this distinction. The Hindu and Mahometan are allowed in British India a licence of religious external display, which would not be tolerated for a moment in Great Britain, or in any Christian Colony, or to the Salvation Army in India.

Let us examine the returns of the census of the European population in 1877, the latest available.

French, born in France or in Algiera	156,000
Jews	33,000
Other European nations	156,000
Civil establishments	9,000
Army	51,000
Total.....	405,000

Of the French some are Creoles, that is to say, born of French parents, in the colony, of the second generation, who have never seen France, and who have colonial culture and prejudices. It is shown conclusively, that the birth-rate exceeds the death-rate, and that the average number of the family is larger than in France, which is not saying much. Frenchmen may flatter themselves, that their colonists will be the same as themselves: we have the notable instance of the French Huguenots of South Africa having passed entirely into the status and culture of Dutch Boers, and abandoned the French language. The French of Canada and the Mauritius care little for France, though very much for their own liberties: it is quite a dream to suppose, that the inhabitants of Algeria will identify themselves with France, as soon as they are able to stand alone. Attention is called to the size of the army of occupation, and the cost, which that must entail upon the Mother-Country. Compare that with the regiment or two, which forms the garrison of an English Colony, and the expense of which is grudgingly supplied by Great Britain, who, instead of shutting her

ports to the exports of her Colonies, finds the ports of her Colonies partially closed to her own manufactures.

What shall be said of a Colony, in which the European population is composed of the same number of French inhabitants as of other European nations? The Spaniards alone number 90,000, and are settled in the Province of Oran, which, as late as the year 1792, belonged to the Crown of Spain, which they still regard as belonging to themselves, and which resembles so much their own climate. None of these strangers take the trouble of naturalizing themselves as French citizens, because they have greater advantages as strangers: they are not liable to military service, or civil duties, such as those of jurymen, and can appeal to their Consul at discretion. On the other hand, though forming so large a proportion of the population, they have no municipal rights, but have the scant privilege of nominating one foreigner to represent them all in the Local Councils. The inconvenience, if not danger, of such a state of affairs is admitted, and the Spaniards have lately been called upon to serve one year in the Algerian Militia, though not liable to serve in the French Army. The immigrants from the Balearic Islands and Italy are of great importance, as supplying cheap labour, and thus, in practice, push out the French immigrant, who requires higher wages, and who would be glad to exclude such rivals from the Colony, if he dared, as he has deprived them of the privilege of obtaining any concession of land. But if this state of affairs continues, we may see a not very distant date, when the Colony will become hostile to France, especially as the fatal policy of deporting in former years political antagonists to Algeria, and encouraging old soldiers to settle there, has given birth to a community decidedly hostile to the Mother-Country, and apt to criticize and turn to ridicule her Administrative measures.

The population of 33,000 Jews is a remarkable element: they are all naturalized as French citizens; are in comfortable circumstances; have large families; and are on the increase. There are, in addition, some 7000 alien Jews, who, to avoid the burden of conscription, have entered themselves as subjects of Morocco. They were all naturalized *en masse* by a decree from Paris, in 1870, and were, in fact, unworthy of an honour, which they had not even solicited. They have by no means amalgamated with the Europeans, being African by birth, culture, and prejudices: they devote themselves to small city commerce, to the entire exclusion of all European rivals. They appear to be very unpopular, and so far in arrear of modern French ideas, that, on their return from their year's service in the army in France, they adopt the turban and loose pantaloons, and the other customs of their country. It is self-evident that, in a struggle of the Colony with the Mother-Country, this section of the community would be with the colonists, and probably that section of the colonists which would be the least

friendly to the French. It is quite possible, that, in the hour of peril, they would take part with the Mahometans against the Christians, whom they detest.

A more important subject is the indigenous Mahometan population, which is estimated, upon credible data, at two and a half millions. To Britons who dwell in British India tranquilly, a mere handful among the millions of Hindu and Mahometans, it seems strange to hear a Frenchman discuss the grave danger of the number of Europeans being one only in seven to that of the natives. It appears, that the indigenous population had in 1861 reached to two and three quarter millions, but has been reduced by epidemics and rebellions to the extent of a quarter of a million; but it is clearly again on the increase. To these must now be added the population of Tunisia, to enable us to form a right conception of the political situation. The French writer, whom I have followed, does not think that the position will be safe, even as regards Algeria, until the colonists amount to one million, an event which is still a long way off. He admits, that there is not the least moral assimilation betwixt the two races going on; that the Arabs have not taken one step towards it; and he attributes this to the difference of religion, but this has not been found to be so absolutely a wall of separation elsewhere. No intermarriage takes place betwixt the two races: the number of Arabs, who have applied to be nationalized as French subjects, amounts to seventeen. They have only to ask for the honour, but they do not care for it. Nearly all the cereals of the Province are the result of their labour, and they monopolize the breeding of cattle, as none but Arabs could dwell in the high plateau, so cold in the winter, and so hot in summer. They bring down their flocks and herds to find a market. They breed camels, and bring them down laden with wood; but their system, both of pasturage and agriculture, is defective, and uneconomic: they are incapable, however, of any change. They are strictly conservative in their habits and methods. In spite of their unscientific agriculture, it is admitted, that the crops in good seasons are marvellously abundant, and that silver pours into the hands of the cultivators, who buy up land, a portion of the concessions to colonists, to a considerable extent. On the other hand, in bad seasons, they fall into the net of the Jew usurer, and are reduced to penury. These are the well-established features of that particular stage of civilization, and it may be doubted whether deep ploughing would suit the soil, or high agriculture the cultivator. Beneath those who own the soil, are tenants without any proprietary rights, and the French colonist makes a large use of native labour, which is cheap, if not good. They serve as shepherds and day-labourers, and, in some cases, take farm-holdings on lease from the Europeans.

The tribal possession of the land is no doubt a great difficulty. Under the native rule occupation of the same plot by father and

son was respected, but this implied no right of alienation to a stranger. The pastoral tribes drive their herds to the region of the Sahára during the winter, and return in spring to the high plateau region, looking out for localities, where there is abundant pasturage, but not necessarily returning to their former stations. This kind of occupation may be necessitated by the physical features of the country, but it is difficult to reconcile it to the hard and fast rule of individual property. In Kabylia, and in certain localities, individual property does exist, and can be guaranteed in the ordinary way. The point of view, from which the colonists and their supporters regard this question, is unfavourable to the tribal system, because they wish *to secure the surplus land, and the best land*, to themselves. In British India the only question would be, what is best for the people, and what system will enable them to discharge their duties to themselves and the State best? In Algeria, there is always the Earth-greed, and the pressure from Home to provide land for the colonist. No doubt, historically, the right of the Arab is no better than that of the Frenchman: he came as an alien, and extinguished all that had survived of Roman or Vandal colonization, and sat down upon the lands of the Berber. Centuries of occupation have supplied him with a good title, and mixed races, and similarity of religion, have bridged over the difference betwixt the two peoples. The French colonist has before him the task of extinguishing the Arab, if he is strong enough to do it, and of assimilating with the Berber, if the proximity of Europe will allow of such a degradation. The circumstances of Kabylia are quite different: a densely populous and mountainous country, parcelled out into separate properties, leaves no room for colonists, except on confiscated land, where the grant is accompanied by the undying hate of the descendants of the old proprietor.

Attempts have been made to open schools and colleges, but with slight success as regards the natives. The institutions were, of course, of the French type, and the inevitable dualism took place betwixt the Civil and Military authorities. In the Medical College there were in 1877, 77 French students, 3 foreigners, and 4 Mahometans only. Three Colleges at Algiers, Constantine, and Tlemsin, give instruction in Arabic Grammar, Mahometan Law, and (Heaven help the mark!) Mahometan Religion. There are only 129 students in the three Colleges, training to supply the Native Bench and Bar. There are establishments for secondary instruction at Algiers and the chief towns for boys and girls; but it is not stated, whether the students are Natives or Europeans; most probably they are the latter. As regards primary instruction, among the 51,000 students, only 2000 are Natives, showing that the impression made upon the two million and a half of Arabs and Berbers amounts to nothing. In fact, the French have yet to learn that the only way

of reaching the masses is by ascertaining the number of indigenous schools already existing, strengthening and encouraging them, instructing their teachers, and making it worth their while to improve their mode of teaching, and bringing them on the side of, instead of driving them into antagonism to, progress. The Arabs and Berbers are not in the lowest state of civilization; on the contrary, a limited power of reading and writing is very generally spread, and the Arabs, as a race, are susceptible of the highest intellectual development.

How much the French authorities have still to learn, is evidenced by the remarks made by M. Mercier regarding the absolute necessity of every public officer using the Vernacular language of the people. One sage councillor of Oran proposed, that the French language should be introduced by law, and the native Vernaculars abolished. Our author remarks with justice, but characteristically of a Frenchman, that such a policy would be worthy of a Russian or a Prussian, but not of the genius of his nation: moreover, it would be an impossibility. Such notions have sometimes been suggested by theorists in British India, and the idea of the English law administered by British lawyers in the English language, has been put forward as the perfection of justice. Nations have indeed changed their languages: we have notable instances of the Normans, who settled in Normandy, of the people of Egypt and Palestine, but such processes are slow, and the cause of the change is hard to find out, but no instance is known of a foreign conqueror compelling a subject nation to adopt the language of the conqueror, not by the quiet attraction of superior culture, but by an order issued from headquarters. In an amusing account of a tour in Algeria, called "The Play-ground of Europe," I read that the author, a London Police Magistrate, met a French gentleman at an inn, and had a long talk with him about the wants of the Province: the Frenchman remarked that the one thing, which was required, was a large and well-paid staff of good Interpreters. It appeared that the gentleman himself held that post in the local Courts. My own opinion is, that I would not allow an Interpreter in any Court, remembering the famous story of the Irish Prisoner, who, being allowed a guinea as a fee to a counsel, had the wit to give it to the Interpreter, and was acquitted. The French have not the gift of acquiring foreign languages: it is amazing to find great Scholars unable to speak any other language than their own, and there has been too great a tendency on the part of the French, when in power, to force their own language into official use; but we are glad to find that, in Algeria, every public Officer is compelled to speak Arabic, and those, who are more specially employed among the Berbers, are expected to speak one or more of the dialects of that language, while the French Government has taken measures to have Grammars and Dictionaries prepared in these languages. This principle cannot be too rigidly

enforced in British India. It is not sufficient to know one or two of the great Vernaculars, but the Officers in charge of the non-Arian races should be selected for their knowledge of the languages of those races: when we read of a rising of those rude tribes, it may generally be attributed to the fact, that they were oppressed, and that no British Officer knew their language sufficiently well to understand the nature of their grievance, and hold personal intercourse with them.

As may be expected, the Press has taken root in the new Colony, and played an important part in ventilating the grievances of the colonists. It does not, however, appear, that there is a single Journal in the Vernacular languages, and, therefore, the salutary influence of this wise and sympathizing medium is totally wanting. The different public organs amount to thirty, and the opinion is expressed, that they have not risen to the level of the dignity of their great subject. Some papers like the "Petit Colon" seemed to me mere penny trumpets in the interest of the alien interloper, and really below contempt. Sometimes they are mere echoes of Parisian news: at other times they handle local politics and local contentions with a degree of acrimony, and a want of dignity, most unworthy of a great people. In the presence of the two millions of Mahometans the Christian settlers present the sad spectacle of bitter quarrels about their private interests, and, if the facts can be gathered from the review of their past history, a constant hostility to the Home Government, which is not a matter of surprise, when it is remembered, that troublesome politicians have from time to time been deported to Algeria. The consequence of this state of affairs is, that the men most capable of public duties abstain from all interference in municipal elections, and the Colony suffers owing to the violent passions of interested intriguers, who pull the wires, but do not represent the real interests of the Province.

But, after all, the primary object and *raison d'être* of a Government in a civilized country are to protect the life and property of the people, and it is frightful to see, that, in the volume, to which we have continually referred, a volume published at Paris in 1880, it is distinctly stated, that the measures taken by the Government of Algeria have entirely and notoriously failed; that neither the French colonist, nor the native, is protected from the brigand, and that the Police are totally inadequate to their duties. We should not dare to state these things, if they were not vouched for by a Frenchman, who has resided twenty-six years in the Colony, and whose statements, arguments, and suggestions, carry with them conviction. The Province is supplied with a Court of Appeal, Courts of first instance, of Assize, and Juges de Paix, very much after the model of the Mother-Country. Here, however, the unfortuate complication of the Military and Civil Authority introduces difficulties, which really ought not to exist. The Staff is stated to be insufficient

in number for the duties, and it is astonishing to read, that appointments are made to judicial vacancies without any previous test of qualification in the law, language, and customs of the people. The decision of civil suits betwixt natives is reserved to the Kázi, while suits in which a European, or a Jew, is concerned, are reserved for the regular tribunals, which also receive appeals from the decisions of the Kázi, who is also notary public and registrar of marriages. However venal and inefficient the Kázi may be, it must be recollected that he is a national institution, and it is wise and kind to make use of him, improve his position, and instruct him. A subject population will bear patiently an infinity of fiscal burdens, but, if their Religion, or customs, or personal rights, are interfered with, they will resist to a man. It is wisest, and safest, to let them settle these matters in their own way, which is more rapid, and less expensive. A well-trained, well-paid, and well-supervised Kázi may act as a buffer betwixt the people and their Rulers.

The repression of crime, and the preservation of life and property, are much more serious matters. In the chief towns there is a collection of the scum of many nationalities, Italians, Spaniards, people of Morocco, the Balearic Isles, and Malta, and fugitives from justice in Europe generally, and it is no matter of surprise, that crimes against property and person are frequent, but they can be kept down by a tight hand. The problem of keeping down the brigands, who infest the open country, is a greater one: the spaces are enormous: the villages at a considerable distance: the population scant, while at the same time rural wealth is accumulating. Such circumstances are favourable to the development of brigandage. When the Bureaux Arabes existed in full force, they kept a tight hand upon the floating elements of the population, and, while guilty of occasional injustice, they kept order with a high hand within their jurisdiction, which, of course, was restricted to the portion of the Province under military control. But a migration of the population in course of time took place from the jurisdiction of the Kaid, Bureau Arabe, and General Commanding, into the Civil Districts, and came under the more legal and complicated, but less energetic and rapid, control of the commonest Civil Authorities, and a kind of chaos ensued from the collision of these co-ordinate powers. Criminals could escape from one jurisdiction to another, and defy the law. Many remedies were suggested, and foremost among them the well-worn but intolerable policy of making a tribe responsible for the acts of each individual member. It is scarcely necessary to say, that, under a system of law and justice, such a remedy is most imperfect, capricious, and insufficient: the value of the property stolen, or life lost, might be paid, or an innocent person caught up, and handed over to the authorities as the criminal: in both cases the innocent would be punished for the guilty, and the real offender escape. The natives are as great sufferers from the want of protec-

tion as the Colonists, and have no more knowledge in their collective capacity of the offender than the Colonists, and this policy of punishing the innocent for the guilty would only exasperate them, and render them hostile to the Authorities, as their natural enemies, or compel them to become themselves brigands in self-defence.

The only real remedy is that, which has prevailed in other countries, *viz.* a strongly-organized Police, of both arms, commanded by energetic Officers, spread over the whole Province, in constant communication with each other, and under one head, thus defying all collision of jurisdiction. Such a Police should have no judicial powers whatever, and be independent of the judicial Authorities, except so far as making over offenders for trial. Brigands, robbers, and cattle-lifters would soon find the country too hot to hold them, A Frenchman, like members of other Continental nations, naturally suggests, that a passport system should be introduced, and no native be allowed to move from his residence without a police permit; but the Englishman knows that, as regards England, English Colonies, and British India, such a measure is unnecessary, and hurtful.

Let me briefly recapitulate the heads and main features of the Administrative system as it existed in 1880:

I. A Civil Governor-General, in whom is centralized every authority, and who is responsible only to the Chambers. He prepares his Annual Budget, which is voted by the Chambers, and disbursed by monthly appropriations made to him through the Minister of the Interior.

II. A Corps d'Armée, commanded by the General, who is under the orders of the Governor-General.

III. An Executive Council, to assist the Governor-General, with special duties fixed by law.

IV. A Financial Council, purely of a consultative character, consisting of thirty-eight members, eighteen being delegates from the Provincial Councils, and the remainder high officials, civil and military, under the presidentship of the Governor-General. They meet for twenty days only, and, their duty being to examine and discuss the Budget, and apportion the taxes, they are authorized to open out every question of administration.

V. Each of the three Provinces of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, has a civil department under a Prefect, and a military territory under the General commanding the Division.

VI. The Prefect, assisted by a Council, superintends the Civil Territory, and is represented in the sub-divisions by his sub-prefects, civil administrators, mayors and shaikhs.

VII. The General is represented by his sub-divisional Commandants, Bureaux Arabes, and native chiefs, in the Military Territory.

VIII. The Civil Territory includes all the land of the towns, and the colonial appropriations. The Military Territory is pushed back

year by year, and is chiefly in the high plateau, the frontiers, and the Sahára.

IX. In each Province there is an elective Council of twenty-five Frenchmen, and six native assessors, chosen by the Prefect, who have a vote: their functions are very much the same as those of the Councils General of Departments in France.

The chief sources of Revenue of the Colony are as follows:

I. Octroi of the Sea upon all merchandize.

II. Annual payments of the holders of concessions of land.

III. Registration and Stamp fees.

IV. Taxes upon the natives: these consist of

A. The tithe on land, settled permanently in the Province of Constantine; but open to annual revision in the two other Provinces.

B. Capitation tax on cattle.

C. Capitation tax in Kabylia, and tax on palm trees in the Oases of the Desert.

Revenue-Officers make the collections in the Civil Territory, and the Bureau Arabe, with the help of the Chiefs, in the Military Territory.

The Civil Territory is divided into arrondissements, under a Sub-Prefect, very much as in France, but under him come mixed communes, and perfect communes. The former are composed of a certain number of fragments, or settlements of a tribe in the Civil Territory, having each their juma or Council. They are under the control of a civil administrator, assisted by a Council formed of the presidents of the juma, and notable Europeans resident within the jurisdiction. The perfect communes are managed by a mayor, assisted by an Elective Council, comprising a proportion of natives elected by their countrymen. These communes often comprise a large number of native inhabitants. It is admitted, that the mayors of such communes are good enough kind of people, but quite unfit for the really important duties forced upon them.

In the Military Territory the sub-divisions, analogous to an arrondissement in the civil department, are administered by generals of brigade: smaller sub-divisions are entrusted to field-officers, or captains, or lieutenants. An attempt is made to create native communes in the Military Territory, as soon as the people are fit for it. It is noteworthy that, of the whole population of the Province, one million and a half are still under Military Authority, and to a little more than one million and a quarter is conceded the privilege of living under a form of Civil Government.

The current of French colonial opinion, as represented violently and with unreasonable passion in the Public Press, sets two ways. One party go in for assimilation with the Mother-Country, abolition of the separate Government, and the addition of the three Departments of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine to the other Departments

of France. It must be confessed that this party forget the existence of the Arabs, the Mountains, the Sahára, the climate in the hot season, the language, and all the other physical features, which render their policy ridiculous, and their advice contemptible. The other party go in for Autonomy, and virtual independence of the Mother-Country, which is to go to the expense of maintaining an army of fifty thousand men, and spend millions in harbours, railways, fortresses, etc., but to leave to the handful of French Colonists the administration, because in their own opinions they understand the question, and the people of Paris, and the Chamber, and the leading statesmen of France do not. It is as if the Government of British India were made over to the Europeans of the Presidency Towns, and the gentlemen in charge of the tea, coffee, and cinchona plantations. What would the Arab and Berber population, what would the Hindu and Mahometan of India, say, if they were left, not to the great united wisdom and honour, and political experience, of the Parliament of the Mother-Country, but to the contracted and narrow views of a Colonial Council? Does not an echo of this danger reach our ears from Basúto-land in South Africa? What has been the bane, and may possibly be the ruin of the South African Colonies, but their total inability to manage the Natives with Justice and Wisdom? The feature, which strikes the reader most in the most moderate and sensible of the French writers, is the entire absence of consideration for the Natives. Algeria is talked about, and dealt with, as Australia, and New Zealand, and Canada, and not as British India, Ceylon, and South Africa, are talked about and dealt with. There is a craving for Home Rule, but Home Rule of a most dangerous kind, where the governing classes are to be of an alien race, supported by bayonets, and the governed are to be unrepresented by their own delegates, and not to have the next best guarantee for protection of their interests, in the presence of an independent body of public servants, whose duty and pride, and *raison d' être*, consist in standing up for the people, even against their own countrymen. In the departmental Councils there are, as stated above, a certain number of native members, and, as was to be expected, they vote on the side of the Prefect, and therefore enable the Government Officials to outvote the elected French members. This is looked upon as a great grievance, as the small body of Colonists would like to have the power to control in their own interests the affairs of the Natives, involving peace and war, and the highest considerations of policy to subject races.

The late inroads of Arabs into the Province of Oran, the massacre of the Spanish colonists and the destruction of property, drew attention to another hole in the armour of the Administration. In the towns and villages, where there are no garrisons, there exist no arrangements to meet sudden attacks. Every Colonist from the age

of twenty-two to thirty forms a portion of the National Reserve, and from thirty to forty he is included in the Territorial Reserve, and has his arms in his keeping, but there is no point of reunion of their companies, and when they are mobilized, they are marched off to a central station, leaving their farms and villages entirely unprotected, without men, arms, or leaders. This is, indeed, a fatal flaw in their arrangements, and the blot this year has been hit.

On reviewing the whole plan of Administration with eyes sharpened by experience of the same problems elsewhere, it is easy to perceive the great difficulties, great errors, and great dangers, that underlie the position of the French in North Africa. The present and late Governor-General has introduced a series of reforms, which are under consideration of the Councils, and will then have to come before the Chambers. In the mean time, the annexation of Tunisia has opened the floodgates to new troubles, and in the public press it appears, as if the office of Civil Governor-General was in jeopardy. The first fatal flaw is the inability of the French to conceive the idea of a Civil Government, as sufficiently strong to cope with mutiny, rebellion, invasion, and foreign wars, and yet the British have never entrusted the power of the Civil Governor to the Commander of the Forces, *as such*: occasionally the same man has held both Offices, but he has had, as it were, a separate existence in the discharge of his two duties. The idea of entrusting a Civil Division to a Major-General, or a District to a captain or a subaltern, has never entered into the possibilities of British Administration. Military Officers have been delegated to Civil Employ, but they have ceased for the time to be more than civilians, and the agents of a Civil Governor.

The next difficulty is the attempt to manage a subject Province, partly on the lines of a European Colony, partly after the manner of a great subject Dependency. The theory of the administration of British India is intelligible, and the theory of the constitution of the Dominion of Canada is equally so: but if the two theories are blended, it is difficult to find the way out of the inconsistencies, and these are practical and not theoretic. It is true, that the constitutional Colony of the Cape had this problem before it, but it has not solved the problem, and the Bushman, Hottentot, and Bántu subject races are not like Arabs and Berbers, the heirs of ancient civilization, professors of a conquering Religion, with traditions of independence, and wild Autonomy dating back for many centuries, supported by the sympathies of co-religionists, and men of the same race in Europe, Asia and Africa, with all the monuments of their ancient civilization and independence existing before their eyes in such towns as Tlemsin, Algiers and Constantine, without alluding to their pilgrimages to Mekka, and old allegiance to Constantinople. Nothing but brute force and military domination

will keep such tribes in order, and how is administration to be devised, which will keep these haughty tribes in order with the sword, who by process of attraction are drawn to certain centres, and live intermixed with French Republicans, who expect to be treated with the same legal forms that are in vogue in France?

This leads on to the third and most ridiculous inconsistency of the system. British India is governed by a *legal* system of absolute Rule. The idea of a Municipal Council in each Province, elected by any portion of the population, to assist in Executive duties, would never enter the brain of the wildest theorist. The Englishman, who for his own profit settles in British India, accepts this legal system, and, if the law be departed from, his remedy would be appeal to the public Press, or to refer the matter to Parliament. Perhaps a benevolent absolute monarchy, jealously watched and controlled by a popular assembly, is the most perfect machinery for governing subject nations, who are unable to govern themselves, that human wit has devised. A direct Constitutional Government lacks vigour, energy, and rapidity of execution. An absolute monarchy, such as Russia and Turkey, lacks honesty, conscience, and publicity. In Algeria it is a farce to talk of Elective Councils, when the real population are so inadequately represented: the million and a quarter under the Civil Departments have only eighteen delegates, *chosen by the State:* the million and a half under the Military Authority are totally unrepresented. It would be better for the Arabs and Berbers to be at the mercy of a benevolent, experienced, high-minded statesman, like MM. Albert Grevy and Tierman, or even of such honest soldiers, as Pelissier, MacMahon, and Chanzy, who, to the best of their lights, would act in the interest of the people, than of the short-sighted, interested, and hostile classes of Colonists, represented by the elected members of the Council, with whom Earth-greed and cheap labour were the first objects.

M. de Tocqueville, in a report upon Algeria to the Corps Legislatif, twenty years ago, remarks, "that it would be prudent to "prepare Officials for their duties, or to satisfy ourselves, that they "have prepared themselves, before we invest them with power "in Algeria: that such was the practice of the British in India: "that the Officials, whom we sent out to Africa were, with few "exceptions, ignorant of the languages and customs of the people; "they were ignorant of the principles of the Administration, which "they represented, and applied an exceptional code of laws, with "the rules of which they had not acquainted themselves." Matters have improved since then, at least, in intention, but it is complained even now, that functionaries are always changing, that there is no separate Civil Service for Algeria, and no official tradition: that men use appointments in Algeria as stepping-stones to something better in France, or are sent there as to a penal settle-

ment for misconduct in France. It is sadly remarked in the volume before me, that many functionaries, civil and military, have lost their reputation by accepting miserable bribes, or by admitting to too great an intimacy Arabs, who have compromised them, and made themselves centres of dishonest intrigues. A European placed in such a situation among a subject race should maintain a lofty independence of character, and an immaculate purity, a kindly but firm disposition, a readiness to listen, and such transparent honesty of purpose and justice, as will conciliate the esteem, respect and devotion of the people, among whom he is thrown. Have the neo-Latin races evidenced the existence of that power, have they realized the ancient maxim?

> "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
> Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

A respect for the Religion and customs of the people need not degenerate into an abandonment by an Official of his own Religion, or a degeneracy from the customs of his own people. A sincere and devout belief in his own Religion should not, on the other hand, tempt an Official to lend himself to propagandism, as it is not right even to do good to others by force, for propagandism soon degenerates into intolerance. The Archbishop of Algiers, if he had the chance, would soon make a forward move in the interest of his own form of worship. The Mahometans are quite as intolerant in their own way, and as confident in themselves being in the right, and all the rest of the world wrong, as the Roman Catholics. It is a fair fight between the two developments of error. It scarcely lies in the mouth of the Frenchman to denounce the religious societies of the Mahometans, or Khouan, the Dervish, and wandering marabouts, and so-called fanatics, preaching from town to town, and village to village, sedition and conspiracy against a Government hostile to their nation and Religion, and obtaining assistance from their neighbours in independent states, and acting under the authority of a so-called Vice-Regent of God. Do not the Roman Catholics of France follow the same methods, strive to stir up the same passions, collect money for the purpose from neighbouring nations, and act under the authority of a so-called Vice-Regent of God? It is proposed to institute proceedings against these Mahometan emissaries, and attempt to destroy them. Will this be consistent with toleration? Will it be wise to make martyrs? Has the French Republic taken anything by attacking the religious orders? If such classes are persecuted, they are apt to become dangerous. Moreover, when an alien nation undertakes to hold alien races in subjection, it is presumed to take into consideration the elements of opposition, religious and political, which it will have to encounter.

No reasonable Englishman or German can grudge the Frenchman the privilege of subduing the North of Africa, from the Pillars of

Hercules to the confines of Tripolitána; but there he must stop, as a new class of interests is affected by any interference with the basin of the Nile. If it pleased the Republic of France to assume the Imperial title of Numidia, Mauretánia, Getúlia, the Sahára, Sene-Gambia and Nigritia, and to develope the resources of the North-Western quarter of Africa, the World would be the gainer. It would lead to a vast expenditure of French money and French lives, and cripple the power of France in the case of a European war, but it would not turn the Mediterranean Sea into a French lake, and the trade that would develope itself across the Sahára would scarcely be remunerative. The annexation of Tunisia will cost a decade of severe struggle: the annexation of Morocco will be still more difficult. The idea of an inland sea by letting in the ocean from the Mediterranean or the Atlantic, appears to be a vision: at least, the Great Sahára is at a considerable elevation above sea-level. The real policy would be year by year to push forward posts, and by artesian wells make new Oases, and get used to the wild Tuwárik, and teach them new wants, and show them new advantages. When Ismail Pasha was discussing the best mode of conquering Nejd on the other side of the Arabian Desert, he placed a lamp in the centre of a carpet, and asked his councillors how they could reach to it. Some bent over, and tried in vain to reach it with their arms, but one crafty adviser began to roll up gradually the border of the carpet, until with the outstretched length of his body he could reach to it. The Pasha took the hint, and learnt year by year by advances of his frontier posts to encroach upon the Desert, till gradually what once was distant came within his grasp. The French must do the same: it may be the work of years, and in that time, perhaps, the tribal possessions of land, which they work with a high hand to modify, may give way to individual holdings, as, in the progress of the life of a nation, it has done elsewhere. On the other hand, so unchangeable is the Sahára and the Nomad character, that it is possible, that both features may outlive another cycle of French Monarchies, Empires and Republics, and see Paris taken a third time.

LONDON, AUGUST, 1881.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF SCHOLARS AT BERLIN, LEYDEN, AND VENICE.

In the first Series of my Linguistic and Oriental Essays, 1880, I gave accounts of the Oriental Congresses held at London in 1874, at St. Petersburg in 1876, and at Florence in 1878. No one can doubt the great advantages, that have arisen from these periodical gatherings, as they have led to a marked advancement in certain subjects, and the social meeting of Scholars of different countries softens down differences, and promotes pleasant friendships. I now propose to pass under review the proceedings of the Oriental Congress at Berlin in 1881, the Geographical Congress at Venice in the same year, and the Oriental Congress at Leyden in Holland in 1883. The detailed reports of all have been published.

The term "Oriental" has been gradually widening its meaning. Africa has been entirely absorbed, and there is nothing to prevent Oceania suffering the same fate. The real purport of the gathering is to unite together all Scholars, who occupy themselves with the less well-known nations of the world, and to bring together information with regard to races, religions, languages and customs.

International Congresses of the various Sciences are, from this point of view, capable of being developed into very important institutions. While communication between different countries was difficult and occupied a long time, students worked in an isolated manner, gleaning such information as they could from the books of their predecessors, and ultimately publishing, after long years, results, which may have been already negatived by the independent researches of another. Now, with the varied means of publicity and intercommunication which modern Science and progress have given us, things go on at a much more rapid rate. The results attained by one individual student are immediately available for all his fellow-workers, and abstruse studies literally go on by steam and electricity. The World thus becomes, as it were, one large organization divided into branch-establishments, and the necessity for such a central bureau as a periodical International Congress provides, makes itself more and more felt from day to day. It takes, of course, a few years to get the machinery of such an institution

into working order, but the International Congress of Orientalists may be now considered as having arrived at a satisfactory, if not exactly a perfect, condition. The first three meetings were found too attractive to mere tourists and sight-seers, and to that class of persons who think, that a little of the reflected light of Science may be caught by mixing with the crowd of its Professors, or who seem to fancy that learning may be taken in through the pores, by merely sitting out a meeting. It is clear that the presence of such interlopers can only impede real business, since they can bring no technical or professional knowledge to bear upon the discussions. The Florence Committee, accordingly, very properly decided, that none should be admitted to the conferences, but those, who were recommended as fit and proper persons by the delegates of the various Governments and learned Societies, and this regulation is to remain in force. The stern edict even excluded the wives and daughters of Orientalists from the privileges of membership, but, on the other hand, provision was made for the admission of the public to the meetings, that the really intellectually hungry might be allowed to pick up some crumbs of comfort and information.

The meetings always take place during the vacation of the Universities, at a time, when most men are taking a holiday-trip. Waste of time cannot be debited to such Congresses as a fault, but there are those, who raise the cry of waste of money. The British Government never condescends to take any cognizance of any such proceedings either in Great Britain or on the Continent, but the other Governments, without exception, make grants to assist the expenses of the Congress, or in paying the travelling charges of their delegates. The Secretary of State for India has been induced to do the same. Now that all the great Nations have had one turn of the Congress-Rota, it is felt, that the interval of the assembly may, with propriety, be increased, and that three or four years ought to elapse. One sad feature has already come under observation: I allude to the deaths of distinguished Scholars in the interval, however brief it may hitherto have been.

One more reform is required. Greater severity should be enforced in the admission of papers on subjects of a scholastic, pedantic, and merely collegiate interest, but not calculated to interest a large assembly, or to leave a land-mark. Lengthy papers should also be excluded. There is so much of new matter always coming forward, so many subjects of startling interest cropping up, so many moot questions, which require settlement, that it is tedious to waste an hour upon a Doctorial thesis, or a narrow dissertation. It is desirable, that the paper should arouse interest, lead to discussion, and sword being crossed by sword. The difficulty of language of course stands, and always will stand, on the threshold: but no knight is warranted to enter the lists of an Oriental Congress, unless he is armed with a competent knowledge of the languages of Europe.

It is difficult to avoid, but still it is not desirable, that schemes of festivities, and banquets, and junketing, should be interwoven with the business of the Congress. Many of the members have come from a long distance, and are eager to see something of the great city, where the meeting is held. It is desirable, that every facility to see Museums and Libraries should be afforded, but it is not advisable to connect an Exhibition of curiosities with a Congress, the main object of which is discussion. Still less should there be an attempt made, as at Berlin, to attract attention by bringing prominently forward natives of Oriental countries. The effect was grotesque and ridiculous, when Professor Monier-Williams of Oxford produced a real Indian Pandit, who made a public and ludicrous exhibition of the mode, in which the Hindu religionist repeats his prayers according to the Rig-Veda: it is painful to see the professor of any Religion deliberately provoking a laugh at the time-honoured ritual of his countrymen and forefathers, however mistaken the form of worship may be. But still more ridiculous was the rival performance of Professor Max Müller from Oxford, with two Japanese priests, who also exhibited their peculiar gifts: it was if a rival showman had produced two monkeys to outdo the exhibition of a goat. When I read my paper on the languages of Africa, the subject fell flat, because I had unwisely not taken the precaution of bringing with me a Negro and a Hottentot to illustrate my statements, and attract an audience capable of being captivated by the sight of a Hindu and Japanese.

The Fifth Oriental Congress assembled at Berlin, on Monday, September 12th, 1881. The number of names registered amounted to 296, of whom 189 actually attended, and the following countries were represented. I give them alphabetically: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Servia, Spain, Egypt, the United States of North America, Japan, China, India and Syria. It will be remarked that Portugal and Turkey were the only European States unrepresented. The President of the Congress was Dr. Dillmann, a Scholar of high repute, assisted by no less than 117 Professors and Scholars of German Universities. It may be doubted, whether any country in the World can vie with Germany in the number and soundness of her Scholars in every branch of Oriental study. The oldest and most venerated of Scholars in Germany at the time were Lepsius of Egyptian renown, who was present, and took a share in the proceedings, presiding in his own Section, Fleischer, Emeritus Professor of Arabic, and Böhtlingk, Professor of Sanskrit, who did not attend.

The first meeting took place in the great hall of the University, presided over by the Minister of Public Instruction, who made an address. He was followed by the actual President of the Congress, and short speeches were made by representatives of the different

nations. The members then retired to constitute themselves into Sections: these were four in number.

A. Semitic, in which was included both the old Semitic of the Cuneiform Characters, and the modern Semitic. Sixty Scholars attached themselves to this Section, and elected Dr. Schräder as their President.

B. Indo-Germanic or Arian, including Comparative Philology. Sixty Scholars attached themselves to this Section also, and elected Dr. Weber as their President.

C. African, including Egypt. Fourteen Scholars attached themselves to this Section, and elected Dr. Lepsius as their President, who was eventually relieved by Brugsch Bey.

D. East Asia: to which was attached the subjects of Archæology and Ethnology. Twenty-five Scholars attached themselves to this Section, and elected Professor Von der Gabelentz and Dr. Bastian as Presidents of the united Sections.

A considerable number of papers had been sent in previously in the English, German, and French languages, and were at once distributed among their Sections, which began their work in the different apartments allotted to them, and carried them on vigorously to the end of the week, when a final general meeting and a banquet closed the proceedings. It may be remarked, that the members of the Imperial Family, and the upper classes of Prussia, showed no interest whatever in the Congress. The matter fell into the hands of a kindly body of Professors, who did their best to entertain the foreign members, and were successful. It remains to notice the most remarkable of the subjects, treated upon in papers read, or submitted, or discussed.

The Semitic Section ran upon scholastic and pedantic lines. Papers were read upon the so-called Theology of Aristotle among the Arabs, the Geography of Ptolemy among the Arabs, the progress of Arabic studies in Spain, the explanation of a difficult Hebrew Text, remarks on the vocalization of the Targum. It was necessary to be a specialist to listen with interest to such papers read, or to read them, when actually in print. Some were very technical indeed. A Greek Professor brought under notice the fact, that in the synagogues of Corfu the Jews used hymns in the modern Greek language transliterated into the Hebrew Character. When and how this strange jumble took place was not known. No doubt the devout Israelites, in their simplicity, thought they were chanting in the language of their forefathers. Nothing is such a mistake as to suppose, that the ordinary Jew knows anything about Hebrew: in North Africa he knows nothing but Arabic, in Poland he speaks a Polish jargon, in Abyssinia a dialect of Agau, in India an Indian language.

Professor Oppert, who was in great force, described later excavations conducted by French explorers in Chaldea, to which he attached

the highest importance. Dr. Paul Haupt discussed the vexed question of the Sumerian or Akkadian language, which at once brought Professor Oppert to the front. It is a controversy not likely to come to an end in this generation. Professor Sayce, of Oxford, read a paper on the decipherment of the hitherto undecipherable Inscriptions on the rocks at Van in Armenia. This was followed next year by an elaborate paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the subject is of the highest interest. Equally so was the paper read by Dr. Strassmaier, of the Netherlands, on the Contract-tablets found at Warka in Mesopotamia, and now in the British Museum.

I pass to the Indo-Germanic Section, presided over by the most genial of Scholars, Professor Albrecht Weber. The first paper, by Dr. Windisch on the Greek influence upon the Indian Drama, was most unreasonable in length, occupying one hundred pages, and unsuitable in subject for a Congress, being scholastic and critical. It was an abuse of the opportunity to print this lengthy discussion upon a subject of second and third rate importance in the records of the Congress. On a matter of this kind there were, as was to be expected, two German Professors on one side, and two on the contrary, the latter standing up for the independent origin of the Indian Drama. Professor Oldenberg followed with an interesting and brief notice upon the Lalita Vistara, the Life of Buddha, a subject handled by him with great skill, and one of increasing importance. Professor Max Müller, of Oxford, followed with papers on two separate subjects. It is difficult to define exactly the position of this eminent Scholar: he was a German, who had chosen England as his domicile, refusing the opportunity offered to return to a dignified position in his own country. He handled both English and German with great facility, but, as often happens to those, who occupy an ambiguous position, he seemed to possess neither the confidence nor favour of his old or his adopted country. He was sent as a delegate by the University of Oxford, which would have shown more self-respect by sending one of their own nation: it was not, that there were no British scholars forthcoming. By a kind of irony of fate, the subject of the Professor's first paper seems to be the shortcomings of Great Britain and of Oxford in the matter of fostering Oriental studies. This hardly comes with a good grace from the mouth of one, who, under the patronage of English institutions, has risen from narrow circumstances to a position of dignity and abundance. For the Rig-Veda alone the Indian Government paid the Professor nearly six thousand pounds, and an allowance of three hundred pounds per annum for eight years for editing the Sacred Books of the East. Surely these subjects are outside the region of the practical interests of the British rule in India, and relate to scholarship pure and simple. We could have governed India without the Text and Translation of the Rig-Veda, and without the

Sacred Books of the East; they were added by a Liberal Government for the purpose of promoting Science.

In his second paper the Professor was more fortunate, and he deserves our best thanks for the acumen and pertinacity, with which he followed up the scent, and eventually unearthed Sanskrit Manuscripts in Japan, far exceeding in antiquity any others found in India. It is presumed, that the date of the earliest Sanskrit Manuscript is carried back to the seventh century of the Christian era. Absurdly modern as this may seem compared to Egyptian papyri, and to some few Greek and Latin manuscripts, it is a considerable advance over previous established dates. It was on this occasion, that the Professor produced his Japanese friends, Bunyiu Nanjio and Kenjiu Kasawara, to whose co-operation he was indebted for the happy results obtained.

At the next sitting of the Section, Prof. Monier-Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, amidst marked interest, gave an account of the Sandya and Brahmayajna ceremonies, and the place which the Rig-Veda occupies in the daily morning and evening prayers of the Hindu at the present day. Scholars in Europe deal with the Rig-Veda, as something of an abstract and defunct character, such as a ritual for the service of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, or of Vesta at Rome. Sojourners in India take no notice of what falls so often under their eyes, the liturgical ceremonies of the Brahman by the banks of a river, and know nothing of the Veda. Both parties forget, that for three thousand years it has moulded the faith, and inspired the prayers, of a large proportion of the Arian race. The Professor went through in detail the result of personal observations in his late visits to India, the different stages of the morning, midday and evening services. Round the celebrated Gayatri-prayer hovers a special interest. Turning towards the Eastern sky, the worshipper repeats these words, which take precedence of all other forms of Hindu supplication: "Let us "meditate on the excellent glory of the divine vivifying sun, may "He enlighten our understandings." This one link extends over thirty, or perhaps forty centuries, to a date contemporary to or anterior to the Jewish Decalogue, and yet still it is the law of life to millions. Such considerations should have sheltered this ancient ritual, as well as that of the Egyptians, from levity, or thoughtless remarks, for they represent the efforts of unassisted man in these early days to hold intercourse with their Creator. I with others therefore regretted, that my talented and amiable friend Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma should have been induced to give a theatric recitation of the ceremonial verses, intoning them according to the nasal peculiarities of the Hindu worshipper, and prostrating himself in a mode, which produced the hilarity and ridicule of a mixed crowd of both sexes, who neither understood the words uttered in Sanskrit, nor the solemn nature of the intended worship. All Religions are sacred.

Mr. Bendall of Cambridge exhibited a collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepál, and made remarks upon their antiquity and bearing on Chronology, History and Literature. There were portions of the celebrated Hodgson and Wright Manuscripts, the discovery of the first portions of which fifty years ago made such a sensation, and led to the veteran Brian Hodgson, who still flourishes in a green old age, to be hailed by Burnouf, the greatest of French scholars, as "le veritable fondateur de nos études Bouddhiques." They have now been catalogued and examined, and some of them bear well-attested dates of more than a century earlier than any other Sanskrit Manuscript in Europe or India, the Japanese discoveries excepted. It is interesting to note, that the enterprising scholar, Mr. Bendall, has since gone out himself to Nepál, to hunt up further, and we trust, older Manuscripts.

Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma, an undergraduate of Baliol College, Oxford, one of whom Great Britain and India may both be proud, as he appears to unite many of the best qualities of both nationalities, then read a paper upon "Sanskrit as a living language in India." It need hardly be said, that this was a mere "tour de force," or ingenious misapplication of terms, which might hold its own in the brains of a learned Professor in Europe, but which would be at once brushed aside by the practical Statesman and statistician in India. If any Province, or city, or village, or Caste, or Family exists, where the people, male and female, young and old, masters and servants, priests and laity, speak Sanskrit *as a Vernacular*, let it be shown, and only then could it be called a living language. I have myself assisted at conversations in Sanskrit at the Sanskrit College at Banáras, and in the Latin language in Europe, and in the Hebrew in the Levant; but no arguments would convince me, that such artificial and elaborate use of a dead vehicle of thought could be deemed a genuine living language, let the good Pandit say what he likes. The edicts of Asóka are against him.

Professor Monier-Williams read a paper on the application of the Roman Alphabet to the expression of Sanskrit and other Eastern languages. If the Professor had mounted his favourite hobby of suppressing all the existing manifold and magnificent forms of Written Character, which are in use in Nearer and Farther India and the Indian Archipelago, I should be totally against him. The idea of substituting a modified Roman Character bristling with dots, accents, and italics, for the existing national vehicles of written thought, may be relegated to the Greek Kalends: but the object of the Professor on this occasion was to fix some understood principles of transliteration of proper names and technical Vernacular terms, and to free the British public from the harsh solecisms of the German editors of English books, who write *k* to represent *ch* (soft) and *g* to represent *j*. A Commission was

appointed to thresh out the subject, but it is one of those, which each nation must settle for itself. No Frenchman, German, or Englishman will ever arrive at a common platform, nor is it of much practical importance, so long as each author maintains one intelligible system.

Professor Harlez' paper on the Kalendar of the Avesta, and the original home of the Avesta Religion, was handed in for publication, the author being prevented from attending by illness. Professor Ascoli then read a most interesting and thoughtful paper on "The Ethnological Reasons for the Transformation of Languages." It really is a brief abstract of the contents of a large volume, published by this distinguished Scholar on the subject. Dr. Hermann Collitz followed with a paper "On a Peculiar Kind of Vedic Composition." The last paper in this important Section was by a Scholar of a country newly enfranchised to liberty and literature, Servia, Louka Marinkovitch, the representative of six millions, who had found a new status. This paper naturally turned upon the literature of his country, and he recorded the Persian, Arabic, and Turkish words, which had engrafted themselves in the Vocabulary of the people, the badge and the record of their long servitude. Political liberty does not free the language of the conquered race from the impurities arising from contact with the conquerors. If India were to shake off the yoke of Great Britain, in their *lingua franca* would live for ever certain words or phrases, which would reveal to the historical student the foreign domination.

Finally, in this Section, a strong representation was made to revivify, if possible, the decaying, if not absolutely defunct, Sanskrit Text Society. Founded in 1861 by the late Professor Goldstücker, it had done excellent good service in publishing Texts, which, important though they were to Science, no publisher could, or would, undertake. I fear that it is hopeless, that funds will be forthcoming for the purpose, either from private or public sources.

I pass now to the African Section: the attendance was small, but the subjects of great interest. M. Edouard Naville reported the progress made by himself in carrying out the duty entrusted to him in 1874, by the London Congress, of editing a revised text of the "Book of the Dead," that wonderful compendium of the eschatological views of the Egyptians. An approved Text, after a comparison of scores of original documents, had at length been prepared, and a table of the variants. It will add greatly to philological knowledge, as well as the special subject of the Religion of that wonderful people. M. Naville then communicated, on the part of M. Maspero, an account of the wonderful discovery of coffins and mummy-cases, which had lately (July, 1881) taken place at Dar-el-Bahári in Upper Egpyt. His attention has been called for some time to the number of Papyri and other objects, which

Arabs were bringing for sale, and the conviction had been arrived at, that the tomb of a king named Pinotem must have been by some chance discovered and rifled. M. Maspero, when he was at Thebes early in the year 1881, ordered a certain man to be arrested, who was supposed to hold the secret, and one of his brothers then revealed it to Daúd Pasha, and the Khedive gave orders to have it examined. The find was wonderful, the most important mummies were antecedent to the Eighteenth Dynasty: Sekenenr-Ra Taaken (of the Inscription of Ahmes), mummy-case only; Queen Ansera. Eighteenth Dynasty: King Ahmes I. (Ra-men-pheti); the black Queen Nafretari, wife of the foregoing; Queen Hont-ti-moo-hoo; Princess Mes-hont-ti-moo-hoo; Princess Set-Amen; Prince Se-Amen, eldest son of Ahmes I.; King Amenhotep I.; King Thothmes I. (mummy-case only); King Thothmes II.; King Thothmes III. (mummy doubtful); Queen Sit-ka (mummy only). Nineteenth Dynasty: King Rameses I. (mummy-case only); King Seti I. Twentieth Dynasty: Rameses XII.; Queen Notemit, wife of Her-Hor; King Pinotem I.; King Pinotem II. (mummy only); Prince and High-priest Masahirti, son of Pinotem II.; Queen Hathor Hintaui; Queen Ast-em-af; Princess Nesikhonsu; Queen Makera; Queen Mautemhat; Prince Tót Ptahfankh Rameses, called "the royal son of Rameses," evidently a son of one of the latter Ramessides.

Besides the above, there have been discovered five royal Papyri, and an immense store of precious objects of all kinds, including the outer sarcophagus of a Queen Aah-hotep, whom M. Maspero inclines to identify with the Queen Aah-hotep, whose mummy and famous jewels have long been the crowning glory of the Búlak Museum. This identification promises to solve a problem, which has long baffled conjecture. M. Maspero is of opinion, that these royal mummies, of so many different epochs and families, were transferred from their tombs to this obscure hiding-place, in order to defeat that famous gang of tomb-robbers (*temp.* Rameses IX.), whose depredations are recorded in the Abbott Papyrus. Various Hieratic Inscriptions traced upon the mummy-cases and bandages of Amenhotep I., Seti I., and Rameses XII., state, that the removal was performed by order of the Priest-King Pinotem, son of Piankhi. At the time (there being rebellion in the North of Egypt, and a contemporary dynasty of Semitic origin reigning in the Delta) the royal family of Thebes were evidently content to use this ancient burial-vault for themselves. Beginning with Queen Notemit, the whole line would seem to have been consigned to this spot; the last buried being probably the last, who died at Thebes before the coming of Sheshonk. "Sunt et sua fata sepulchris." After the interval of thousands of years these royal remains, concealed in vain by pious hands, removed in vain by reverend hands to secure safety, have been disinterred to adorn

the Museum at Búlak and gratify the crave of inquisitive and unsympathetic Scholars. The Hindu kings, who burnt their dead, were wiser in their generation.

Brugsch Bey then read his paper, "On the Egyptian Ethnological Table," full of new facts and suggestions. He proposes to read the name hitherto supposed to be Rutennu as Iltennu, and to identify it with the Assyrian *illanu* ('north'), the original situation of the people meant being nearer the sources of the Euphrates. Khar, one of the Egyptian designations of Phenicia, was, he thinks, similarly borrowed from the Assyrian *akharru* ('west'). The Hyksos, or Menti, he would bring from the mountains of Elam, Menti-nu-Satu denoting the districts of Tigris and Euphrates. In Asebi, the old Egyptian name of Kypros, he sees a word meaning 'emporium,' and an indication of the important part played by Kypros, in the trade of the ancient World. He further finds a people called Kheta, to be carefully distinguished from the Kheta, or Hittites, on the North-Western shore of the Persian Gulf; and he explained the Pygmies and Blemmyes of Herodotus from Egyptian sources, pointing out at the same time, that Habesh is the name given to the Abyssinians on the Monuments.

Other papers of less striking interest were read by distinguished Egyptologists, who made up for their paucity of number by their zeal and activity, every Scholar having something to say, or present. It has often been said, that Egypt by its history and its affinities is part of Asia. Assuming this for the moment, the great Continent of Africa remained unrepresented in the Congress in spite of its many hundred languages, and many millions of inhabitants. Africa's day has not yet come, but twenty-five years hence it will come. At this Congress the compiler of this Essay read a paper in the German language on "Our Present Knowledge of the Languages of Africa." Unfortunately it had not occurred to me to imitate the example of the Oxford Professors, and fortify my position by posing on the rostrum betwixt a Negro and a Hottentot, and having a chant delivered to a fetish as a wind-up; so Africa fell flat, indeed, and no one seemed to care very much about it.

The Fourth Section was not important. Two sittings disposed of its scanty work, even after the annexation of the Archæological Section with its five members. Nothing can illustrate more strongly the one-sidedness, and narrow views of European scholarship at the present epoch. How small a portion of the area of the world is occupied by the Indo-Germanic and Semitic races, and from that small area, for the purposes of an Oriental Congress, the whole of Europe must be deducted. Yet to this petty fragment of the World the Scholars of Europe, one sheep following the other over a well-beaten path, restrict themselves, while such vast fields, such pastures new, invite their attention. Is nothing new to be

gathered from such vast linguistic Families as in Asia the Ural-Altaic, the Dravidian, the Kolarian, the Tibeto-Barman, the Malay, the Chinese, the Japanese, and in Africa the Hamitic, and Negro Groups, and the wonderful Bántu Family of South Africa? Only one paper deserves notice in the Fourth Section, on the subject of a "New Chinese Grammar" by Professor Von der Gabelentz. A monosyllabic language has no grammar in the restricted sense of word-lore and case-lore, but sentence-lore or syntax plays a great part in its machinery, and in this direction the new effort is being made.

German papers maliciously remarked, that during the absence of the leading medical men of Berlin at the London Medical Congress, the rate of mortality in that city decreased to a remarkable extent. The presence of so many Scholars at Berlin had the effect of increasing its hilarity. A grand dinner as usual concluded the proceedings, and there was a great deal of wild eloquence in many languages. The post of a toast-master seems unknown in Germany, and as no previous arrangement had been made, there was a rush. Everybody wished to speak. The younger members were eloquent in praise of their masters; the masters in praise of their pupils. The Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma rose, and declared he spoke in the name of 256 millions of human beings, though after his public performance of the sacred rites of the Brahmans, and the recitation of the Gáyatrí before impure aliens, it is doubtful, whether even the small sect, to which he belongs, would continue to recognize him as their representative. Though he declared that he never touched wine, he ended with drinking "The Health of the Minister of Education, and of all Ministers, "and of all the great Masters of the World." It was an odd chance, that called the Post-Master-General of Germany to his legs, and still more odd, that he was the only one, who uttered a sentiment worth remembering. He remarked that upwards of sixty millions of letters came annually from India to Europe, furnishing loads for nine hundred camels, and all requiring answers, a contingency which the Poet Horace had anticipated:

"Jam Scythæ responsa petunt, et Indi."

In the last business-meeting of the Congress, Leyden, in Holland, was designated as the place for the next meeting after a lapse of three years. For myself I must confess, that I left Berlin with a sense of having received great pleasure, with enlarged knowledge, enlarged desire of obtaining knowledge, and widened capacity to appreciate the knowledge of others.

Three years, however, were not destined to elapse before the friends, who had met at four or five Congresses, were destined to meet again at the sixth. The Amsterdam International Exhibition was fixed for 1883, so the Congress at Leyden was summoned after

an interval of two years, and on the 10th of September of that year, the assembly was sounded in that quaint little Dutch town, which, however, occupies so prominent a position in the History of Science and Instruction. There were many gaps in the circle; many unexpected deaths, even in that short period. The wheel seemed to have turned backwards, for ladies were admitted as members of this Congress, contrary to the ungallant rules of Florence and Berlin. Holland enjoys an exceptional position in the Republic of Letters, and her Scholars in every branch of Science hold a high place. The University of Leyden holds a high rank among Universities. Small though the area of the country, and scant the population, imminent as is the danger of the Low Countries becoming a part of the German Empire, which has a desire to possess herself of her great Atlantic ports and her Colonies, by no nation would the disappearance of the Dutch from the list of independent kingdoms be more missed than by England. We have not indeed guaranteed the independence of Holland, as we have of Belgium, but we should have a word to say, and a blow to strike, before Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden and Utrecht, fell to the position of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Frankfort. On such occasions it was the happy privilege of the Dutch to appear as the friends of all, as they have no national antipathies, and are able to give all a hearty welcome. There is something peculiarly genial in the social character of the Dutch: an entire absence of stiff formality, and yet the stately bearing of high-bred gentlemen.

The number of individuals, who took out tickets of membership, amounted to 450, and the number of those, who actually attended, was 219, but it must be recollected that the ladies were included, and the Geographical position of Leyden was peculiarly convenient for English and French Scholars. The following countries were represented: Germany, Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Britain, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Servia, Sweden, and Norway; Switzerland, Turkey, Algeria and Tunisia, Egypt, Tripoli, United States of North America, British India, Japan, Persia, Ceylon, China, and the Dutch Colonies in the Indian Archipelago. It will be perceived that, for Europe and Asia, the representation has now become complete, and the influence of the Congress is felt generally, as an advancement of Science, and a legitimate expansion of interest in Oriental subjects of all kinds. The warm friendships, which have sprung up amidst representatives of different countries, who, under other circumstances, would never have met, and the subsequent interchange of letters and books, greatly facilitating research, have been the pleasing and profitable results of these brief but pleasant gatherings.

The opening general meeting took place in the Town Hall. The Ministers of the Interior, the Colonies, and of War were present, and the former presided, and made the opening address in the

French language. The Dutch language has not taken its place as a classic in Europe, and with the other minor languages of Northern and Southern Europe, is destined to disappear, being swallowed up by the powerful central languages of English, French, German and Italian. The death of the President elect, Professor Dozy, a man of European reputation, was sincerely lamented, but the place was well filled by Professor Kuenen, aided by a band of remarkable Scholars each in their own way, De Goeje, Kern, well known at Banáras, Land, Leemans, Pleyte, Pijnappel, Tiele, and others. It appeared from a communication read to the Congress, that the Prince Royal intended to have been present, but was prevented by illness, which, indeed, soon after ended fatally, leaving the House of Orange without any male descendant. As soon as the President had concluded his lengthy opening address, leave was given to foreign representatives to present any books which they wished, and address a few words. M. Schefer from France laid upon the table the second volume of the magnificent Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, which does the French Government so much credit. Mr. Cust, the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, congratulated Holland as being the cradle of Liberty, the nursery of Science, and the fellow-labourer of England in the work of introducing civilization among the millions of the East Indies. He laid upon the table his work upon the Languages of Africa, with the remark, that of all the languages of Europe, the Dutch language was the only one domiciled in Africa, having been adopted by tribes, who had abandoned for it their own language. Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma expressed his gratification at being sent by the Government of India to represent his own country, and his delight at meeting face to face great Scholars, whose names he had read of in India. He hoped, that the day was not far distant when a session of the International Congress would be held in India. Other Scholars of different nationalities, and in different languages, briefly addressed the Congress, laying their books on the table.

Dr. Leitner, of the Lahore University, then got an opportunity to bring to the notice of the learned World, the foundation of the first and only Anglo-Oriental University in India, which was opened this very year at Lahore, the capital of the Panjáb. He dilated on the importance of this movement, and remarked that Oriental learning as the basis, and European Science as the superstructure on indigenous methods are equally necessary. He expressed his gratitude to the Anjumán-i-Panjáb for having originated this healthy and patriotic movement, and having founded flourishing Colleges for the Hindu scholar, and for the Mahometan. This communication was received with well-merited applause.

The Congress then retired to the different chambers, set apart for the Sections, and commenced the work of constituting the Sections,

and appointing the Presidents. Consideration has to be paid to the number of papers sent in previously, the number and tastes of the Scholars assembled, and the peculiar interests of the country, where the assembly is held. There were formed on this occasion five Sections, but the first was subdivided; so, practically, there were six separate companies:

A. Semitic: (I.) Modern, presided over by M. Schefer; (II.) Ancient, presided over by Dr. Schräder. Ninety-one Scholars attached themselves to this Section.

B. Indo-Germanic or Arian, presided over by Dr. Roth. Fifty-three Scholars attached themselves to this Section.

C. African (purely Egyptian), presided over by M. Lieblein, with seventeen Scholars.

D. Central Asia and the Extreme Orient, under Professor Von der Gabelentz, with twenty-five Scholars.

E. Malaysia and Polynesia, presided over by the Abbé Favre, with forty-nine Scholars.

This last was the specialty of the Netherlands, with their extensive Colonies in the Indian Archipelago. I now follow the proceedings of the modern portion of the Semitic Section.

This branch of Oriental research seems peculiarly liable to be oppressed by cut and dried essays on particular subjects, not of general, or modern, or developing interest, and leading to no discussion. I pass such over without notice. Professor Land opened up the subject of Arabian music, which led to a considerable and interesting discussion, considerably advancing the knowledge of the subject. Professor de Gocje read a paper on the subject of the tenets of an Arabian sect, which the lamented Professor Dozy was preparing for this Congress, but did not live to complete. An interesting and important discussion then took place on the necessity of a complete Dictionary of the Arabic language. It seems strange, but still is true. The great work of Freytag is out of date. Lane has excluded from his lexicon not only the post-classical words, but also those, which occur rarely, for which he contemplated a special Dictionary. The Supplemental Dictionary by Dozy excludes all the words used by Freytag and Lane. There was no sufficient and convenient lexicon available to the student of both the classic and modern forms of the language, one of the most important in the world. It appeared, that it would be impossible to organize so great an undertaking, which would require the co-operation of so many scholars, before the great work of the Translation of Tabari was got out of the way, and disposed of. However, preparation could be made, such as dictionaries of the local dialects, and of the words occurring in the most ancient poetry. It is to be hoped that the next generation will lay this matter to heart.

In the ancient portion of the Semitic Section, a startling subject was introduced by Professor Oort of Leyden, but did not go farther.

His assertion was, that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was exceedingly faulty, that all the attention of the critics had been devoted to the Masoretic pointing of the vowels, leaving the consonants in an unsatisfactory state. He admitted that comparison of Manuscripts would not help him, that a study of the Samaritan and Septuagint Translations would not advance the matter: other readings might be collected from other sources. He wished to have a book compiled containing every conjectural alteration of the Text of importance. The silent opinion of the Section seemed to me, that, bad as the state of affairs might be, according to the view of the Professor, it would be better to leave them alone than to stir up a contention, which none could hope to outlive. The *textus receptus* is the admitted basis of all Bible-Translation.

M. Tiele, so well known for his History of Ancient Religion, read a paper on the worship of the great Assyrian goddess Istar, the goddess of fertility, and the prototype of the Syrian Astarte. He tried to define with greater accuracy the character of this primitive symbolic worship. A long discussion followed, in which the chief Cuneiform Scholars joined. Professor Nöldeke, himself an Arabic Scholar, taunted the Assyrian Scholars on the absence of agreement in their opinions, which was depressing for those, who waited for instruction from the experts.

Professor Sayce of Oxford then propounded a subject of new and great interest, of the kind most suitable for such Congresses, "The Decipherment of the Mal-Amir Inscriptions, and the origin of the so-called Median Texts." The plain of Mal-Amir lies to the East of Susa, and contains the ruins of an ancient city, as well as remarkable rock-sculptures described by the Baron de Bode and Layard. The latter copied some of the Inscriptions, but imperfectly, though the frequent repetition of the same group of symbols renders it possible to restore the greater part of the Text. Translations of these Inscriptions, accompanied by a Grammatical analysis and a Vocabulary, were given in the memoir, though not read to the Section, the object of which was to prove that, as regards the peculiar Syllabary employed, as well as the Phonology, Grammar, and Vocabulary of the language, the Inscriptions of Mal-Amir represent the same Syllabary and language, as those used in the second tablet of the far-famed Achemenian Inscription at Behistún, but in a slightly older form. Professor Sayce endeavoured to show, that the District of Mal-Amir was also the seat of the Amardians of the classical writers, and that the most correct title of these Inscriptions was Amardian. The Syllabary, according to him, was derived from a Cursive form of the famous Babylonian method of the age of Nebuchadnezzar, but the Determinatives, which precede certain words, were the same as those used in Susian Inscriptions; this leads to the conclusion, that the derivations of the Median Syllabary must have taken place in Susiana, and not in Babylonia. As would

be expected, Professor Oppert had remarks and objections to make, but no practical criticisms can be passed upon such a subject, until those, who are capable of forming an opinion, have the whole paper in print under their eyes.

Professor Oort then drew attention to the absurd notions, that prevailed in the middle ages among Christians, that the Jews committed murder in the course of their rituals, a notion which, apparently, still lingered in the more uncivilized portions of Europe. A discussion followed, in which several distinguished Scholars took part, on the meaning of the word EL in Sabæan Inscriptions. Did it mean "the Supreme God" only? M. Oppert, and M. Halevy, the two famous French polemists, took a large share in the discussion of these Sections, both of the Hebrew persuasion, and extremely independent in their conclusions, and combative in their mode of enforcing them. To both, however, it was conceded, that they were profound and enlightened Scholars, and even the fact of their entertaining different views had its value, as every assertion was made under the eye of a competent and hostile critic. M. Halevy closed the proceedings of the Semitic Sections by an elaborate communication on the subject of the decipherment of the Thamudite Inscriptions in the Hajáz of South Arabia. He considers, that these belonged to a form of writing extensively used in that part of Arabia before the birth of Mahomet. They relate to the worship of pagan divinities. They have an interest, therefore, religious as well as philological, and throw a new light on the pre-Mahometan period, which good Mahometans would make believe to have been a period of entire absence of culture. It is gradually transpiring, that such was not the case.

I now pass to the Indo-European or Arian Section. Two whole days a crowded assembly were occupied with the discussion of the origin of the famous cluster of Alphabets, known as the Indian Alphabet, made use of with variations throughout the whole of Nearer India, Further India, and the Indian Archipelago. Mr. Cust, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, laid the question before the meeting in a brief but complete statement of the precise issue in the English language, and distributed copies to his audience, that they might more readily follow the thread of a complicated argument. There were those, who asserted, that the idea and the germ of the Alphabet were indigenous in India, in fact, an invention of that learned and ingenious people. But the distinguished Scholars who agreed so far, differed totally in details. There were those who asserted, that the Indian Alphabet, like all the other Alphabets in the World, was derived from the Phenician Alphabet; but the distinguished Scholars who agreed so far, differed beyond all hope of reconciliation as to the channel, by which this derivation of the germ or borrowings of the idea, took place. There were those, who differed from both the preceding companies, and main-

tained, that the Alphabet was derived from the countries lying to the East of India. On one point all agreed, that the Inscriptions of Asóka, in the second century before Christ, present the earliest ascertained form of that Alphabet in two variations, with regard to the first of which, the Northern Asóka, there was a general consensus, that it was derived by a particular channel from the Phenician: with regard to the second, the Southern Asóka, there was a hopeless discrepancy of opinion. Some of the most celebrated Scholars took part in the discussion. It is one of those questions, which must stand over for the decision of the next generation.

Professor Bühler, in the name of Professor Max Müller, who was unable to attend the Congress, laid before the Section photographs of the ancient palm-leaf Manuscripts, the description of which had caused such interest at the Berlin Congress. It was with great difficulty, that they had been obtained, by a special order of the Emperor of Japan, to whom they belonged. In the memorandum accompanying, the Professor expresses his opinion, that the palm leaves came to Japan not later than 600 A.D. from China, where they had been preserved some time previously: they must again have been preserved in India some time before they were conveyed to China, so that 500 A.D. is not an unsafe date to be assigned to them. This date is confirmed by the similarity, which exists between the Alphabet, in which these palm-leaf Manuscripts are written, and the Alphabets used in the contemporaneous Inscriptions on metal or stone in Nepál. The facts thus proved, and stated, are of the highest importance.

Professor Roth, the President, remarked on the new edition of the *Avesta*, which was being prepared by Professor Geldner at Tübingen, from the collation of a great many Manuscripts not previously accessible, for the Parsi community, contrary to their previous customs, had placed all their family treasures at the disposal of the critic. This marks a great progress in religious and literary feeling, the value of which can only be appreciated by those who know the jealousy, with which Orientals shroud their Sacred Books.

The question of transliteration into the Roman Character, of Indian Characters, then came up again, and was fully discussed, without any reasonable hope of any solution. We might as well hope to hear of rooks cawing in concert, or herds of cattle keeping step, as of European Scholars agreeing in the mode of pronouncing and transcribing foreign written Characters. It is in the essence of national linguistic separation, that they should disagree on such subjects, and it is waste of time to suggest any expedients. So long as we know the principles, upon which each company of Scholars transliterate, and they keep to those principles, no practical difficulty arises. If German Scholars should attempt to force their principles

upon British schools, they should be sternly resisted. M. Lehmann brought forward the subject of Jain literature, which is a mine still to be exploited, and which is, as it were, shunted, till the heavy Sanskrit trains have got by, but it will occupy future Congresses. The President laid upon the table a memoir upon certain terms used in the *Avesta*, prepared by Dastúr Jamaspi Minocheherji, Chief Priest of the Parsi community of Bombay, specially for this Congress. It is to the same enlightened member of a most respectable body of Her Majesty's subjects, that Professor Geldner is indebted for several manuscripts of the *Avesta*, sent for collation. It marks an epoch in scholarship generally, and the history of a particular community, when they enter into the Republic of Letters. All honour to them!

Professor Bühler then proposed, that the literary Institutions and Universities of India should be admitted into the Body Politic of European Science and Research, that publications should be interchanged, and freedom of communication established, which would be profitable to both. To this the Section after discussion agreed; but as to a proposition of Dr. Leitner, that the academical degrees conferred in India by Universities should be reciprocally acknowledged in Europe, they declined to discuss, as manifestly that matter rested with the Universities themselves, and was scarcely yet of a practical character.

Professor Peterson of Bombay brought to the notice of the Section a memoir by Pandit Bhagvanlál Indráji of Bombay on the great Inscription of Udayágiri, of which photographs had lately been made. The Pandit considered, that he had been able to determine the real place of this important document, which belonged to the second century before the Christian era, and related to a king of Kalinga, who was a Jain, and not a Buddhist. Professor Kern remarked, that he had independently arrived at the same opinion, and had published it in a work, which, however, could not have reached the eye of the Pandit. The unanimity of the Indian and European Scholars was of importance.

Dr. Leitner made a communication on the subject of, I. Professional and Secret Trade dialects, the Argots, or dialects of the criminal and wandering tribes of Northern India, Kábul and Central Asia, and the cryptographic and other secret Characters of the Panjáb and Kashmír. II. The influence of Greek art on the Buddhist sculpture of the Panjáb. Photographs were laid upon the table of Greco-Buddhist sculpture, and the Section resolved to memorialize the Government of India to place these interesting discoveries more at the disposal of scholars, by increasing the number of objects sent to London, and distributing casts or photographs to Foreign Museums.

I now turn to the African, or more properly, the Egyptian Section, as not a word was spoken for Africa proper. M. Pleyte

of the Leyden Museum drew attention to the fact, that mummies were sometimes found crowned with flowers, and he suggested, that the crown was the symbol of victory in the battle of human life, and was decreed to those of the dead, whose life had been irreproachable, being a crown of recompense and reward, such as was alluded to by St. Paul in the Epistle to Timothy. The idea is beautiful, and has the merit of novelty. It was determined in this Section to confine the business to the reading of papers on the second day, and admit of no discussion. The subjects were interesting, but technical, to be fully appreciated only by Egyptologists. One feature of interest was, that two papers were presented by a lady, whose absence on account of illness was regretted, Miss Amelia B. Edwards, who has done so much for the work of this Section. The papers were read by a friend; one of them was really of surpassing importance, as it related to the lamentable dispersion, waste, and destruction of Egyptian antiquities by unauthorized and reckless plundering of the Arabs. It has been, asserted that only one-half of Egypt's hidden treasures have come to light, and that a persistent and systematic search would reveal wonders. All this is in the bosom of Time. We may anticipate the day, when there will be an Archæological Survey of Egypt.

I now pass to the fourth Section, or Central Asia and the Extreme Orient. Professor Schlegel of Leyden made the astounding proposition, that the Dutch language was the best medium for the translation of Chinese works. It would be inconceivable to suppose, that such an assertion could be made, so ridiculous in its national narrowness, if it had not been made. He had, however, another subject, which the Section cordially accepted to recommend, the compiling of an English-Chinese and Chinese-English Dictionary, on a plan and scale adequate to scientific requirements. Considerable discussion took place as to the method to be followed, but it was determined by the Section, and subsequently ratified by the General Congress, that an address should be made to the British Government to appoint a Commission of experts of all nationalities to carry out this necessary measure.

Professor De Rosny then brought on the *tapis* the subject of the most ancient Monuments of Japanese literature. He considered, that the eighth century of the Christian era was the remotest date, to which they could be assigned. There was no discussion, as the study of Japanese has not yet been sufficiently developed. Its day is coming. Dr. Leitner made a communication on the races and languages in the region of the Hindú-Kúsh, specially of the Hunza, expressing his hope to be able to make further investigations on his return to India. He remarked on the extreme difficulty of getting intelligent answers to questions put to savage tribes, and the necessity of employing in such inquiries only men, who had the gift of language in them, and who were at the same time of

patient and sympathetic dispositions. A wish was expressed by the Section, that the works of Dr. Leitner on this subject, which had been issued at different periods, should be collectively published.

The fifth Section, or Malaysia and Polynesia, being peculiarly Dutch, was well attended. Professors Pijnappel and Vreede read kindred papers on the roots of the Malay and Japanese languages. It was pointed out, that there was an essential difference betwixt a Malayan and an Arian root, as the first were *bonâ fide* words, and the latter only scientific postulates. The Malayan root could be divided into two classes, the first consisting of words, which imitate natural sounds, and the second of sounds accompanying gesture, which may be called involuntary sounds. Both consisted of words composed of a consonant followed by a vowel, which was often closed by another consonant. Professor Kern read a paper on the affinity between the Mafúr, the best known language of Dutch New Guinea, and the Malayo-Polynesian Family of languages, in opposition to the opinions expressed by Dr. Fred. Müller. Professor Von der Gabelentz, and the President Abbé Favre joined in the discussion, which was extremely important. M. Marre read a paper on the Lexical Affinities of Malagási with the languages of the Malayan Family. The President, Abbé Favre, who has himself published books on the Malagási, remarked, how important Philology was in deciding the origin of a race, as from a Geographical point of view it would have been imagined, that Madagascar was peopled from Africa. Professor Kern remarked, that the presence of a few Sanskrit words in Malagási marked, that the date of the Malayan emigration to Madagascar was subsequent to the commencement of the Hindu influence in the Indian Archipelago.

M. Humme, Professor of the College for the Training of functionaries for service in the Dutch Colonies in the East Indies, read a paper on the Peculiarities of the Javanese language. He asserted, that it was one of the most civilized forms of speech: such hasty generalizations are often made by men, who know one or two languages at the most, and have no means of comparing. If a professor of Mexican or Quichua were to get up and assert the same as regards the single language which he knew, who can decide? There is one feature in Javanese, which is not in its favour, that it has a high form used by men of education, and a low form by the people; this fact is rather against the assertion, that it is a civilized language, as such a linguistic feature disappears, if it ever existed, in a country, which is highly civilized. The lower classes may pronounce words differently, and use different words, but cannot be said to have a different language. He tried to deduce from the existence of the two languages the abstract fact, that language can have a great influence over the character and civilization of a people. To this I cannot assent, as we have before us in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, instances of education

in the highest form being conveyed in languages, which were a quarter of a century previously entirely uncultured vehicles of thought, showing that the lowest type of language, if properly handled, is able to convey the highest ideas, and the highest type of language can do no more. Savage people may make their language, naturally beautiful, appear savage by their abuse of it, in the same way as the pure fount of English undefiled is disgraced by the slang and oaths of the roughs. But it appears impossible, that a language can *per se* have any effect upon the people who use it. English and French, great vehicles of thought as they are, become degraded beyond belief in the mouths of the West African and West Indian. Professor Hunfalvy of Buda Pesth then made a communication upon the different methods of counting in use in different countries; by fives, or tens, or otherwise. It was exceedingly interesting, but very lengthy and technical. Upon a paper by Mr. Long, on the subject of Oriental Proverbs, the Section recorded a wish, confirmed subsequently by the United Congress, that an effort should be made to collect in one Corpus all the Proverbs scattered in different books and serials in different countries, each one of which should commence by collecting its own.

This completed the work of the five Sections. Two general meetings of the whole Congress took place before it broke up.

The closing assembly for the purpose of business took place in the Town Hall, but it appeared, that many of the members had taken their departure. One question of importance was discussed: a wish was expressed by the Congress, that the British Museum would lend its Manuscripts to foreign Scholars. It was pointed out to the Congress by those, who knew the state of affairs best, that this, under the constitution of the Museum, was impossible, and, were it possible, it would be neither expedient nor fair: expediency suggested the notorious recklessness and unbusiness-like habits of great Scholars, who died with borrowed books and Manuscripts mixed up with their own, the whole being sold sometimes by auction: add to this the great risks of fire, and other damage, both in the course of the necessary journeys, and in the private residences, or rather apartments, of the borrower. Fair play suggested the feeling of indignation, which would be felt by the American or other Scholar, who had come a long distance to consult a unique Manuscript, and found, that it had been exiled to a Continental tour for months. The India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the University Libraries, undertake to run the risk and freely lend their treasures. The priceless treasures of the British Museum must be kept within its own walls. In the Appendix to the Report, I remark, that a decided negative was at once properly given by the Trustees to the proposal.

It was then announced, that the next Congress would take place at Vienna in 1886, and an organizing Committee was appointed.

The President in a few chosen words bade the members farewell, and the Congress ceased to exist. But there was, of course, a banquet, from which the ladies were ungallantly excluded, or rather relegated to the galleries, as spectators of the eating, and listeners to the speaking. The Minister of War represented the Government of the Netherlands. The toast of the King and the House of Orange, so closely connected with the independence of the Netherlands, was then proposed and received with applause, not without melancholy forebodings, that the days of that illustrious House were numbered. The health of the Ministry was then received with favour, as every reasonable assistance had been rendered to the Congress, and it was announced, that a large collection of Oriental Manuscripts had that day been purchased by the State for the Library of the University, and this was justly accepted as a compliment to, and an expression of sympathy with, the Congress.

We quote from the columns of the *Times* an account of an incident apart from the ordinary programme of the Congress, but worthy of record. It had occurred to many visitors, that some return was due to the people of Holland for their kindness, and it was arranged, that a subscription should be made for the sufferers in Java and Sumatra from the late earthquake. Accordingly the President, after the Minister of War had concluded his thanks for the second toast, gave the opportunity of speaking to Mr. Cust, Honorary Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and delegate of that and several other learned Societies. He rose and briefly but clearly expressed the wishes of the assembled strangers: "Grateful for the hospitality received, they wished to make some "return. How could that be done? There were two subjects, "strictly International, independent of Religion, nationality or "politics. First, Science, which had brought them together. "Secondly, Benevolence, and Pity for sufferers, which should "accompany them on parting. A cry of anguish had come from the "Islands of Java and Sumatra. Let them help them, and evidence "their gratitude to the people of Holland by helping to alleviate "the sufferings of the subjects of the King of Holland in the "Indian Archipelago." The proposal was cordially approved, and acted upon at once. A troop of little girls with baskets filed down the narrow divisions of the tables, and in a few moments upwards of one thousand gulden were collected.

Many other toasts were proposed in French, German, Dutch, Latin, and even the Sanskrit languages. It was clear, that the Congress had arrived at a stage of incohesion, very like that of the House of Commons in the month of August. Quiet Professors were seen pairing off with their wives and children from the galleries, and finding their way into the cool street, while the festivity raged hot and furious within. Several orators were

on their legs at the same time, relieving themselves of the speeches, which they had prepared. Pandit Shamaji Vishnusarma, and his brother-in-law Ramdass Chubildass, were seen addressing a crowd of guests in Sanskrit, Gujaráti and English, or in a compound of all three. Everybody was cheerful and delighted and satisfied, and the compiler of this account started early next morning on a long excursion across the Black to the Caspian Sea, an account of which journey is given in Chapter XI. of this volume.

But there was a third Congress, which is deserving of notice, the splendour and grandeur of which eclipsed the modest reunion of the Oriental Scholars. I allude to the Third Geographical Congress, which took place on the 16th of September, 1881, and the following days at Venice. These only occur after an interval of five years: the first took place at Antwerp in 1871, the second at Paris in 1875, and it was hoped that the fourth would some day take place in London. The compiler of this narrative had the difficult task imposed upon him of being in two places at once, and at places so distant as Berlin and Venice, and it was only by travelling at night and losing the last day of the Berlin Congress, and the first of the Venice Congress, that he was able to take a share in both. The Geographical Congress at Paris in 1875 had not been without practical results. I. A decided impulse was given to the cutting of the Panama Canal. II. Several new Geographical Societies had been formed in different countries. III. Several explorations by land and sea had been set on foot. IV. A rivalry had been started among European nations as to who should get first to the North Pole and to the Centre of Africa.

Everything in the Geographical Congress was on a much grander scale: there were no less than fourteen hundred and forty-seven members enrolled, and of these eleven hundred and thirteen were present. The countries represented were, in the alphabetical order of the Italian language, The Argentine Republic, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, The Brazils, Canada, Chili, Columbia, Egypt, France, Germany, Japan, Greece, England, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Spain, The United States, Switzerland, Venezuela. All these countries sent delegates, and many great cities sent representatives also, and numberless learned Societies, for the subject of Geography touches upon every branch of Human Knowledge. Nor was the place of meeting unworthy of the great gathering of men of note from every part of the World. The Queen of the Adriatic never looked more bright and beautiful, and the weather was transcendantly lovely. New life was given to many half-deserted palaces, and a great strain was placed upon the powers of accommodation to receive so vast a crowd, for with the members, who

were of both sexes, came relatives and friends, and the prospect of a gala-day on the Canal brought a quota of mere sight-seers. The King and the Prince of Naples, and all the Ministry, and all, that was distinguished and illustrious in Italy, were there. A great exhibition of geographical subjects had been collected, and thrown open several days previously. The Doge's Palace was the place of the general reunions, while in the adjoining palaces rooms were set apart for the Sections.

The President of the Congress was the Duke of Genoa, cousin of the King and brother of the Queen, but as a fact, he did not return from a voyage round the World until the very last day of the Congress, and his place was worthily occupied by the President of the Managing Committee, Don Onorato Gaietani, Prince of Teáno, who has since succeeded his father as Duke of Sermonéta: the Presidents of all the Geographical Societies in foreign countries were Vice-Presidents, and these, added to the Representative Delegates of all countries, formed the Committee of Management, and most efficiently they discharged their duties. More than a year had been occupied in preparations, and nothing was left unprovided for. Other Congresses may equal possibly, but none can ever possibly surpass, the splendour of this. Where else will be found such a city as Venice, such a climate as the Italian, a Sovereign ready to take a personal part, and be present all the time, as King Humberto; such a Congress-room as the Sala de Pregáda of the Doge's Palace, such illuminations as those of the Grand Canal, so courteous and pleasing a people as the Italian?

Geography, as taught in schools, is not unpopular, and in after-life, its study is one of universal and general interest: it is *par excellence* the subject, which attracts ladies, and that numerous class of the community, who seek to make themselves (but often seek in vain) well informed. But Geography, as it was presented to a Scientific Congress, puts on a formidable Gorgon-like appearance, elevates itself far beyond the interest, and even the comprehension, of any but the initiated. The subject was divided into eight Sections.

Section I. Mathematical Geography, Geodesy, and Topography.

Section II. Marine Geography, and Hydrography.

Section III. Physical Geography, Meteorology, Geology, Botany, Zoology.

Section IV. Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology.

Section V. Historical Geography.

Section VI. Economic Geography, Emigration, Commerce and Statistics.

Section VII. Geographical Instruction.

Section VIII. Expeditions of Discovery.

If ever eleven hundred men were assembled to talk and argue *de omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis*, it was on this occasion, and it

was difficult to see what subjects could not, in some way or other, be forcibly introduced, except those that related to Religion, which were rigidly excluded.

With a view of giving a fearful reality to the work, a long series of questions had been, many months before, circulated upon very abstruse subjects, to which answers were sent in, and the Congress ended by drawing up a series of recommendations of things, which ought to be done. We can only be thankful, that the Committee of Management did not possess sovereign power, for they clearly had all the attributes of merciless taskmasters, and relentless slave-drivers, in the cause of Science. It cannot be said, that the subjects discussed in the Sections were in any way attractive to the general public; on the other hand, the general gathering of the whole Congress was exceedingly interesting. The great hall in the Doge's Palace, called La Sala del Maggior Consiglie, was declared by the architect to be unsafe, if its floor were occupied by the vast number, which its dimensions would admit. The smaller hall would only hold about seven hundred, and many were therefore necessarily excluded on the occasion of the first solemn opening by the King in person.

The Comte de Lesseps, of the Suez Canal, who represented the second Congress at Paris, opened the proceedings, and made over the authority, previously vested in the French Committee, to the Italian. The Prince of Teáno read his inaugural address, and the Minister of Public Instruction then declared the Congress open. The Syndic of Venice then addressed the meeting in terms of hearty welcome. He bore the wondrous names of Dante Alighieri. His speech was as beautiful and poetic as his name. There is a sweet melody in the sound of the Italian language, and orators on public occasions in Italy allow themselves a flow of poetic imagery, which would be intolerable in Northern climes. He alluded to Marco Polo, the father of all travellers, and drew attention to the vast progress of Geographical discovery since that time, and since the days of Christopher Columbus, when what was really true seemed to the World to be folly.

"From the desert solitudes of ice, from the fearful African "forests, made more fearful by the cries of wild beasts and the "shouts of savage men, from the ends of the World, a hundred "voices are heard this day: they are the voices of the Martyr "Explorer, who fell in this great Odyssee: and it is the glory of "Italy, that amidst those voices are heard the voices of some of her "own sons.

"After saluting those who are present, let me be permitted to "salute those also, who are absent: absent upon the Ocean, or in "some inhospitable country, who are forcing their way through "some perilous enterprise, or trying to compel the Virgin at the "North Pole to disclose some portion of her icy mantle."

At the conclusion of the formal proceedings, certain personages were presented to the King; but, as is usually the case, the great Travellers, who had done the work of exploring, the real men of Science, who had brought the Science to its high level of practical efficiency, were elbowed into the background by courtiers, sycophants, men in blue and gold coats, who had contributed nothing to the extension of knowledge, and who to save their lives could not have answered one of the questions propounded.

I will notice one or two of the subjects, which were discussed.

The Italians, Manteuci and Masári, had just completed their tour across Africa from the Red Sea to the Bight of Biafra, and the ill-starred Manteuci had arrived in England only to die. They had, in fact, discovered nothing, for they went over ground traversed by others, but the young Masári was listened to with applause, as he narrated briefly the outline of his journey.

Lesseps told the Congress about the progress of the Panamá Canal, and announced that by the time of the next Congress (1886) it would be open to traffic, which it certainly was not. These were bold words, yet the man, who has succeeded in physically dividing the Eastern Hemisphere for the sake of uniting more closely the inhabitants, may probably live to see his second great enterprise, of dividing the Western Hemisphere, accomplished. General Turr followed suit, and told the Congress about his scheme to cut the Isthmus of Corinth, which was mere child's play. The much-vaunted Trans-Sahára Railway was alluded to, as something not within practical consideration. Much was said in the scientific Sections of establishing one Meridian, from which all distances of longitude could be uniformly counted. There is no doubt, that the Meridian of Greenwich will, in the end, triumph, but nothing will convince a Frenchman, that Paris is not the centre of the World. Another question was as to the establishing a uniform Zero of levelling. A decision on this point also must be left to the future. Another question was the expediency of having Societies of Commercial Geography. As is well known, the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain excludes from its consideration all matters connected with Commerce, Emigration, and Religion. There is, however, no reason, why separate Societies should not be formed for the former subjects: and no doubt that they will be of great utility.

Allusion was made in one of the General Meetings to the assassination of President Garfield, the news of whose death arrived, while the Congress was sitting. A vote of thanks was passed to Leopold II., King of the Belgians, for the enterprise, munificence, and far-sightedness, with which he had set on foot the International Association in Equatorial Africa, which, in the present year, 188[illegible] risen to the dignity of an independent State, guaranteed [illegible] Great Powers of Europe and the United States. It was

idea to convert the basin of the River Kongo into a Free State, open to the Commerce and religious Missions of all nations. Well might King Leopold be saluted with the title of "Africanus."

Venice is at all times and seasons beautiful, but on this occasion hospitality and loyalty added to its charms. The illumination of the city at night was perfect; 110,000 small lamps showed every architectural feature of the buildings in the Piazza di San Marco. The Church of St. Mark was illuminated by 12 reflectors, with electric lamps secured to the three Venetian masts in front. It is impossible to describe the surging crowd of 60,000 or 70,000 persons in the Piazza and Piazzetta; every window was filled with occupants looking at the scene. San Giorgio Maggiore, on the other side of the Canal, was most beautifully and artistically illuminated. The various bridges of approach to the square were guarded by soldiers, who had orders to allow the people to pass in one direction only, so great was the crush. The crowd, however, was most orderly, and the King and Queen frequently during the evening came to the windows of the Palace, and graciously acknowledged the cheers and shouts of "*Viva*" which were made. It took 200 men, I understand, to light the lamps. For 45 years no such great illumination has taken place in Venice, and the one then (on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor of Austria) could not bear comparison, as numerous electric lights were displayed on this occasion.

There was a regatta and a grand procession of decorated gondola. The men were dressed in picturesque antique costumes. All Venice was looking at the spectacle on the Grand Canal. In the procession were twelve huge municipal barge gondola, carved and gilded with magnificent silk canopies, with gold tassels and life-size figure-heads. The gondoliers wore different dresses; some represented Eskimo, others wore mediæval and Old-English costumes. There was only one race: the winning-post was at the Palace of the Foscari. The King and Queen were present, but left soon. The Royal gondola could only proceed very slowly, so dense was the crowd. A dense pack of boats was formed; presently the mass drifted like pack-ice to the fore; and the *corso*, or procession, followed the King and Queen. It suggested the water-shows on the Thames *tempore* Elisae, but with a nineteenth-century addition, the advertisement-boat. None could mistake the gorgeous display of the Venezia Muráno Glassworks Company, and the *dodesona* (twelve oars) of the well-known Salviáti house.

To many, some of the arrangements seemed imperfect. The unemancipated condition of the Italian Press prevented any attempt [illegible] the part of reporters and short-hand writers to keep the members [illegible] General Congress, and the general public, informed as to what [illegible]ng on in the Sections. It was, as if Parliament was sitting, [illegible]re was no daily newspaper. Everybody was at sea, and

none could follow the discussions, and two years elapsed before the report appeared, by which time all interest had died out, and in this busy age other matters had become uppermost in the minds of men. The barest skeleton-report of each day's proceeding was indeed given, sufficient to make one regret, that it was hopeless to know more. In England or the United States, a full account of the work of each Section would have appeared in the evening-papers. Other and severer things were said, but I will not repeat them. This Congress will be remembered for its utter want of order, for its perfect mismanagement. It is not a pleasant truth to tell, when all the Authorities, both of the Meeting and of the City, did their best; but it should be told for future warning. *C'est la confusion organisée* (organised disorganisation!), remarked a caustic Frenchman. The time for the meeting of the Juries was so fixed, as to clash with the meeting of the Sections. The very fact, that an Exhibition was held at the same time as the Congress, was injurious to the Congress as a deliberative body. There was no general meeting-place, or rather there were three; consequently, the Piazza was the sole rendezvous. There was no daily list of names and directions; the former were printed so as to be unintelligible. Hours of meeting were arbitrarily changed at the last moment; time was wilfully wasted in spouting long-winded nonsense. Not a few of the delegates fled, as soon as possible, from the *peine forte et dure*. In the midst of the meetings and the Serenáda on the Canal, there were excursions to neighbouring cities, unveiling of statues, visits to manufacturers of beads: one thing was markedly absent except to a select few, banquets and entertainments. Perhaps the number was too great for even a Lord Mayor to grapple with.

LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1884.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTAL SCHOLARS, VIENNA.

Having in former years published an account of the six earlier Oriental Congresses at Paris, London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Berlin and Leyden, I now proceed to give an account of the seventh Congress, which was opened on September 27th, 1886, at Vienna. The object of these Congresses has been to bring together, after stated intervals, all the Scholars, whose attention is devoted to the study of Oriental subjects, Philology, Archæology, religious and general literature. It is generally accepted, that the word "Oriental" includes Asia, Africa and Oceania. Politics, Commerce and the Christian Religion are subjects, which are absolutely excluded, and contributions regarding Geography, Ethnology, or the exact Sciences, would be respectfully declined, as being outside the orbit of the Congress. Even then, a vast variety of subjects of interest remained, so different from each other, that not only no one Scholar is conversant with all, but the great majority are totally ignorant of what is going on beyond their own immediate environment. The World of the Oriental savant is divided into Arian, Semitic, Altaic, Egyptologue, Assyriologue, Sinologue, etc., etc. Then again the Scholars themselves are of different mental calibre and distinct training. Some are mere Professors, occupying a Chair, and narrow-minded, though extremely accurate: others belong to the speculative order, and use the divining-rod of generalization, giving new life to the dead accumulations of knowledge by their contemporaries: a third class are well-informed dilettante, who, without accurate knowledge, and without speculative power, supply an intelligent and critical audience, and by keeping themselves abreast of the knowledge of the period down the whole line of investigators, are able to restrain those, who are too rash, and stir up those, who are content to sit upon their haunches. It requires a certain amount of culture and study to understand and appreciate the discussions, which take place at such Congresses. And something else is required for the outsiders: four languages are permitted to be used in the communications and discussions, English, French, German and Italian, and no Scholar can do justice

to the subject, who is not familiar with all. Professors fall into the error of discussing subjects, which are too technical and scholastic: the great Scholars sometimes allow themselves to enter a world of too uncontrolled speculation, and of rash and hazardous theories. Between this Scylla and Charybdis the arena of knowledge is always extending, and, owing to the community of thoughts and personal friendships, which are the result of these Congresses, there is a great economy of labour and solidarity of investigation.

At the sixth Congress held in 1883 at Leyden, it was determined that the next Congress should be at Vienna in 1886. As the time approached, a Committee of Organization was formed at the latter city, consisting of six representative Scholars of different branches of Science, presided over by Baron Alfred von Kremer, favourably known as an Oriental Scholar, and a distinguished member of the Austrian Consular Service. His Imperial and Royal Highness, Archduke Rainier, agreed to be Patron. The University of Vienna placed their grand new buildings at the disposal of the Congress. Circulars were issued, notifying the dates and conditions of membership, which included ladies: the Austrian railways allowed reduction of fares, and by Sunday the 26th of September the members had assembled.

Experience obtained in previous Congresses enabled the Vienna Committee to provide against all difficulties. The advance of cholera from the direction of Buda-Pesth, and the proceedings of the Russian Consul-General in Bulgaria, seemed to place the Congress in jeopardy, but everything came off betwixt September 27th and October 2nd with the greatest success, and every one left Vienna charmed and satisfied.

In looking through the list of members, who paid their subscription of fourteen shillings, and exceeded four hundred, I find representatives of every country in Europe: of Egypt in Africa, of India and China in Asia, and of the United States in America; but of these only 147, including ladies who were members, put in an appearance: all subscribing members receive a copy of the extremely valuable reports, which are generally very tardy in appearance. A list of members present, noting their place of sojourn in Vienna, and a list of the communications forwarded for discussion, and a daily chronicle of events and engagements, were published, and forwarded to every member, who were thus kept *en rapport* with what was going on. Vienna is an exceedingly agreeable city to reside in; the hotels are excellent, and the means of locomotion admirable. The weather was simply superb: the only drawback was that betwixt the business of the Sections, and the attractions of the hospitality, it required a frame of iron to bear up under the pressure of the six days' Session.

On the evening of Sunday, 26th, all the members met in one

of the great hotels at an informal reunion for the purpose of exchanging greetings, making acquaintances, and ascertaining the arrangements for the next day. On Monday the 27th, at 10·30 A.M., the Congress was solemnly opened in the great hall of the University. The Archduke presided, and there was a good assembly of the residents of Vienna, in addition to the members of the Congress. The Archduke opened the meeting, and was followed by the Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. von Gautsch, in a set speech: the President of the Congress, Baron von Kremer, then read his opening address. On a table in front of the Committee were laid out all the books presented by Members of the Congress, many of them of great interest; but perhaps the largest and most interesting came from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The delegates of each country had the opportunity of uttering a few words of greeting, and when it came to the turn of Dr. Robert Cust, one of the delegates of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, he begged to express in his name, and in the name of his colleagues from England, the pleasure, which they felt in finding themselves in the city of Vienna, and he begged to offer for the acceptance of the Congress one hundred and four volumes of Translations of a well-known book (the Bible) in the languages of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, prepared at the expense of the two Anglo-Saxon nations, but with the assistance of Scholars from Germany, Austria, Russia and Holland, languages spoken by more than two hundred millions of people at the present moment. The present was received with applause, and the books were examined with interest, and will be placed on the shelves of the University Library. The members of the Congress then retired by order of the President to the different Section-rooms, and formed themselves into six groups, electing Sectional Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. The number and nature of the Sections had been previously determined by the Organizing Committee with reference to the nature of the written communications previously sent in to be read at the Congress. They were six in number:

I. Modern Semitic. II. Ancient Semitic. III. Arian or Indo-European. IV. Egypto-African. V. Central Asiatic and the Extreme Orient. VI. Malaysian and Polynesian.

In past centuries Latin and Greek exercised a tyranny over the world of Education and Research, which is scarcely even now got rid of. A similar kind of tyranny is exercised by Arian and Semitic Scholars of Europe, and in the opinion of some, Sanskrit and Arabic, and their congeners, are the only studies worthy of attention.

It will be perceived, that out of the six Sections, three were assigned to them; but, when we examine the number of contributions to each branch of Oriental study, we shall see how large a

portion of the mind and leisure of the present generation is occupied by these narrow, restricted, and less important studies. If it were asked in an English school, why the modern languages are not part of the Education, the reply would be, that the masters of the school did not know them. So if it were asked, why scarcely a student turns his attention to the subjects of the last three Sections, the reply would be, that with few exceptions, there were no teachers or Chairs. Both the Arian and Semitic languages are inflexive, and resemble each other in other salient features, such as possessing grammatical genders, etc.; the races, who speak those languages, occupy but a small portion of the Globe: having been highly cultivated and reduced to writing, these languages have lost their freshness, and but few secrets of antiquity are to be gathered from them. Still they are the fashion, and at the Vienna Congress their Sections were crowded, while a few only, some out of mere pity, or the coercion of the reader of a particular paper, were induced to attend the remainder.

It is not my intention to record the names of the distinguished Scholars who were present, or of the Offices which they filled. It is sufficient to notify, that there were 419 names inscribed as subscribing members of the Congress, of whom 147 were actually present, some of whom were delegates of countries, Universities, or learned Societies. Ninety-one communications were made in writing: the large majority of these were read in one or other of the Sections, and were open to discussion: the remainder will be published in the Transactions. Of the ninety-one communications sixty-six related to Arian and Semitic subjects, and twenty-five to the rest of the Oriental World, past or present. It must be remarked, that the subjects, with few exceptions, were practical, new, and indicating inquiry and research. During the week the Sections sat simultaneously, until they had disposed of their agenda, and the daily Progress-report supplied information piecemeal, and the correspondents of the periodicals of Europe reported the proceedings in the same way: for the purpose of greater lucidity I have collected the work of each Section in a separate paragraph, and propose to dispose of each seriatim. It must be recollected that, in addition to set discussions, opportunity was taken at intervals to present books to the Congress, and to make communications with regard to forthcoming books, and even to invite the opinion of the Section as to the expediency of publishing new books, or new editions of old books. The interchange of thought that followed was of the greatest importance. In the Modern Semitic Section eighteen subjects were on the Agenda, whereof three only were not brought forward. The Rev. C. T. Ball of Lincoln's Inn made a communication on the subject of the formal element in the Hebrew lyric. Under this title a new theory of the laws and structure of the popular poetry, and the more elaborate hymns of

the Old Testament, was set forth, and illustrated by numerous examples, including the Song of Deborah, and the Elegy upon Saul and Jonathan. It was argued, that the instances quoted were examples of syllabic and accentual as distinct from quantitative measures, and the author found in the metrical form of the early popular poetry of other nations, and in the fact, that the old Hebrew lyrics, like those of many other ancient people, were written for metrical and voice accompaniment, antecedent grounds for the supposition, that the poetry of the Bible is not destitute of measured rhythm. Five Scholars took part in the discussion, and the proposition was by no means received with general acceptance. Professor Bickell of Innsbruck read a paper on the corrections to the old Syriac versions of Kalila and Damna, sent to him by a Syrian bishop, the result of the comparison of the printed work with a unique old MS. in the monastery of Mardin, which was made in the sixth century A.D. from the nearly contemporary Pahlavi Translation of the Sanskrit original. This same Pahlavi Text had been translated into Arabic, and thence into the language of the West, giving birth to that vast literature of Fables and Beast-stories, which still charm children and interest Scholars. In the Syriac text the Buddhistic origin of these stories is still very conspicuous. This communication belongs to one of the most interesting fields of modern research, which crops up in every language and country, and at every period. Professor Chwolson of St. Petersburg referred to a great collection of Syriac Tomb-Inscriptions, which had lately been found in the Russian Central Asia Province of Semiretch, West from the Chinese frontier of Kúlja, and North of the Russian Province of Fergána. The two graveyards belonged to the Nestorian Christians. Twenty-two of these Inscriptions had been published a short time before in the Memoirs of the Academy of St. Petersburg, having been copied from the original tombstones, or from photographs, or hand-copies: they were of importance both from Historic, Palæographical, and Linguistic points of view. Their dates were from 858 to 1340 A.D., and a Turki name appears in one, dated 858, whence it is clear, that the assertions of the Nestorian Missionaries, that they had converted the East Turki tribes as far back as the eighth century A.D. corresponds to the truth. Great interest has been taken in Russia about this discovery, and several learned Societies have undertaken to make further explorations and publish the results. Orders have been given to collect these stones in one central place, and Semitic Epigraphy will find itself enriched by many hundred important and historic Inscriptions.

The five next speakers treated on scholastic subjects. Professor Ethé, of Aberystwith in Wales, discussed the well-worn subject of Yúsuf and Zulaikha, under which name Potiphar's wife is known in Asia, by the great Persian poet Firdúsí, the wonder being how it

was treated as Semitic. Professor Grunert of Prague read a paper on Arabic alliteration. Dr. Hein of Vienna followed with an Essay on the Financial Policy of Omar II., which he might with advantage have reserved for his class-room. Professor Hommel of Munich introduced the well-worn legend of Barlam and Josaphat in its Arabic form. I have no notes of what new light he threw on the strange story of the historic character of the great Buddha, passing by easy stages of legend into the position of a Saint of the Roman Catholic Calendar. Hilmi Effendi Ahmad, an official of the Egyptian Court of Appeal, and one of the Delegates of H. H. the Khedive, read a paper in Arabic on the modern popular dialect of Egypt. This was a notable fact, and I shall remark upon it further on. Professor Karabácek of the Vienna Museum, specially in charge of the celebrated Papyri lately brought from Eygpt by Archduke Rainier, the Patron of the Congress, communicated some highly interesting results of his examination of the Arabic portion of these Papyri. One of the most interesting objects in Vienna is the wonderful collection lately found in the Faiyúm. The President of the Congress, Baron von Kremer, then read a paper on the Budget of the Annual Revenue of the Caliph Harún al Rashíd, based on lately discovered documents. I must confess, that this style of communication is more curious than profitable. Mahomet Rashíd Effendi, Inspector and Translator in the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, and one of the delegates of H.H. the Khedive, read a paper in Arabic on the Progress of Education in Egypt from the time of the Arabic Conquest to the present time. When this is printed, it will be an interesting study. Professor Guidi of Rome read a communication upon Arabic Lexicography, a question which has cropped up at most of the Congresses, but to which no solution has been found. There were not many Italians at the Congress, and the presence of Professor Guidi was therefore the more welcomed. Professor Teza of Pisa was indeed present, but did not take any part in the debates. The absence of Amári, Ascoli, and Gubernátis was to be regretted.

Dr. C. Snoucke Hurgronje of Leyden introduced his Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten (Mekka Proverbs and Sayings), published by the Royal Dutch Indian Institute. Dr. Hurgronje directed attention to the prominent place, which proverbs and sayings occupy in old and modern Arabic speech, and to the fact, that there is hardly any contribution to the knowledge of manners, customs, ideas and dialect of a country inhabited by Arabs to be compared with a collection of the proverbs and sayings current among them: such a collection needing, of course, to be accompanied by an extensive commentary. From Burckhardt down to Landberg, many of the best Orientalists have given us collections of the kind, and they have complained of the neglect of such studies by the natives themselves. It so happened that the speaker, during his journey

home from Arabia, came across a young native Scholar of Egypt, now Arabic tutor to the sons of the Khedive, who were studying in Switzerland. This young man was, by his careful investigations, able to put a collection of 1500 proverbs and sayings at the disposal of Dr. Snoucke Hurgronje, who is now in possession of this valuable collection, which he intends to publish with a commentary as soon as possible. During his residence of one whole year in the Hejáz Dr. S. Hurgronje heard probably some 1500 proverbs and sayings of the modern Arabs, but the Babel-like confusion of languages, caused by the gathering of Pilgrims from all Mahometan countries, makes it almost impossible to decide in every case, if such a saying was heard only from Syrians, and such a one from Egyptians. A collection, without such distinctions, would have no value. It is, however, easy for one, who has lived for six months at Mekka (as Dr. S. Hurgronje), to learn to distinguish between what is actually Native, and what is foreign in the manners, customs, and speech of those, whom he encountered. Mekka, notwithstanding centuries of foreign influences, has preserved its own peculiar character. This result is chiefly due to the conservative Sherif families, who, from the first centuries of Islám down to our times, play a prominent part in the history of the Hejáz: thus it is possible to collect Mekka proverbs and sayings, which reflect local thought, life, and language. The speaker stated, that his work would be in two volumes, the first containing the history of the Sherifs of Mekka down to our times; the second, a description of the social and domestic life of the present day, and of the numerous colonies of foreigners at Mekka. He regretted not to have been able to complete the first volume in time to present a copy to the Congress: but he meanwhile published and presented a volume of Arabic proverbs and sayings in the vulgar tongue, collected by himself, and not to be found in any other collection.

Yakúb Artín Pasha, Under-Secretary of State to the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, Chief of the Delegates to the Congress of H.H. the Khedive, presented to the Congress a Notice of the Proceedings of the Egyptian Institute since its foundation, prepared by Vidal Bey, Secretary-General of the Institute, in the French language, and accompanied his present with a few remarks in the French language. He was followed by Shaikh Hamza Fathalla, First Inspector of Instruction in Arabic in the Office of the Minister of Public Instruction in Egypt, who read a communication in the Arabic language, on the great influence which the Arabic language had brought to bear on general civilization. This was a remarkable subject for an Arab to handle. I have thus passed under review all the work of the Section of Modern Semitic.

In the Section of Ancient Semitic, sixteen communications were made, but five of them were not read or discussed, but will appear in the published Proceedings. Under a fanciful or inaccurate name,

of Prolegomena, which might mean anything, Professor Bezold of Munich read a really interesting paper on the steps, that should be taken to compile a good Grammar of the Assyro-Babylonian language. Some Scholars of eminence took part in the discussion. Dr. Feigl of Vienna read a scholastic paper on the "Determination" in Semitic languages. Dr. Ginsburg, the well-known Talmudic Scholar of London, read a paper on a newly-discovered fragment of the Jerusalem Targum of Isaiah. It was known in the Middle Ages, that a Jerusalem Chaldee paraphrase of the Prophets existed, as well as of the Pentateuch, but hitherto no portion of this Chaldee version has come to light. From the discovery of a leaf of this Targum by Dr. Ginsburg, it is now established beyond doubt, that such a version really existed. Dr. D. H. Müller, of Vienna, gave the history of the sound of the letter "S," and followed its development from the most ancient to modern times. He showed what importance the exact description of this sound has had for linguistic research. A whole series of phonetico-physiological and graphical problems and enigmas are thereby explained in the simplest manner. On this important, though seemingly minute question, Professors Nöldeke, Bickell, Kamori and Oppert spoke at length.

Mr. S. A. Smith, of Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A., who had spent two and a half years in Europe in the study of Cuneiform Texts, gave some of the results of his six months' work in the British Museum, copying and collating the badly published and entirely unpublished texts of the Assyrian King Assúrbanipal. After giving some remarks about the materials, which this collection gave for the study of the Assyriologist, many difficult words were either explained for the first time, or new interpretations proposed for what seemed to be errors. Some new Texts were given. One contained apparently the diagnosis of some fatal disease, from which some personage of note seems to have died: another contains the delivery of a certain number of horses upon a certain day: a third gives the account of the history of a General. Mr. Smith announced the publication of a new book on the Texts of Assúrbanipal. The Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S.J., of Belgium, made a short communication on the numerous Inscriptions of King Nabonidus, which are in the British Museum. He has presented more than 500 copies of these judicial and commercial Inscriptions, and has shown the great importance of a complete collation of these Inscriptions, as they illustrate the history and the social and commercial state of Babylonia in the time, when the Prophet Daniel lived in Babylon, before the capture of Babylon by the Persians. Professor J. Oppert recommended highly the necessity of the publication of a complete collection of these important Inscriptions, and the Section agreed to the recommendation. Professor Nöldeke of Strassburg and Professor D. Müller of Vienna jointly proposed the resolution, that the Sections recommend, that

a critical edition of the Talmud in one or two volumes be published, and that the tractate Berachit by Dr. Friedmann be published in the acts of the Congress. It was agreed to. Professor D. Müller of Vienna, and Professor Patkanoff of St. Petersburg, recommended, that the Russian Government be memorialized to collect copies of, and publish the Cuneiform Inscriptions, which have been found in the Province of Trans-Caucasia, and to support by a contribution the scientific labours of those, who are occupied with the Inscriptions at Van, in Turkish Armenia. It was agreed to.

Professor Oppert of Paris made a communication on the judicial texts of Chaldea and Assyria, from the remotest times down to the most recent. These difficult texts, said Dr. Oppert, had already been studied by several Scholars, who, nevertheless, had failed of success, for the reason, that a knowledge of the law is an indispensable requisite on the part of the translator. He proceeded to treat of some of the most ancient Texts of contracts and judgments, dating from 2500 B.C., and especially of those dated from the reigns of Erivaka (the biblical Arioch) and Harmhabi. Having given an historical sketch of the development of law, he put before the assembled members a highly interesting Translation of a judgment, whereby the heir of a deceased man, who had illegally detained a sum of money confided to his trust, was condemned to reimburse the same. The date of this sentence was 538 B.C.

Another address of great practical value for educational purposes was delivered, first in English and then in German, by the Rev. W. H. Hechler, Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna. He exhibited and explained his Bible chronological chart from the death of Solomon to the close of Old Testament history, upon which he has been working for sixteen years, and in which he has incorporated all the latest researches of Assyriologists and other scientific men, especially the former unknown Kings of Babylon, Nineveh and Egypt. This chart shows, by a very simple and graphic method, that the record of the Hebrew sacred historians is confirmed and illustrated by the most recently discovered basreliefs and clay Inscriptions of the Kings of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt and Persia. The history of Greece and Rome is also included. He also drew attention to the very old Babylonian Sumerian Inscriptions on sun-burnt bricks which he exhibited, which are in the oldest Cuneiform characters known, and were engraven by command of King Gudea, one of the oldest Chaldean kings, about 3100 years B.C., half in Hebrew and half in Greek, on which the name Hadad is engraven. This name occurs several times in the Bible: (1) Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Chron. i. 46, a king who reigned in Edom, in his capital Avith. It was he, who defeated the Midianites in the field of Moab. (2) 1 Chron. i. 50, 51, another later King of Edom: he is the last enumerated in the early

genealogies. Professor Hommel of Munich, who has made the old Sumerian Inscriptions his own special study, then pointed out the great importance of one of these old bricks, because in it is mentioned for the first time, Ghanni-ki, which is the original name of the later Nineveh. He promised to prepare a short paper on these Gudea Inscriptions, for the Proceedings of the Congress.

In the Arian or Indo-European Section, there was a great gathering of Scholars, and thirty-two communications had been registered, but nine of these were laid before the Section without being read, and will be printed in the Proceedings. Mr. Bendall of the British Museum read a paper on a Manuscript and an Inscription discovered by him during his late tour in India in a Character not hitherto noticed. The Manuscript was a fragment of a rare work on Grammar used by the Buddhists and bought in Nepál. The Inscription was in the Calcutta Museum. Nothing was known about it; the Alphabet was possibly one of those alluded to in works of the Buddhists. Dr. J. Hanusz of Vienna read a contribution to the subject of Armenian Dialectology, as follows: Phonology of the Polish Armenian dialect of Kuty, in Galicia. The Polish Armenians reside in Eastern Galicia, the Bukowina and Bessarabia, where they have been living since the eleventh century. At the time when they traded with the East, they spoke Armenian. At the present day Armenian is spoken in Austria only in the towns, Kuty and Suerzawa. Elsewhere they speak Polish and Ruthenian, the upper classes also French and German. In their Catholic churches mass is said in old Armenian, but the sermons and prayers are delivered in Polish. The Armenians, who reside in Kuty, are poor and uneducated, they are engaged in Commerce, and still use Armenian as their language of business. They are unacquainted with the Armenian Characters and literature, therefore their dialect is not influenced by the literary language. The Polish Armenian dialect of Kuty belongs to the Western Armenian branch, as is proved, first, by the old Armenian tenues *p*, *t*, *c* having become the mediæ *b*, *d*, *g*, *dz*, (2) by the old Armenian mediæ having become tenues, (3) the locative being formed by the preposition *mec*, with the Dative, (4) by the Present and Imperfect tenses having a prefix *gi* (*gu*, *gŭ*, *g*).

Dr. Bhandarkar, Professor of the Dekkan College, Púna, in West India, read a paper on the principal results of his last two years' studies in Sanskrit Manuscripts and literature, with particular reference to the Sacrificial ritual and the Pancharátra system. At another meeting of the Section, he recited a poem written in the Sanskrit language on the occasion of the Congress: this poem was printed as an appendix to the Daily Progress-Report. Dr. Bühler took part in the discussion. The correctness and excellence of the accent of the Indian Professor's English, and the scholarly

way, in which he held his own amid the greatest European savants, were a gratification to all, who watch with interest the intellectual progress of the Indian people. The Section passed a vote of thanks to the Political Agent of Kathiawar and the Bombay Government, for sending to the Congress so efficient a delegate as the Pandit. Dr. Glaser of Trieste read a notice of the old Indian descriptions of foreign stones. Mr. Grierson, a delegate from the Government of India, read a most important paper on the mediæval Vernacular literature of Northern India, of the nature of which he gave a brief resumé from 1200 to 1600 A.D. He dealt specially with the poets Malik Muhammad, author of the Padmáwat, Súr Dás and Tulsí Dás. With regard to Súr Dás, he was enabled to prove, that the current accounts were legendary, and to give, for the first time, the poet's autobiography. The influence of Tulsí Dás over the daily life of the masses of India was very great; he had saved India from the Tantric obscenities of Sivaism. A complete list of his works, and a description of his style, was then given. The modern editions were very corrupt, and a critical edition was most desirable. Photographs were exhibited of Tulsí Dás's autographs. Mr. Grierson had, on the previous Monday's session, proposed a general and detailed survey of the various dialects spoken in North India; and a resolution was proposed by Professor Bühler of Vienna, and seconded by Professor Weber of Berlin, urging on the Government of British India the propriety of commencing this most important work. It so happened, that in India at this moment, many specialists could be found, who would give voluntary assistance. The Officials, employed by Government to search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, could, at the same time, search for the equally important works in the mediæval Vernaculars. The resolution was signed by all the scholars present in the following terms: Read. A note by Messrs Grierson and Hoernle, supported by Messrs. Barth, Bendall, Cowell, Cust, Max Müller, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Messrs Rost, Sayce and Senart, proposing a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India, Nearer and Further, not only as they exist at the present time, but as far back as MSS. can take us. Proposed by Dr. G. Bühler, seconded by Professor A. Weber, and carried by acclamation: "That this "Section strongly urge upon the Government of India, that the "present is a suitable time for the commencement of this most "important work, as just now there happens to be in India "a number of Scholars, who have made the Vernaculars of that "country their special study. The search for Vernacular MSS. "could be conveniently united with that of Sanskrit ones now being "conducted by Officers of Government, who might be requested "to spend a fixed proportion of their funds on Vernacular MSS. "The survey of the Vernaculars, as they exist at present, could "be carried out by the subordinate officers of the Education De-

" partments with the least possible expenditure of trouble and money. " They should be in each Province under the supervision of one " or more skilled specialists, who would, no doubt, in many cases, " give their services voluntarily." This subject is one, which will interest all who have the welfare of the people of India at heart, and no one is more fitted than Mr. Grierson, so favourably known for his labours on these subjects, to conduct the survey. The ignorance of the Officials of Government, both English and Native, of the patois of the people, must often be the cause of cruel injustice, and in the case of local disturbances, of grave political risks, for a few words spoken to the leading people will often settle a difficulty.

Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle, a delegate from the Government of India, then exhibited an ancient book lately found in the Panjáb, known as the Bakhálí Manuscript, which he has been the first to decipher. The contents of the paper are too technical for a detailed account to be given here. It will suffice to state, that Dr. Hoernle showed that the Manuscript, written on birch-bark, probably dates from the 8th or 9th century A.D., and therefore is one of the oldest Indian Manuscripts known to exist. It contains a work on Arithmetic written in the so-called Gáthá dialect, the literary form of the ancient North-Western Prákrit, exhibiting a strange mixture of Sanskrit and Prákrit forms. The work itself is much older than the Manuscript, in which it has been preserved. On various grounds it appears probable, that it is the product of a member of the Buddhist or Jain community, dating from the fourth century of our era. It is, therefore, the earliest known work on Arithmetic. It will shortly be published partly at the expense of the Panjáb Government. It was found in Pesháwar.

Professor Hunfalvy of Buda-Pesth read an important communication on the origin of the Romanian language, spoken in the two Danubian Provinces of Bessarabia, and Wallachia. Their language is no doubt a neo-Latin language, but with foreign influences. Professor Hasdeu of Bukarest read a paper on the Turki elements in this language, the result of long political domination, but other conterminous influences have been at work to produce such phenomena as the post-position of the article to the nominative, *e.g.* " Teatr'ul " to correspond to the Italian form " il Teatro."

Professor Jacobi of Kiel read a paper on the subject of the Jaina religion, and the worship of Krishna, subjects too large to be discussed in the few minutes allowed to each topic at a Congress. Professor Leumann of Strassburg made remarks upon a Jaina Text *Anga-vijjá*, which had been exhibited by Professor Bhandarkar. Professor Ernest Kuhn of Munich read a paper on the languages spoken on the slopes of the Hindú-Kúsh range, in the countries of Dardistán, Chitrál, Kafiristán, and Laghmán, and adduced argu-

ments to show, that these languages, including the Kashmíri, and the Romaní of the Gipsies, should be considered a special branch of the Indic Family of Arian languages. He exhibited a lithographed form of a comparative table of a certain number of words. The material had been supplied from collections made by Colonel Tanner of the Survey, duing the last Afghan war: they had been forwarded to Dr. Robert Cust, who entrusted them to the late Dr. Trumpp, as the most competent person to deal with them; at the lamented death of that distinguished Scholar, the papers were sent back again to Dr. Cust by his widow, and were transmitted to Professor Kuhn, who has now made use of them. Mr. Charles Leland, the well-known American Romaní Scholar, stated that after having declared fifteen years ago his belief in the identity of the Gipsy language with that of the well-known migratory tribe in India, the Dom, he had since been informed, that there actually existed in the Panjáb a wandering tribe, who were themselves Róm, and spoke Romaní. It so happened that in the Section, and listening to Mr. Leland's remarks, there were four members of the Indian Civil Service, all employed in North India, all but one in the Panjáb, and all deeply interested in such subjects: Mr. Grierson, Captain Temple, Mr. Macauliffe and Dr. Robert Cust: the Panjáb has been surveyed, and a careful Census has been made, long treatises written upon the Castes and tribes by competent Officers. Migratory and predatory tribes there are, who are well looked after: there is no doubt that there exist Argot or slang-languages, or Thieves-languages, all artificial forms of speech, but no confirmation could be given to Mr. Leland's informant of the currency to this day of the Romaní language as a recognized Vernacular.

Professor Legnána of Rome, and Professor Roth of Tübingen, made contributions to the well-worn subject of the Veda. If these Congresses were to last for another century, there will always be found a Scholar ready to pick a plum from that venerable tree, just as a Professor of an English University, until the end of time, will delight in spinning a little yarn about some point in the Greek plays. It is the hereditary infirmity of the class to do so. Professor Spiridion Papageorgios, of the Greek Educational Department in the Isle of Corfu, but by origin a member of that remarkable Colony of Wallachians settled South of the Danube, and known as the Kutzo-Wallachians, transmitted a paper on the peculiar dialect of the Romanian language, which is spoken by his people, but for some reason or other he commissioned Professor Hasdeu to withdraw it, which is to be regretted.

Dr. M. A. Stein, of Budapesth (Hungary) delivered a lecture in English about the Paropamisus or Hindú-Kúsh in ancient Geography. Guided by the oldest Greek form of the name, *παρνάσσος* given by Aristotle, he recognizes the Paropamisus in the mountain Upairi-çaéna of an interesting passage in the Avesta. The name

literally means "higher than the eagles fly," and is proved to apply to the Hindú-Kúsh by the curious legend lingering still at the present day round that famous range. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang was told, that birds could not fly over it, but go a-foot across the height and fly downwards. The same piece of folklore was recorded by Marco Polo, the Emperor Baber, and more recently by Alex. Burnes, and Dr. Stein drew thence conclusions in favour of the Bactrian origin of the bulk of the Zoroastrian writings. Prof. Fred. Müller of Vienna explained some passages in the Avesta. Captain Temple of the Indian Army, editor of the Indian Antiquary and Panjáb Notes and Queries, made a communication on the subject of his edition of Indian Proverbs, collected by the late Mr. Fallon, and also on the subject of a book called Hir Ranjha, by Waris Shah, the value of which lay in the fact, that it was a specimen of the pure Panjábi language.

Professor Bühler presented to the Section the third volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," edited by Mr. Fleet, and this led to an important discussion. Captain Temple brought to notice, that the Government of India had abolished the post of Epigraphist of India, which was deeply to be regretted, as, if the History of India was ever to be written, it must be gathered from the Inscriptions; it appeared to him most desirable, that a representation should be made to the Government of India with a view of reviving the appointment. Captain Temple remarked further, that the eminent services of Mr. Fleet, the late Epigraphist, were well known to all. A resolution was proposed by Dr. Kielhorn, seconded by Mr. Bendall, and unanimously adopted by the Section, that a strong representation be made to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India as to the importance to students of Indian history and philology, of such an Office, as that of the Epigraphist to the Government of India, and that it earnestly hopes for its speedy revival; and that, if the post were revived, the excellent results obtained, and the high merits displayed by Mr. Fleet while holding the post, will not be overlooked. The importance of the Office was not overstated, and any delay would be fatal. Metal tablets might be heedlessly destroyed for the sake of their metal, or sold to some travellers as a curio, and lost sight of, or the locality where it was found, forgotten.

Mr. Macauliffe of the Civil Service in the Panjáb presented a lithographed copy of a recently discovered Janam-Sakhi, or life of Baba Nának, the founder of the Sikh religion. When the Government of India, at the request of the Government of the Panjáb, and at the suggestion of Dr. Robert Cust, then Commissioner of Amritsár, commissioned the late Dr. Ernest Trumpp of Munich to translate the Granth, or Sacred Book of the Sikhs, he in the course of his researches found in the library of the India Office a MS. copy of the Life of Nának, and translated it. The Sikhs, when

they heard of it, asked for a copy of the MS., and their wish being complied with, other works of a similar import were discovered. One complete and correct copy was made up from the different MS., and lithographed with English punctuation, and the separation of the prose portions from the poetical. The ordinary Janam-Sakhi in use by the Sikhs, are in no way trustworthy; they are loaded with puerilities and mythological details: the copy now lithographed is free from such blemishes, and is the safest account of the life of the simple-minded and earnest founder of the Sikh Religion. At the close Mr. Macauliffe remarked upon the facility, with which religious preachers in the East were deified by their followers. Sixty years after his decease Nának was deemed to be God by his enthusiastic followers. The late Keshab Chunder is now deified, and the late Dáyanand Saraswati was declared by earnest disciples to be even during his lifetime an incarnation of the Creator. Dr. Trumpp was the first, who understood the Sikh Religion, and traced it to its Buddhistic foundation: but his work can only be considered a preliminary: his Translation is incomplete, and not accurate. Mr. Macauliffe hoped to be able himself, not to make a new Translation, but to give the lives of each Sikh Guru with Translations of characteristic passages from their writings, and thus contribute a curious and not unimportant chapter to the history of Universal Religion, and of the development of the emotional element in the human mind.

In the Egypto-African Section, fifteen subjects came under discussion. Here, again, we had a measure of the vast difference betwixt the importance of a subject of great and living interest, affecting millions of living men, and the halo surrounding the dead deposits of archæological minutiæ. The whole Continent of Africa was treated as a profitless annex to Egypt: a paper by Captain Grimal de Guiraudon on the languages of the Negro and the Fulah, about one hundred million in number, went for nothing: it was in vain to try to raise an interest out of the beaten track of Egyptian literature. A goodly company would assemble for the latter: five persons and a boy found leisure for the rest of the World. Nothing is more striking than the narrow and unsympathetic limits, within which, individual Scholars restrict not only their labours, but their interests. Life is short and art long, and an Egyptologist would let the whole Globe be consumed, while he was unrolling his mummy, or deciphering his death-roll of kings and priests, who, for all that they did, need not have troubled themselves to be born. The proceedings opened with the reading of an interesting paper by Monsieur Beauregard of Paris, entitled "Le collier de mérite pour l'aménagement des herbes fourragères." In this paper M. Beauregard stated his reasons for believing, that there existed in ancient Egypt an order of merit for women of priestly rank attached to the worship of Apis; and that this order, or collar, was conferred for

distinguished services in connection with the cultivation of certain field-produce destined for purposes of forage for the divine bull. The evidence adduced by M. Beauregard cannot, perhaps, be said to have proved his contention, but he has opened up an interesting inquiry, which may lead to further discussion. The second paper read by Dr. Augustus Eisenlohr, Professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg, was headed, Ueber eine Reihe Egyptischer Papyrusrollen, welche von der Beraubung von Königsgräbern handeln. The subject of ancient tomb-robberies in Egypt is in itself of extreme importance, and Professor Eisenlohr's discourse was listened to with profound attention. This eminent Egyptologist began by describing a fragment of Papyrus at Vienna, containing a register of various rolls of Papyri contained in two jars. These MSS. are of two kinds, legal and historical, the former being judicial documents concerning the violation and robbery of royal tombs, and the latter forming part of the annals of the reign of Ra-User-Ma-Mer-Amen. The contents of these two jars were found in 1885, and are the same which were, for the greater part, purchased by Mr. A. Harris. Some of these Papyri, while yet in Mr. Harris's possession, were damaged by an explosion of gunpowder in Alexandria, previous to 1872, when they passed into the possession of the British Museum. The remainder of the find was dispersed, and has been traced by Dr. Eisenlohr, two of the Papyri being now in the Museum of the Liverpool Free Library, and some others, as the Vasali Papyri and the Papyri of Mrs. de Burgh, having been sold in 1856 to the British Museum. Dr. Eisenlohr spoke at some length on the contents of these various documents, which were for the most part written during the last years of the reign of Ra-nefer-Ka (Rameses IX.), and during the two first years of that Pharaoh's successor, Rameses X., who appears therein with the title of Nem-Mesu, the Renewer of Birth. Dr. Eisenlohr especially drew the attention of the audience to one of the judicial Papyri before mentioned, namely, a long register of 185 proprietors of houses in Western Thebes, beginning with the house of Ra-men-ma (Seti I.), whereby is probably meant the Temple of Karnak.

Dr. G. Lieblein, Professor of Egyptology at Christiania, Norway, followed with a communication upon the interpretation to be given to the word *Nehas* or *Nehes*; a term hitherto regarded as signifying Negro. Dr. Lieblein, however, recognizes in this word not only an ethnological, but a titular meaning, identical with that of *Negus*, the royal title of Ethiopian Sovereigns. Dr. W. Pleyte of Leyden then read a paper on ancient Egyptian art, illustrated by a large selection of photographs of objects in the Leyden Museum. Among these must be especially noted a sarcophagus in red granite, made for one Khem-Nefer, in the likeness of a wooden house of the time of the ancient Empire; an alabaster stela of a functionary named Ab-en-neb; a limestone group of one Tata and his wife; a group

of the famous princess Merteteles, accompanied by her secretary Khennu; four statuettes executed in the highest style of Egyptian art and of the finest period; and lastly a table of offerings of one Tuf-tsa. All these monuments are characterized by an extraordinary degree of realism, grafted upon the truest conception of art, and executed with a mastery of material, which enabled the sculptors to treat stone with as much freedom, as if it had been clay. These portraits are strictly portraits, though idealized. The personages whom they represent neither laugh, nor weep, nor are serious. They are simply calm. It was thus, that the Egyptians conceived the sacred figure called the *Ka* or double: and it was through their veneration for the *Ka*, that this people arrived at such a perfection of realism in the arts of *bas-relief* and statuary, as is elsewhere unknown at that early period of the World's history. Theirs was a faithful and devout worship of ancestors, of which worship the tomb was the sanctuary. As it was from the tomb of this period, that Egyptian architecture subsequently emerged to originate the Doric style in the grottoes of Beni Hassan, and to pave the way for the glories of the arts of Greece.

Mr. Cope Whitehouse (U.S.A.) next occupied the platform and delivered in German an extemporary abridgment of his paper on the Blessing of Jacob, which he read last year *in extenso* before the Society of Biblical Archæology in London.

Miss Amelia B. Edwards read a paper on the Dispersion of Antiquities consequent upon the Recent Discovery of certain Ancient Egyptian Cemeteries in Upper Egypt. In this Miss Edwards drew attention to the increased and increasing number of Egyptian antiquities, which now find their way to Europe and America, and are lost sight of in private collections: antiquities, which might in all probability restore many a lost page of Egyptian history, and which are as sealed books to their present possessors. Miss Edwards adduced some startling instances of important royal Papyri, Canopic vases, stelæ, and the like, which are at the present time lying *perdu* in English country-houses and obscure provincial Museums, and urged upon the Congress the necessity of concerting some scheme of international correspondence, whereby private collections might be reported upon, and a register kept of their contents. Miss Edwards concluded by giving Translations of two funeral stelæ of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties respectively, now in the Museum of Bath, and not previously deciphered. M. Guimet next presented a paper on Egyptian Chiromancy by M. Lefébure, which to the great regret of those present was not read. Professor Dümichen read a paper entitled Auszüge aus seinen neuesten Schriften, illustrated with Texts, of which, for want of the necessary data, we are unfortunately unable to give an abstract. The next paper, Eine Pun-phonikische Handelscolonie in Egyptien, was read by Professor Lieblein. This distinguished *savant* has succeeded in identifying

the traces of an ancient Phenician Colony settled in the neighbourhood of Chemmis (Panopolis), the modern Ekhmeem. The place of their settlement was called Pa-Bennu, the land of the Phenicians, where, in a later age, Pachomius founded a monastery, and his sister founded a convent.

Dr. Krall delivered a discourse, entitled Ueber Psonthomphanech, der egyptischen Namen Josephs. He pointed out, that this name is not Joseph's title, but his Egyptian name. Joseph, it will be remembered, received an Egyptian wife from Pharaoh, namely, the daughter of the high priest, Potiphar; consequently, Joseph became a naturalized Egyptian, and hence his Egyptian name. It is well known, that many foreigners in Egypt had double names, of which the Egyptian name is sometimes only the translation of the original name, whether Semitic or Greek. We must therefore, said Dr. Krall, first carefully examine the laws of transcription; and, secondly, find out whether words containing the supposed form occur in other contemporary Inscriptions. Dr. Krall then pointed out that names beginning with *tzee* and ending with *efonk* which means "he who lives," and of which the middle syllable consists of the name of some god, as, for instance, Horus, are frequently found about the time of Sheshonk and later. The middle syllable of this word would therefore contain the name of a deity; and, if we search the Egyptian Pantheon, we find only Month, the god of war, whose name would accord with the middle syllable of Joseph's Egyptian name. We must, therefore, conclude, that in Hebrew the *p* and *m* were interchanged in the pronunciation of Joseph's long Egyptian name, especially as these two sounds are related to each other. The name ought therefore to be transcribed, following the laws of transcription which have been observed in the Demotic-Greek Papyri, *Ti-menth ef onych os*, which means, "Ti (perhaps the servant of) Month, who lives." He pointed out the fact, that as among Semitic peoples the sacred age is 120 years, so among the Egyptians the sacred age was 110 years; the pious Egyptian always prays to Osiris, that he might live to the age of 110; and it is to be noted that Joseph, the naturalized Egyptian, is recorded in the Bible as having died at the age of 110 years.

All the papers entered for this Section having now been read, M. Naville gave a most interesting and instructive *viva voce* account of the origin, progress and completion of his critical edition of the *Todtenbuch* or Book of the Dead, from the moment when that great task was confided to him by the members of the Oriental Congress of 1874, down to the issue of the concluding volume, of which the first copy was laid upon the table. M. Naville described the method, upon which he had worked, the difficulties he had to overcome, and the reason, why he limited his field of research to Papyri not later than the period of the XIXth Dynasty. No one life, he said, would be long enough to complete such a work, if

extended to documents of more recent date. Among other novel and interesting conclusions derived from his long and intimate study of this most ancient Religious book, M. Naville has arrived at the fact, that the trials and terrors of the under-world, as described in the Book of the Dead, were not supposed to await all souls in their passage from life to eternity. Some souls might encounter certain perils, other souls might encounter other perils, and some might altogether escape the snares of Hades. The Book of the Dead is, therefore, a book of Texts, placed, so to say, in the hands of every dead Egyptian for his protection and guidance in case of need, but it is strictly provisional. All these prayers and Texts are also understood to be spoken by the deceased himself, in case he finds himself beset by those especial perils. The Book is, therefore, in no sense a Ritual.

Dr. Pleyte moved another resolution, to the effect that the Egypto-African Section should, through the proper channels, prefer a request to the Archduke Rainier, that he would be pleased to specially forward the publication of that portion of his great collection of Papyri which is written in the so-called Meroitic tongue (Ethiopian-Demotic), in order that by the time the eighth Oriental Congress shall meet, those documents may be placed at the disposal of Scholars. This Meroitic script is as yet undeciphered and untranslated; and it is of the first importance for Science, that these documents be reproduced, either in autotype or lithography, in order that their contents may be interpreted. This resolution was carried unanimously; and Dr. Krall of Vienna, who with Dr. Karabácek, Dr. Wessely and other eminent *savants*, is engaged upon the arrangement, cataloguing and deciphering of the Archduke Rainier's Papyri, assured the members of this Section, that their request would receive the hearty support of his colleagues, and should be laid in due course before His Imperial Highness.

At the instance of M. Naville, M. Beauregard and M. Guimet, a resolution was next proposed, having for its object the furtherance of the views, advocated by Miss Amelia B. Edwards in her paper read at the first sitting of this Section. M. Naville was of opinion, that the object which Miss Edwards had in view, namely, the identification and registration of historical antiquities in private collections and provincial Museums in Europe and America, would be best attained by the wide dissemination of Miss Edwards' paper. M. Beauregard then remarked, that if that paper appeared only in the Transactions of the Congress, it would necessarily be read by only a limited number of persons; whereupon M. Guimet, with characteristic generosity and courtesy, proposed to publish a French Translation of the same in his Annales, and to print a considerable number of copies in a pamphlet form, for the purpose of circulating the paper as widely as possible. Miss Edwards accepted the

proposal with gratitude, and undertook to translate her paper into French. M. Guimet urged each member of the Section to aid in distributing the paper, and the resolution was unanimously voted. Mr. Cope Whitehouse read a paper on the topography of the Pyramids: one paper was presented, but not read, and will appear in the Proceedings.

In the Central Asiatic and Extreme Orient Section there was very little business. Seven papers were sent in, but three of these were not read, and will appear in the Proceedings. M. Feer, of the National Library of Paris, read a paper on the origin of the name of Tibet, and the proper mode of spelling it. The paper was, perhaps, rather longer than the merits of the subject justified, but in the discussion which ensued, Tcheng-Ki-Toung, Secretary of the Chinese Legation at Paris, stepped forward to explain by what name, and in what form of the written Character, Tibet was known in China. He was in his ordinary Chinese dress, but he spoke in French worthy of an accomplished Parisian, handled the chalk pencil on the black board like a Professor, and gave another wonderful instance of the improvable capacity of the great Asiatic races of India, China and Japan under European training. Such men hold their own in this generation, but a quarter of a century hence, by their innate superiority and consciousness of strength, they will far surpass the ordinary European. If the best of studies is the study of man, living man, perhaps the spectacle of the Hindu and Chinese, in the dress of their countries, and the black and yellow colours of their respective races, calmly and without trepidation fighting the Europeans with their own weapons was better than an old manuscript of a forgotten religion and an old mummy of an extinct race. The same remark applies to the Arab School Inspectors and other Officials from Egypt, who took part in the Congress. The European may please to look down upon the Asiatic and African, but they return the compliment with interest. It was a sight to see the fierce contempt, with which the pigtailed Chinese looked down on the assembled Scholars of Europe, who dared to dabble with his Ideographs. The Hindu read his paper with an impassive air, without the least sign of that self-consciousness which distresses a European.

Professor Kamori of Pressburg (Hungary) read a paper on the fundamental principles of the comparison of the languages of the Arian, Semitic, and Altaic families. The very idea of such a subject takes away the breath; to work it out would occupy a volume: it was wholly unsuited for the short time allowed to each speaker at a Congress. Professor Terrien de Lacouperie presented to the Congress his pamphlets on the Cradle of the Shan Race, on the Old Numerals of China, and on the Beginnings of Writing in Tibet, and he exhibited three Lolo MSS. of an Alphabetic writing used in S. W. China, some specimens of the writing of the Pa-y

in the same region, three MSS. from Formosa dated in the last century, of which the writing and the language are now forgotten, and he explained his decipherment of the Easter Island Inscriptions, written with a Character derived from Southern India. He exhibited also the first 40 sheets of his large work on the Chinese Coins in the British Museum. He then read a paper on the languages of China before the Chinese, wherein he showed that, previous to the gradual occupation of the country by the Chinese, who originally had come from the North-West, China was inhabited by several races, one of Negrito among others. Their languages, represented by some thirty Vocabularies extracted chiefly from Chinese sources of various dates, and by some ten more still spoken by broken tribes, belonged to the Mon-Annam, Shan-Siam, Karen, and Tibeto-Barman Groups, and some of them are hybrids. The chief works, besides the historical annals, from which ancient information has been derived, are the *Erh-ya*, a Dictionary of the fifth century B.C., and the *Fang-yen*, a comparative Vocabulary of dialects of the first century B.C. Prof. G. von der Gabelentz, Tcheng-Ki-Toung, and Professor Cordier made remarks.

The Section of Malaysia and Polynesia was still less scantily supplied with papers; and of the communications forwarded to the Congress only one was read, one upon the languages of New Guinea by Prince Roland Bonaparte, and another on certain Vocabularies of East Africa, Madagascar, and Malaysia will appear in the Proceedings: nothing is further known of them. Dr. R. Cust, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, read a paper in the German language on our present knowledge of the languages of Oceania. The four Sub-divisions of this great region are Polynesia, Melanesia, Australia, and Mikronesia. Wonderful progress had been made during the last quarter of a century; Translations of the Bible have been printed in upwards of 30 languages, Grammars and Dictionaries published, and Schools opened, both primary and normal, for the training of teachers in the native languages. All this has been the work of the Missionaries of Great Britain and the United States. Dr. Friedrich Müller and Professor G. Von der Gabelentz, who have themselves largely contributed to the work of classification of these languages, and the arrangement of the rough material sent home, took a part in the discussion.

I have completed the narrative of the serious work of the Congress, but serious work was intermixed with hospitable entertainments. On the evening of the first day the members of the Congress were received by the Minister of Public Instruction, and on the second day by the Archduke and Archduchess Rainier in their private residence. These kind and courteous people had a word for every member of the Congress, who wished to step up and

make his bow, and they spoke all the four languages with fluency. On the third day there was an afternoon reception in the new and magnificent Town Hall, both of ladies and gentlemen, by the Burgomaster of Vienna, accompanied with music and speeches; on the fourth day there was a grand dinner, at which all the members of the Congress without exception were entertained in the grand hall of the Chief Hotel, and a magnificent banquet it was. Speeches and glorifications and compliments followed in three of the languages of the Congress. The Germans were fearfully diffuse; the Frenchmen, as usual, neat and pointed. Two speeches made a sensation, and I give them. It must be remembered, that the apprehension of war occupied the thoughts of all. General Kaulbars was hectoring in Bulgaria. Neither the Austrian nor the British Government had spoken out on the Bulgarian question, though they did so very soon after. Mutterings were heard in Hungary, and the Magyars were determined not to give way to Russia in the Balkan Provinces without a struggle. Dr. Robert Cust proposed the health of the City of Vienna in the following laconic speech, which brought down shouts of applause; all the Hungarians and liberal Austrians came across to tap glasses with the speaker, and the censor of the Austrian Press forbade it being published in the Vienna papers, though it appeared in the Daily Telegraph. "Mr. President, and Members of the Congress: I "beg to propose the toast, 'The prosperity of the renowned City "'of Vienna, famous in History from the time of the Crusades, "'famous for its Universities and Hospitals: famous for its learned "'men and beautiful women.' We do not in the West of Europe "forget, that two hundred years ago Vienna was the bulwark "of Christendom and civilization against the Turks, and we doubt "not, in this and the generations that are to come, it will again be "the bulwark against a more powerful and dangerous foe, and "the hearts of Englishmen will be with their ancient ally." When the Burgomaster had replied, the President remarked to the proposer of the toast, that his words were few, but they meant a good deal. It so happened, that that very night the Austrian Ministers made a communication, in the very same sense, to the Hungarian Delegates. It seemed as if there was an electrical current of stern defiance at the Russian encroachments of Bulgaria, which were emphasized a few days later by Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister.

The next speech was interesting in another direction. Tcheng-Ki-Toung, the young Chinese, spoke, or rather read from manuscript, with a loud and clear voice, the following words in French: "Gentlemen, it is the first time, that the Chinese Government has "taken a direct part in a Congress of Orientalists, and I am happy "to be the first Chinese delegate. Allow me to say, that my "objects in publishing the works, with which some of you are

"acquainted, were the same as those of the Congress. The neces-
"sity of creating international relations appears to be the character-
"istic of the present epoch. Every nation is visiting its neighbour,
"and they are studying each other's character, at first from
"curiosity, and then from self-interest, and they communicate to
"each other their reciprocal impressions, their astonishment, and
"their admiration. If up to this time the first interviews have not
"produced all the results contemplated by advanced spirits, we still
"may hope that some progress has been made. My presence in
"your midst to-day is a proof of what I have asserted. 'To know
"yourself' was a maxim of ancient philosophy. The wisdom of
"modern nations consists in putting this maxim into practice,
"however difficult it may be. I am in doubt, whether this art
"of knowing one self has made much progress since the time of
"Confucius and Socrates, or even whether there are any who know
"it at all. In the midst of the excitement of modern life, it is
"impossible to study one self with the perseverance recommended
"by these ancient sages. It is much more profitable, and much
"more necessary, to try and discover the real character of one's
"nearest neighbour. And in these days who is not our near
"neighbour? I suppose, that all nations are now agreed upon this
"new interpretation of an ancient maxim, since they interchange
"not only objects of commerce, but also ideas, that is to say, each
"communicates to his neighbour the elementary and fundamental
"truths of its own special civilization. The word 'universal' has
"never had such an ambitious meaning as it has now, when it is
"attempted to compel the universe to speak one language, which
"all can comprehend. If this miracle come to pass, we shall hear
"people say, that the history of the Tower of Babel had no further
"meaning. I am speaking seriously. I know too well, from long
"experience, that men must understand each other before they
"can make acquaintance. Many of the most grievous wars
"have been caused by a quarrel about words rather than about
"facts. The secret of peace perhaps exists in this idea, that
"men must understand each other before they know each other,
"and this is precisely the object of such Congresses as this.
"I therefore wish the greatest success to the Congress. I call
"upon you to bring light and peace into the world, where we
"are all groping about like Diogenes. I drink the health of all
"the members of the Congress." Such speeches mark a new epoch, and were received with loud applause.

On one day of the Congress a special meeting was held of the German Oriental Society, and on the last day there was a solemn farewell meeting of the whole Congress in the hall of the University. The Archduke Rainier presided, congratulatory speeches were interchanged, and the Congress was declared to be closed, and the members went their way to every point of the compass.

It was announced, that the next Congress would be held in 1890 at Stockholm. The deferred date rendered it very unlikely, that a large number of the elderly members of the Congress would be present. One, perhaps the only, painful feature of these triennial meetings has been the thought, that some sound Scholar, dear friend, or even redoubtable antagonist, in the world of Science, has, in the interim, passed away. Stockholm has no pretence to the honour: it is a small and picturesque town, but not the seat of a University, and the names of Upsala and Lund, the two Swedish Universities, do not stand high. If Norway be included, the University of Christiania cannot be rated any higher. The two Kingdoms would hardly supply six names known beyond the borders. The distance to be traversed by the residents of Southern Europe will be tremendous, and Scholars are generally not in easy circumstances, or men of leisure. Setting aside as impossible such capitals, as Constantinople, Athens, Madrid and Lisbon, both Berne or Geneva in Switzerland, or Copenhagen in Denmark, were preferable. Sooner or later the round of the great capitals must be commenced again. As one, who has attended six of these Congresses, I can testify to their great charm, their great utility in advancing the whole line of research, and in removing prejudices, as well as cementing friendships. May I live to be present at the next!

LONDON, DECEMBER, 1886.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATHENS AND ROME: SYRACUSE AND CARTHAGE.

What a wealth of recollections is suggested by the mention of the names of these four great cities! To many, who know all about their history, they appear to have only a visionary existence, yet they have also a very real side, and in a tour of four months it is possible to visit them all, as I have done. The two latter have left but slight footprints on the sands of Time, but it will be admitted, that all generations of men to the end of time will be under obligations to those remarkable people, who made Athens and Rome illustrious. The old type of classical instructor, whether at school or college, and the Sunday-school teacher, had as much idea of the ancient cities of the World, regarding which they prose so wisely, as of the Cloud-City of Aristophanes, or the Utopia of More. But now-a-days an adventurous college-tutor, or a young curate, comes back fresh from the locality, and throws light into dark places by luminous descriptions, or dissolving views. Railways have annihilated distance, and an excursion, which used to be the topic of a traveller's life, becomes merely the incident of some autumn holiday. Thus has it happened to me, and will happen to many others. I seek to increase the number.

From London to Brindisi the route is well known. It so happened, that a steamer was starting for India, and I went on board for the sake of refreshing my memory, and giving vent to a feeling of thankfulness, that at least that portion of life's heavy task was done, and I pitied more particularly a merchant, advanced in life, whom the necessities of existence drove out again in his old age. In the dawn of life India is a palace of delight: in middle life it is the arena of noble and exciting work, but it is not a peaceful refuge for declining faculties and weakened powers. I was glad, that I was at liberty to go on board an Italian steamer, that cut a silvery line across the quiet sea in a voyage of two days round the Peloponnesus, and enabled me at the close of the second day to see the lights of Athens glistening over the lower ground of the harbour of the Pairéus. It is still a harbour of importance, though the neighbouring Phalérum has sunk to the rank of a bathing-place. The boatman, who conveyed me ashore, answered to the name of Socrates.

A railway connects the Port with the city of Athens. A comfortable hotel received me, but I must confess, that during the thirty years, which had passed since my last visit, no city had less advanced. It is a city, and the capital of a country, which has no future, and must be contented with its glorious past. The great Empires of Austria and Russia in their downward progress to the Mediterranean, which is a necessity of their existence, place an insuperable limit to the territorial expansion of Greece.

> "Yet to the remnants of thy splendour past
> Shall pilgrims pensive, but unwearied, throng;
> Long shall the voyager with the Ionian blast
> Hail the bright clime of battle and of song.
> Long shall thine annals, and immortal tongue,
> Fill with thy fame the youth of many a shore;
> Boast of the Aged, lesson of the Young;
> Which sages venerate, and bards adore,
> As Pallas, and the Muse, unveil their awful lore."

It is in vain, that the modern Greek, who is in reality only an Albanian, has attempted to revivify the old language, and owing to the circumstance, that the Greek language did not, like the Latin, die in the act of giving birth to a number of neo-Greek languages, we are startled at hearing persons, things and places called by time-honoured words: thus a street is an *odos*, the money in our purse is a *drachma*, a carriage is an *amaxa*, and a railway-station is a *stathmos*. It is only from the ruins of the ancient buildings, that an idea can be conceived of the former greatness. Athens had gradually sunk into a small town, and thus the remains of antiquity had not been worked up into modern dwellings, and a laudable effort has been made to conserve all that has escaped the ravages of Time. Among these the Parthenon, by its position and extent, stands conspicuous both in Greece and the World. The visitor ascends the Sacred Hill, and enters by a side door about two-thirds up the flight of stone stairs, and can look down at the old closed entrance, and up to the Propylæum, and through the great entrance into the precincts, and catch a glimpse of the great Temple itself. Perhaps no such magnificent pile of buildings ever existed elsewhere in so small a space: the material is exquisite: the style of architecture simple, yet grand, and so generally esteemed as a fit model to modern buildings in every country in Europe and America, that the forms appear quite familiar, and strike the spectator less by their novelty than by their perfectness. The most conspicuous ruins are those of the Parthenon: to the South-East is Hymettus, to the North-East Pentelikús, to the North-West Parnes and Kithæron, with the pass of Phylæ leading into Bœotia, and the pass of Daphne leading to Eleusis, along the Sacred Way. Thither the tribes came up in solemn procession on the day of the Panathénaic festival. Monuments are now being disinterred on either side of the departed

citizens, many of them of the most touching character, calling upon the passer-by to stop, and read, and take heed to his ways. Behind Pentelikús is the road to Marathon and Thessaly. From the top the whole of Attica can be surveyed, and the marvel is, how in so small a space such wondrous efforts of genius were accomplished. From the walls of the Parthenon I looked down on the Akadémos, and the village of Colónos, the dry beds of the Ilissus and Cephissus: the hill of Lycobettus, the Museum, the hill of Ares, and of the Pnyx. Each object and ruin of interest in ancient Athens, intermixed with the building of the modern city, can be distinguished: the Temple of Theseus, the grand Columns of the Olympian Temple, the Lantern of Demosthenes, the Theatre of Dionysius, and the prison of Socrates. It seems to any one, who is familiar with the history of Athens, that he has seen all these things before, as they have lived to him in the pages of the immortal writers, which have given this city such a proud pre-eminence.

But looking seawards the interest is intensified. Below me lie the three harbours, and the tract traversed by the long walls, and beyond the blue Ægean, and the Islands of Salamis and Ægína, and in a further distance the romantic hills of Argolis and Corinth. Close to the Propylæum or entrance is the small Temple of Wingless Victory, which has been carefully restored; the Parthenon itself has passed through the stages of being a Heathen Temple, a Christian Church, and a Mahometan fortress; and the Erechthéon has undergone the same fate, with its well-known portico of the Canéphoræ. The whole open space within the precincts had once been covered with shrines and memorials to deserving citizens. Pausanias, who visited Athens in the second century after Christ, describes them, and the remains of many exist to the present day. The old roadway can be traced, but so steep is the gradient, that wheeled vehicles must have been pulled up the slopes on each side of the great flight of stairs, up which the shouting populace ascended on the occasion of the annual Panathénaic festival.

But of the statues of the goddess Minérva not a fragment remains. They were three in number. I. The colossal statue, which stood seventy feet high on its pedestal in front of the Temple, towering above the walls, so that the gold helmet and spear of the deity were seen far at sea shining in the sun. This was constructed of the spoils of Marathon. II. The Chryso-Elephantine statue in the Temple, forty feet high, and the work of Phidias. III. The wooden statue of olive, which, like so many statues of the Virgin Mary, was reported to have fallen from heaven. This was the most sacred, and to this the Peplos was carried on the day of the annual festival, but the like fate has met them all, destruction, but not oblivion. After all, it is the view from the ramparts which is worth going all the way to Athens to see. The hills, the everlasting hills, stand like sentries

round the long elevation. It was on the site of the beautiful little Temple of Wingless Victory, that old Ægeus stood to watch the return of his son Theseus from Crete, and, deceived by the black sails, he threw himself down into the abyss, but immediately under our feet is the Theatre of Bacchus, the raised seats, and scenic arrangements of which are entirely disclosed: on the lower bench sat the priests, and the names of their Offices are still sculptured in the stone. Within these walls were acted the great dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the plays of Aristophanes. I climbed up to the highest seats, and it seemed impossible, that any one seated there could have heard a word of the drama, considering the distance, and the open air. Perhaps the theatres of the Greeks were like the abbeys of the middle ages, where people were not intended to follow what was said or chaunted, but to be elevated and intoxicated by the scene and the surroundings. It might well be so. The fatal tale of the house of Pelops, and the lay of Troy divine, culminating in the great tragedy of the family of Agamemnon, were no old-world Histories to the Athenian people, as they are to us at this day. The genius of the blind Ionian possessed itself of the ten years' war, and sent it forth, just as the intellect of the Hellenic race was dawning, clothed in such marvellous diction, and depicted in all the majesty of sonorous hexameters, that future ages can never cease to admire. Thus from the charm of the verse and the genius of the Poet came it, that the story became invested with such strange interest: and centuries afterwards listening thousands hung upon the honeyed words of Euripides, refashioning the old Homeric ballads, for, seated beneath their own Parthenic Temple, they looked out on the scenes of dearer victories, and, as the breezes of the Ægean fanned their flushed cheeks and swept back their long hair, if in the excitement of the moment they shouted, it was because the sympathy with the triumphs of their kindred in former days was blended with exultation arising from the contemplation of their own.

The view of the Acropolis, when the sun is setting, is beautiful from any quarter. I ascended the hill, on which stands the old Roman monument of Philopappus, which has sat there for years in stone, drinking in the wondrous prospect. Just below is the prison of Socrates, and in front is the Pnyx, all the architectural details of which can now be traced. A little further on is the actual hill, upon which St. Paul stood, and just before him is the Temple in all its glory, and beneath his feet the busy market-places, and he remembered, that God did not live in temples made with hands, a phrase which he himself had first heard from the lips of Stephen, who alluded to the Temple of Jerusalem, a building far inferior in site and magnificence to the Parthenon.

A most delightful excursion is that to Pentelikús. A carriage drive is available as far as the monastery at the foot of the mountain, where donkeys are supplied, which convey the traveller by a long, tedious, but gradual ascent to the summit. The road lies by the marble quarries, still worked to supply the material for sculpture. After all, it is the quality and cheapness of the material, that has so much to do with the success of the statuary. From the edge of the summit a wonderful panorama is opened out: beneath is the Euripus like a silver thread and the Island of Eubœa. On this side of the water, just below us, is Marathon: beyond are the hills of Thessaly, and to the West are the hills of Bœotia: through the valleys winds the road, which will soon be superseded by a railway from Athens to Volo. To the East is the open sea, and the distant islands of the Cyclades, notably Andros. South lies the whole of Attica, and Athens can only dimly be discerned. As to brigands, of which so much is written, I met none, though I was alone with a lady and a Greek Professor. I chaffed a goat-herd, whom I met, through my interpreter, and asked him whether he was a brigand. Thirty years ago I rode alone over to Marathon through the Pass, and met no one. There was an alarm for a short time on account of the death of two Englishmen, but it has passed away, and the cause is not likely to recur. Another excursion is along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Passing Akadémos and Colónos by a gentle rise, the road winds through the Pass of Daphne, and descends into a land-locked bay, and it is the island of Salamis that converts this bay into a lake. Kithæron and Megára are pointed out. The actual Temple of Deméter has not yet been excavated, for progress moves slowly in Athens, and yet it does move, but a whole village will have to be cleared away.

In the city of Athens Museums and Schools are springing up, as rich citizens, who make their fortunes in other countries, dedicate a portion to their country. No treasures of art, that are found, can leave the Kingdom, and, as time goes on, the Museums will be rich. Already splendid statues have been brought in from the islands; but what interested me most was the Thera stone, and the famous Inscription of Pisistratus, quoted by Thucydides, but found only in the last few years. The little statuettes, which are dug up in such numbers at Tanagra, in the sepulchres, are marvels of beauty. The Greeks are a nice, amiable people, but I fear that there is no future to their nationality. Their modern life is weighed down by the grandeur of their past history, even if (which is doubtful) they were the descendants of the great Greeks of the past, and not merely later immigrants of a lower stamp into the sacred soil. Education has been attended to, both for boys and girls. I remember thirty years ago, hoping much from the abundance of schools, but it has scarcely taught the

people religious toleration, and on my second visit I found no room for hope. There are no manufactures, and but scanty Commerce. The prolific Press aspires to the pure Greek style of the past, and shuns the dialect of the people. There are pretentious palaces of marble, lining roads, rather than streets, which suffocate with dust, and nauseate with stenches. During the last thirty years there has been extraordinary improvement in the cities of Europe, of third and fourth rank. In Athens there is none. Ilissus and Cephisus are both dried up, and there is an absence of good water. It is only the glory of the past, and the noble ruins, that attract the stranger to Athens, Attica and Greece, and their number is small.

The same line of steamers conveys the traveller round the Morea back to Brindisi, unless he prefers to vary the route by crossing the Isthmus of Corinth, and taking a steamer direct to Corfu. It is doubtful, whether he would save much time, and he would certainly add to the discomfort and complication of the journey. I met Colonel Turr at Venice, who is sanguine as to the success of the Canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, but it is doubtful, whether the speculation will be profitable. From Brindisi the railway runs without interruption to Rome, traversing the same line of country, and passing through some of the places mentioned by Horace in his famous "Iter Brundusium" in the company of Mæcenas, notably Beneventum.

The Eternal City differs much in its circumstances from Athens. It has never ceased to be the seat of Empire, either temporal or spiritual. The materials of the old buildings have been worked up into modern houses. Temples have been converted into churches, depressions have been filled up, elevations have been levelled down. In the long successive centuries of civilization, the Rulers for the time being did what they liked with the remnants of antiquity, and nothing but the course of the Tiber, and the faint outline of the Seven Hills, remain unchanged of old Rome. The walls of Aurelian still inclose the city, which however at the beginning of the century shrunk into a smaller space, and left a large tract to be occupied by gardens within the walls, and even now there is nothing of the character of a suburb to Rome. It will be long still ere the space within the walls is filled up, and those venerable remains of the later Empire, if occasionally repaired, with their towns and gateways, will be permitted to last on for another century.

There are, indeed, within that area, three distinct Romes, the old Rome of the Empire; the Mediæval Rome of the Papal Rule; the Modern Rome of the Nineteenth Century. Each intrudes upon the other, and buildings belonging to one epoch have been relentlessly utilized by the succeeding one, and there is interest of different kinds attached to all three, but it is to Rome of the Imperial Epoch, and chiefly to the late excavations, that my remarks apply.

Countless volumes have been written on every branch of the subject. Much has been said about fever, yet still Rome stands pre-eminent among the cities of the world, as the one, which can be visited over and over again, and which never tires, however long the residence. I visited it forty-two years ago on my road to India, and have been there repeatedly since, and trust that my last visit is not paid yet. The remarks, that I now make, allude to the later excavations, which are being made in the ruins of the old Rome of the Empire, which appear to be an inexhaustible quarry of statues and marble columns, many of them the spoils of still more ancient cities, which fell under the unsparing grasp of the Romans.

Rome has still its wonderful climate, and unrivalled sunsets, of which in the Northern climates of Europe no conception can be formed: its galleries overflowing with the wealth of Italian art: its courteous and gentle inhabitants. Day by day some new excursion, some choice employment: well could I exclaim,

Che tanto amo in lei?
L'aria, il cielo, il terreu, i tempi, ed i sassi.

Standing on the lofty tower of the Capitol, I have the whole of the city at my feet. Looking Southward I can survey Ancient Rome: looking Northward Mediæval or Papal Rome meets my eye: far to the East lies, upon the Esquiline hill, the Modern Rome or Capital of Italy, clustering round the railway-terminus and the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. My interest at present is restricted to five particular portions of the area of Rome, which have been the scene of successful excavations:

I. The Palatine Hill. II. The Forum. III. The Baths of Titus and the Coliseum. IV. The Baths of Caracalla. V. The banks of the River Tiber within the city.

It will be more convenient to follow them in their historical order. There are few, or in fact, no cities in the World, which have maintained a continuous life and interest of more than two thousand years, and can justly claim the name of Eternal. A new life, as the capital of Free Italy, has now been secured to it, but its position as a modern Capital has been purchased at a considerable sacrifice of its old and peculiar charm. Old Rome exists no more. The Palatine Hill is one of the seven famous hills, the names of which I record for the sake of perspicuity. It has the Capitoline Hill on the North, the Aventine on the West, the Cælian on the South. These four are actual hills, surrounded by valleys: the Esquiline, Quirinal, and Viminal are promontories of the elevated plateau lying to the East, and not isolated hills. The River Tiber flows under the Aventine, Palatine, and Capitoline hills, in old time receiving the drainage of the valleys, which were afterwards collected in the Cloaca Maxima, in active use to this day: thus the

great drain of the kings has outlived Republics, Empires, Religions, and Theocracies. It carries off the surface-water, as well as city drainage, and I came suddenly on a party of women washing their household linen in the canal, that brings down the surface-drainage of the Forum, and looks very discoloured and uninviting. Byron's well-known description of the Palatine Hill will not apply now. In the beginning of the last century extensive excavations were made by the Duke of Parma, and a rich harvest of sculpture was the reward. The hill was occupied by a church, a convent, two villa-gardens, and some vineyards. In 1861 Napoleon III. purchased of the King of Naples the great villa-garden of the Farnese family, which occupied the crown of the hill, and under the superintendence of Cavalier Rosa conducted systematic excavations. The King of Italy purchased the interests of Napoleon, but continued the same superintendence, and the works have progressed slowly owing to the want of funds. Unluckily, the Villa Spada, which occupies part of the crest of the hill, lately passed into the hands of a convent of nuns, and all admission within their walls is impossible. Over the rest of the hill there is access to the public, who are admitted upon payment at the gate opening upon the Forum, and supplied with an intelligent guide; but even then the ordinary traveller, unacquainted with the language of the guide, and not familiar with the history of Rome, must feel dreadfully at sea, and carry away only a confused idea of the wonderful ruins, which speak for all time to the intelligent and instructed visitor.

Where History commences, and tradition ceases, must depend upon the opinion formed of the credibility or credulity of Livy the Historian. It may be accepted as a fact, that the Romans of the time of Augustus believed, that Romulus and Remus were found in a cave on the North-West angle of the hill, called the Lupercal, which Augustus in his famous Ancyrean Inscription takes credit to himself for having restored, and where the famous bronze wolf of the Capitol is presumed to have been discovered. But Virgil in his VIIth Æneid conveys us back to a much more distant traditionary period, and he must be credited with embodying and interpreting the traditions of his period. He describes Æneas as sailing up the Tiber from Ostia to the foot of the Palatine hill, where he was kindly received by Evander, an Arcadian colonist, who had then only lately settled in that neighbourhood, but who testified to a visit paid in his time by Hercules on his return from Spain. He attacked and slew the robber Cacus, who had his dwelling in a cave in this hill. Evander notices further, that the hill was occupied previous to his arrival by savage races devoid of culture. Whatever historical value may be attached to these traditions, they were retained in the history of the Roman people: the Ara Maxima testified of Hercules: the cave of Cacus is still shown: the path up the hill-side from the Velabrum must have been that, which Virgil described,

as having had been trod by Evander and Æneas. On the hill was the cottage of Faustulus, the Temple of Vesta and Mars, the receptacle of the Palladium and Ancilia. Here also Romulus built the walls of his Roma Quadrata, and the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The gates and roads can still be fairly traced, in spite of the levelling up and levelling down, the building and destroying of centuries of years and generations of men. The homes of some of the chief citizens, Cicero, Hortensius, Catiline and Clodius, were situated on this hill, and, when the period of Imperial Rome commenced, Emperor after Emperor from Augustus to Heliogabalus covered it with palaces, so-called from the name of the hill, and other splendid monuments, the ruins of which I now propose to pass under review. Great confusion will arise in the mind, unless we remember, that for several centuries this hill was the seat of Imperial splendour and caprice. When Constantine abandoned Rome, the palaces gradually fell into ruins. They were plundered by the invaders of Rome, and their materials utilized for the erection of mediæval palaces and strongholds of the Roman nobles.

Betwixt Romulus and Augustus there is the reputed interval of about seven hundred years: between Augustus and Heliogabalus, the last recognized builder of portions of the great series of palaces, there exists the known interval of two hundred years. As there is good reason to assign the walls of the Roma Quadrata to Romulus, we have in this narrow area of 1½ miles circumference, the work of nine hundred years, and twenty-seven generations of men. Much as I could wish to pass the remains of each age under review historically, I find that it is impossible. The visitor must enter into the sacred inclosure by the regular entrance, and make the regular round, passing sometimes by a single step over a wide chasm of centuries. Augustus was born upon this hill, and on this hill he died. Tiberius was also born upon this hill in the house of his father Tiberius Claudius Nero, which exists to this day. Augustus erected the Temple of Apollo in memory of the battle of Actium on the crest of the hill, now occupied by the convent of nuns, and somewhere on and under the ridge was his own residence looking westward over the Circus Maximus to the Aventine. What an interest attaches to this house, in which the liberties of Rome were insidiously destroyed under the veil of empty legalities and personal rule! Within these walls young Marcellus must have died, the hope of Rome, and Virgil must have recited to the sorrowing mother his famous lines, which will never die. The Emperor Tiberius was born in the purple, and Cæsarism had advanced a step in magnificence as well as in crime. His palace was on the summit of the old Roma Quadrata, with a front to the Capitoline hill: Caligula followed with grand additions, covering the whole Northern corner, overhanging the Forum, with a bridge stretching over it, and connecting the Capitoline hill with the Palatine. Then followed

the great fire of Rome, and upon the ashes and ruins rose the Golden House of Nero, spreading beyond the limits of the Palatine across the valley, that lies between that hill and the Esquiline, occupying all the space now covered by the Flavian Amphitheatre, and extending up the sides of the Esquiline over the ground occupied by the baths of Titus and Trajan. With the tyrant, who was murdered somewhere in the palace, fell the Golden House, and the residence of the Cæsars was again restricted to the Palatine. Baths, Amphitheatres, and triumphal Arches, which pleased the people, occupied the abandoned area, but Domitian erected his great public apartments on the rest of the Palatine, upon a platform built upon vast subterranean passages. In fact, he filled up the indentation, or intermontium, which had originally divided the two summits of the Palatine; on the Northern one had been the City of Romulus, and on the more Southern the Temple of Apollo. These are known as the Flavian, as distinguished from the Julian Palaces. If Trajan, Adrian, and the Antonines added to these buildings, we have no distinct record of their particular works, for bricks found with their marks may indicate only repairs, and not new structures. Still, it is interesting to think that, amid these ruins, some portion of the lives of this grand succession of monarchs must have been passed, some portions of the noble sentiments, which mankind will not willingly allow to be forgotten, must have been written.

Septimius Severus built a magnificent pile of buildings on the West side of the hill called the Septizonium, beyond the Palace of Augustus towards the South, pulled down by Sextus V. to supply materials for St. Peter's. On that side of the hill are extensive remains of the Stadium, and one lofty ruin is described as the Pulvinar, whence the Emperor, seated within the precincts of his own palace, could survey the games in the great Circus below. At this point also can be seen the remains of the great Claudian Aqueduct, which brought water from the Sabine hill by a succession of arches crossing the Cœlian hill, reflecting great credit on the engineering skill of that period. The sudden desolation, which overwhelmed Rome, is in great part due to the destruction of the aqueducts by the invaders. By the restoration of the Aqua Marcia and other aqueducts, which bring down water from the Anio of Tivoli, Rome at this moment stands at the head of all modern cities for the abundance and beauty of its fountains.

The pleasure of the visitor must depend upon his classic enthusiasm and his power of clothing these dead bones with life. No cicerone can have time to explain to the uninstructed cockney, who has accompanied a Tourist party, the sequence of the great events of Rome, even if he knew it, which is to be doubted. There are certain conventional details, with which all guides delight to take a rise out of their party. They terrify the ladies by pointing out a tank, in which offending slaves were thrown to feed the fish,

or they mysteriously draw off the gentlemen of the party to show them some indecent cartoon in a Roman guard-room. The pleasure of the visitor is limited by his own knowledge of the events, which have been crowded together on this hill, and the echoes of mighty voices, which speak out from these ruins. The careful archæologist is prevented from errors in assigning particular dates to particular buildings by a knowledge of the material used, the manner of laying the stone or bricks adopted by the different generations of builders. However, great variety of opinions exist, and with regard to some buildings no two authorities are agreed.

On entering the inclosure, I rise up to a certain level, and passing the Museum built for the reception of objects of interest, proceed down the Road of Victory amidst the lofty ruins of the Palace of Caligula. On each side are the guard-houses of the soldiers: at this corner was the Porta Romanula or Porta Victoria, which led to the Forum of the Capitol: turning sharp round to the West, I follow the side of the hill, commanding a sweet view of Rome; above me are the ruins of the Palace of Tiberius, below the undoubted remains of the (tufa) walls of Romulus. At the North-West corner I come on the Porta Caci, from which a path led down to the Velabrum and the Tiber. Beneath me are the Lupercal, the Cave of Cacus, and around me ruins of Temples, which are at hazard assigned to Mars or Vesta. On the West side of the hill are more remains of the walls of Romulus, and far below the eye can trace the outline of the great Circus, beyond which rises the Aventine. Passing onward I come upon ruins, said to be those of a Temple of Jupiter Victor, and find myself in the interesting house of Tiberius, the Father of the Emperor, laid out in the usual plan of a Roman private dwelling so familiar to visitors to Pompeii. On the walls the paintings are still fresh: this modest house of a rich Roman citizen of the last days of the Republic, was probably overlaid by Imperial buildings, and has thus escaped to our time. I seem here to touch ground at about the date of the Christian era: in these rooms young Tiberius grew up, and we may reasonably believe that Augustus, Mæcenas, Virgil and Horace must have sat and dined at that triclinium.

The guide leads on through a gap in the ruins to a level considerably below the crest, though still above the valley. Turning to the right, he leads to the ruins of a house known as Domus Gelotiana, and here in the guard-room is shown the spot, where the famous cartoon of the crucified ass was found, which has been removed with care to the Kircherian Museum. It was to be expected, that the soldiers had scratched their names on the walls: one is followed by the letters Mi. V. D. N., which is interpreted to mean Miles Vetranus Domini nostri; but what must be the feelings, with which the above described cartoon must be looked at with the Inscription "Alexamenos worshipping his God"? This reveals to us a picture

of the insults and sneers, to which a Christian soldier was exposed in these heathen barracks. Turning back to the level, the pathway lies under the ruins of the house of Augustus, on the height of the Villa Spada, where also stood the Temple of Apollo. On the East slope of the hills is the Stadium, unmistakably marked out, and the lofty ruins of Septimius Severus; thence the road has to be retraced, and mounting again to the crest, I find myself in ruins called the Academy and Library of Augustus. Passing onwards towards the East, the great Flavian public apartments can be traced by their ground-plan and excavated bases of walls and columns: underneath are the remains of a house of the later Republican period, and long subterranean passages, and in these the Emperors Caligula and Pertinax were assassinated, and many other deeds of violence committed by the Emperors and the Prætorians. On the right is the Mediæval Convent of Bonaventura, which may probably soon be cleared away, for scant consideration is now shown to monasteries; and, a little further, on the brow of the hill overhanging the Arches of Titus and Constantine, is the Church of St. Sebastian and the Barberini Vineyard, with the traditional spot of the martyrdom of that Saint by the arrow of the Imperial archers. Bending back to the North, I find myself on the side of the third gate of the Palatine, the Porta Mugonia, and near the Temple of Jupiter Stator, in which Cicero delivered his first oration against Catiline: here also was the reputed house of Numa, Ancus Martius, and Tarquin, and the circuit is completed, for the Road of Victory is again beneath my feet, and the entrance gate leading into the Forum has been gained. A certainty has been affixed to the identity of the Road of Victory by its appearing on the fragment of the Marble Plan of Ancient Rome, discovered some time back, and which is preserved in the Capitol. The identity of other places is attested by quotations from different Latin authors, who have incidentally noticed them. I know of no other spot, which contains, within so narrow a compass, remains of such world-wide historical interest. I remember, in 1852, running round the walls of Jerusalem in three-quarters of an hour immediately upon my arrival, but within those walls there was little or nothing, which could be traced back with certainty beyond the time of Constantine, and a few displaced stones are the only record of the Herodian temple. How different are the memorials of old Rome!

I descend now from the Palatine hill into the Roman Forum. Other open spaces were cleared away by Augustus, Nerva, and Trajan, and dignified by that great name, but one place only was the arena of Roman liberty, the valley, which is crowned on two sides by the Capitoline and Palatine hills, and which had fallen to such a state of degradation, that at the beginning of this century it was known as the Campo Vaccino or cattle-market. With the exception of the [redacted] of the Via Sacra, not one vestige of

Republican time meets the eye in the Forum: it was confessedly an open space, and possibly there was not much taste for architecture in Republican Rome; and, lastly, Augustus carried out his plan of obliterating all landmarks of the period of liberty by stately Temples and inclosures ostensibly for public convenience. In the course of time the level of this valley had been considerably raised by the accumulation of ruins, and forty years ago, all that could be seen, were a few columns, and an Arch of Triumph half buried. The space cleared away in their immediate vicinity, in some cases by the liberality of strangers, made the appearance of the remainder more grotesque. The whole Forum has now been laid bare, and levelled to the pavement of the great buildings, which once surrounded it. Not one single object, which now meets the eye, could have met the eye of the Poet Horace, as he sauntered down the Sacred Way. Even the Temples, which had been identified by name, had been restored by later Emperors. As might be expected, each generation added to, altered and repaired their public buildings: no two Authorities seem to be agreed with regard to some of the ruins. All are under the charge of the State, and the visitor enters at one particular point, and is accompanied by a trained guide. The best general survey, however, can be made from the great Archway of the Tabularium, or Record Room on the Capitoline hill, which is itself a work of the Republican period. At the foot of the hill, ruins mark the spot of the Temple of Concord founded by Camillus, 367 B.C., when the office of Consul was thrown open to the people, and where Cicero delivered his second oration against Catiline. These Corinthian columns belong to a Temple erected by Titus to Vespasian; but the word 'Restituêre' on the frieze records the repairs of Septimius Severus in the next century. Eight Ionic columns belong to the Temple of Saturn, one of the oldest Temples in Rome, and used as the Treasury, but it was rebuilt at a late period of the Empire. The remains of the Rostrum, and the Milliarium are interesting: the solitary column, erected by an Exarch to the Emperor Phoca in the seventh century of the Christian era, was probably stolen from some older Temple, and is conspicuous and indeed picturesque, and well known by models and pictures far beyond its historical interest. The magnificent Arch of Triumph of Septimius Severus dates back to 203 A.D., and the erasure of the name of Geta tells a tale of the hatred of his brother Caracalla. The ground-plan of the Basilica Julia, commenced by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus, gives a complete idea of what this magnificent hall of Commerce and Exchange, Place of Public Assembly, and Tribunal of Justice must have been. Three columns, a corner-fragment, belonged to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, restored by Domitian, but representing the ancient building, which dated back to 484 [illegible] and the battle of

Lake Regillus. On the other side is the pediment and column of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, whose name appears in large letters. Of the Temple of deified Julius, the site of which is known, nothing remains, *ipsæ periere ruinæ*. Here stood the rostrum, which was decorated with the spoils of Actium: the site of the pedestals of many honorary columns, raised to men of distinction, can be traced, and two interesting marble balustrades, with fine sculptures of the sacrifices of the swine, sheep and bull, and the figure of Trajan burning the schedule of public debts which he had remitted. The very limits of the Forum are not fixed with any degree of certainty; the Via Sacra, and Vicus Tuscus, pass through it. Churches and convents have encroached upon its area on all sides. The roads, which for ordinary traffic traversed it as a high level viaduct, have been cleared away: on the whole, the Forum is a disappointing site, even after the completion of the excavations. Still, we must recollect, that to this small space, and the Agora at Athens, we are indebted for the great germ of European civic liberty, which distinguishes the States of Europe from those of Asia and Africa. Here was fought out the great battle of liberty and freedom of assembly and speech, and deeds done and orations spoken, which the world will never allow to die out of the mouths and memories of civilized mankind. In this Forum Virginius slew his daughter, Cicero denounced Catiline, and Brutus justified to the Roman people the death of Julius Cæsar. Here Cæsar's body was burnt, here were held the discussions and votings of a free people, and the Consuls and Tribunes elected: if on one side rose the Tarpeian Rock to remind them of the fate of the traitor, on the other side, as if to show the dangerous proximity of good and evil institutions, rose the Palatine hill, the cradle of Cæsarism, which has waged persistent warfare in every country, France, Russia, and Austria, with the liberty of the Roman Forum. Many ingenious identifications of ruins in the Forum have been made by apt quotations from Latin prose and poetic writers, and reference to coins and Inscriptions, such as the famous Ancyrean Tablet, and the copies, made by a visitor to Rome in the ninth century of a manuscript, which has survived the wreck of ages in the Library of Einsiedlen in Switzerland, as also in the fragment of the Marble Plan of the Ancient City already alluded to. The same fertility of ingenious hypotheses, the same wonderful acumen, and marshalling of evidence from quotations, Inscriptions, comparison of style of architecture, and material of building, the same happiness of guesses, which amounts almost to divination, appear in all that is written about the Palatine Hill and the Forum, and are worthy of quite as much admiration, as is conceded to the pioneers of Assyrian and Egyptian excavation. We leave the subject with the feeling, that the darkness of the middle ages must have been very dark indeed, when, in spite of the continuous

occupation of the city and the magnificent Latin literature, uncertainty and obscurity should have fallen upon this the most renowned place in the world, Jerusalem only excepted.

Passing onwards along the Via Sacra, I rise up on the Velia, a shoulder, as it were, of the Palatine, and pass under the beautiful Arch of Titus, which stands on the highest point. On the right lies the Arch of Constantine, which is despicable, as made up of the plundered materials of a destroyed Arch of Trajan: on the left is the Flavian Amphitheatre, known as the Coliseum. The excavations in the arena were commenced by the French in 1811, and concluded under the Italian Government. Many different theories have been started to explain the existence of the extensive subterranean buildings, which are attributed by some to the original constructors, and by others to the mediæval occupants, who turned it into a fortress. No incidents of history whatever attach themselves to these ruins. The ground was previously occupied by a lake of ornamental water within the precincts of the Golden House of Nero, as it lies in a depression betwixt the Cœlian and Esquiline hills. On the Cœlian hill, right opposite to the Coliseum, are the as yet unexplored buildings, supposed to have been the place where the wild beasts were kept, where once stood the Temple of Claudius, in the space occupied in the garden of the Monastery of the Passionists with the picturesque row of cypresses alluded to by Byron in his famous soliloquy of Manfred. On the opposite side of the Esquiline are the Baths of Titus, the remains of which are now exposed to view intermingled with those of the Golden House of Nero, which they superseded, and a still lower and more interesting stratum, the House of Mæcenas. The courts of the House of Nero were filled up with rubbish to serve as substructure to the Baths of Titus, but the excavator has been impartial to the Julian and Flavian structures, and the corridor with roof covered with decorative paintings, from which Raphael is said to have borrowed his conceptions of the frescoes of the Loggie of the Vatican, can be examined as far as torch-light permits in these very dark places. No Inscriptions have been found, and the darkness extends to the history and the individuality of these ruins: they were clearly baths, and, as baths, are assigned to Trajan, and an attempt to identify certain ruins has been made, on the same hill, and the reason for the existence of two sets of baths in such close proximity is explained by the fact, that the Baths of Trajan are mentioned as intended for women only. On the same hill are the ruins of the Sette Sale, also attributed to the House of Nero, but famous as the spot, where the magnificent statue of Laocoon was found. It need scarcely be said, that the identity of the so-called Villa of Mæcenas is disputed, and another spot on the Esquiline is honoured with that appellation, a spot, which must be interesting as somewhat near the tomb of the poet

Horace, in exchange for which we would gladly give the tombs of several score of mediæval Popes; but the waters of Lethe have flowed over every trace of the resting-places of Mæcenas and Horace. Fortunately for the former, his Poet had erected a monument to his patron more enduring than statue of brass or mausoleum of marble. These excavations are also in charge of State-Officers.

The Baths of Titus were the first, and those of Diocletian on the Viminal near the railway-station, were the latest, of the great popularity-hunting erections of the Roman Emperors: but the baths of Caracalla were decidedly the most colossal and magnificent. Those of Titus have disappeared from above ground; those of Diocletian have been turned into churches, or to baser uses: but the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla stand out in all their majestic grandeur. The dynasty of Caracalla assumed the great patronymic of Antonine, and these ruins are called Thermæ Antoninæ, but they were erected more than a century after the epoch of the great Antonine dynasty, under a line of sovereigns, who came from Africa. The excavations of these ruins have been conducted by the State, but were commenced long ago, and many priceless treasures of art rewarded those, who were first in the field, such as the great Farnese Bull in the Museum at Naples, the Hercules of Glykon, and many vast vases of porphyry, and mosaic pavements. The plan of these vast buildings is quite clear, and they are interesting as types of the civilization of the period: a plentiful supply of water was secured by a branch of the aqueduct of the Aqua Marcia, and the wealthy Roman, and the turbulent and base populace, were cajoled by such luxuries to forget their liberties, and tolerate the abominable rule of such monsters, as the Prætorians placed for a short time in power. In the Flavian Amphitheatre, and the Antonine Thermæ, we see how easily a people in the period of their decadence will barter, what their ancestors deemed most precious and died for, for games and places of social gatherings. Modern Cæsars have tried the same experiment with their Picture Galleries and Opera-houses. These ruins, being situated on the South-East of the Aventine, and outside the inhabited portion of Rome, though within the walls of Aurelian, are seen to greater perfection than any other, but they give birth to no feeling of historical interest, but rather to deep contempt for the Emperor, who erected them, and the people, for whom they were erected.

The excavations, to which we have hitherto alluded, owe their origin to a veneration of the great past, and a taste for Archæology, of which no nation, which respects itself, is wholly devoid. I now notice an excavation on a large scale, which has other and more practical objects. Allusion has been made to the works prosecuted on both banks of the River Tiber within the walls of Rome by order of the Italian Parliament. The Tiber is a stream of considerable magnitude and volume, fed by the snows of the Apennines, and

traversing a long basin from a North-East direction, but, within two miles of the North side of Rome, it receives an affluent from a South-Eastern direction, known in ancient days as the Anio, and in modern time as the Teverone. This stream collects the drainage of the Sabine hills, and leaps down the far-famed precipice of Tiber or Tivoli; and on certain occasions, by its vast stores of water, causes the Tiber to overflow the streets of the City of Rome. Every schoolboy knows the second Ode of Horace, and a traveller on his first arrival at Rome is delighted to see a little Temple of Vesta, perched on the banks of the river above the great monument of the king, the Cloaca; but he spouts his Horace in vain, for the date of this Temple cannot safely be assigned to a date earlier than Vespasian, on one of whose coins it appears, and Horace's temple is identified further up the valley of the Palatine and Capitoline hills, known now as the Church of St. Theodoro. A great many fond delusions have to be swept away, as we get older and wiser, and this is one, which we give up with a sigh.

The Tiber has long been credited with the honour of being, as it were, the Treasury of Rome; and great ideas have been formed of temporarily turning off the stream, and cleaning the bed, and bringing to light treasures of statues, medals and ornaments of gold and silver, lost by accident, or consigned to the stream at the time of the numerous sieges and tumults of the great city. Unquestionably the course of the stream is impeded by the ruins of bridges and houses, and is narrowed unreasonably by the encroachment of dwellings or of terraces. When Rome became the Capital of Italy, it was clear, that something must be done: Garibaldi took the matter up: the engineers, and sanitary officers were in one camp, and the lovers of fine arts and Archæology in the other. The real cure would have been, as an English engineer assured me at Rome, to have turned off the River Anio, and conducted it by a new cut through the Campagna and across the Via Appia, South of Rome, into the sea; but to this enterprise, which in Holland would have counted as a small matter only, the Romans were not equal. Eventually they have decided to reduce the Tiber within the walls of Rome, to the state of the Arno within the walls of Florence and Pisa, and the Seine within the walls of Paris. The bed was to be deepened and widened, and embankments constructed on both sides, and a broad road, over which the floods in their fullness could spread. Unluckily, in the centre of the City is the famous island, famous for its Temple of Esculapius, and its embankments in the form of a ship, and there are old-fashioned many-arched picturesque bridges, and the terraced gardens of the Farnese, with the famous frescoes of Raphael, the cutting away of a great portion of which, including the celebrated garden-palace, has caused the sulky wrath of its Spanish proprietor. Then the cleaning away of houses overhanging the stream costs money, and though the work is advancing,

years may elapse before it is completed, and it may be questioned, whether the remedy will be sufficient, so long as the torrents of the Anio are not intercepted. At any rate, all chance of Father Tiber being called upon to surrender the treasures, which for so many centuries it has held in deposit, has passed away. Among these treasures, it is believed to contain the great Candlestick of the Jewish Temple, which appears on the *basso-relievo* on the Arch of Titus, as borne in triumph, and which, therefore, reached Rome after the destruction of Jerusalem, though it has since disappeared. Some are sanguine, that the Tables of Stone, on which Moses wrote the Law, will turn up some day to the spade. A more reasonable hope may be entertained, that the Candlestick has escaped the melting-pot.

I have thus passed under review the chief public excavations of Rome. The railway, when it ploughed its way into the precincts of the old walls, revealed many objects of interest. The Agger of Servius Tullius, which connected the seven hills together, and formed the walls of Rome as a Republic, is no longer a myth or a doubt; even the Porta Capina of Juvenal's Third Satire is identified beyond dispute. Many other works of less importance and archæological interest have been carried through. Rome, in the day of its power and greatness, had no sympathy with the sufferings of conquered nations; Egypt, Syria and Greece were robbed without compunction. The great Latin authors anticipated a duration to Roman greatness not justified by the History of other nations, which they had compiled, or their own philosophy. Her time came also, and the state, into which her Palaces and Temples had subsided, was aptly described by the poet Pope, in his letter to Addison at the commencement of the last century:

> "See the wild waste of all devouring years!
> How Rome her own sad sepulchre appears.
> With nodding arches, broken temples spread,
> The very tombs now vanished like their dead!
> Some felt the silent stroke of mouldering age:
> Some hostile fury, some religious rage:
> Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire
> With Papal piety, and Gothic fire."

To Syracuse in the Island of Sicily my course lies Southwards by railway to Naples, under the heights of Vesuvius, past the disinterred cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, through Apulia, and along the coast of the extreme Southern toe of Italy to Reggio. A steam-ferry connects the terminus of the Italian railway with Messina, whence the Sicilian line conducts the traveller along the Eastern coast under the heights of beautiful Taormina, under the majestic mountain of Etna, past Catania, built on a bed of lava, and on to Syracuse, the bone of contention betwixt her powerful neighbours of Rome and Carthage, and once the object of the ambition,

and the scene of the great disaster of the Athenian people. An admirable situation, and other local advantages, gave Syracuse a fair chance of arriving at Imperial greatness: she was able to vanquish her once Greek cognates, although they had vanquished the Persian king: she held her own against Hannibal, but fell before Marcellus, never to rise again. Hard fate was against her. Still she has something to boast of in having held her own against the Athenian and Carthaginian, though doomed to fall under the sway of Rome. The original colony settled in the island of Ortygia round the Fountain of Arethusa, and gradually spread to the mainland, embracing a circuit of fourteen miles. The modern town has fallen back again to the island, which, however, by the labour of the engineer, has become a peninsula, dividing the bay into two harbours, the larger of which would hold all the fleets of Europe; yet the day of Syracuse has passed away, and it is no longer the seat of provincial government, or the emporium of Commerce.

The limits of this celebrated city are so clearly defined, that from a rising ground all its local features can be observed, and the whole is now a waste, or restored to agriculture. Thucydides in his account of the famous siege of Syracuse by the Athenians, which ended in the annihilation of the besiegers, has given an endurable life to Syracuse. The traveller is conducted to the Theatre, the Amphitheatre, the Ear of Dionysius, which is a remarkable cavern, fashioned like the interior of the human ear, and finally to the Catacombs, which, after an inspection of much that is wonderful in Asia and Europe, I deliberately pronounce to be one of the most extraordinary sights that I have ever seen. There were probably depressions in the level from natural causes, but these have been enlarged by the necessity of obtaining stone for purposes of building, and thus vast chambers have been formed surrounded with perpendicular cliffs open to the sky, and only accessible by tortuous passages. In these prisons were confined the Athenian captives, some of whom obtained alleviation of their sufferings in return for their recitation of passages from the plays of Euripides, a tribute to the great Tragedian, which will more than compensate for the biting sarcasms of Aristophanes. The space is now occupied by beautiful gardens: somewhat within the circuit of the walls of this city during its siege by Marcellus, Archimédes met his death at the hand of a Roman soldier, who could not rouse the great Mathematician from the problem, which he was working out. Though less remarkable either for its history or its monuments than Athens or Rome, the contemplation of its ruins is more satisfying to the student of history, as realizing more completely the expectations formed from the perusal of the narrative of the contemporary writer. If fallen, still not destroyed like Carthage, and effaced from the list of cities, and not desecrated like Athens, nor built over and transformed like Rome. There still is found a halo of romance in Sicily, which has

gradually faded away in other countries: there is still the wild beauty, which enchanted the ancient World; the flowers blooming over the volcano, the vine flourishing, and even towns built over the streams of blackened lava. Etna is still a great reality, not to be surmounted in a holiday trip like Vesuvius, but only to be scaled by the labour of two or three days. Even in spite of railways and telegraphs and comfortable hotels, the story of Empedocles, the legends of Polyphemus, and the Cyclops of Acis and Galatea, of Ceres and Proserpine, come back to the well-stored memory. We think of Ulysses and his companions escaping the great dangers, Æneas and his father, and back come the sweet Dorian melodies of Theocritus with their unrivalled charm. If the traveller pursues his journey by land, he comes upon the magnificent Temple-cluster at Agrigentum, or the columns of Selinus and Segesta, or the Theatre of Taormina. If he proceeds by sea, and follows the Western coast of the island, and stands over to the Ægades, he more than realizes the events of the first and second Punic Wars, and understands the stern necessity of the Roman policy. From its position and peculiar conformation, Sicily under happier fortunes might herself have been Queen of the Mediterranean, but, if it had passed into the dominion of Carthage, Sicily would have become a standing menace to the existence of Rome, and, according to the polities of those days, there was no room in the World for two independent Powers, each ruling within their own sphere of dominion or influence: there was nothing except the status of a subject or a master. It was in Sicily, that a young intelligent lad explained to me the idea of the rising generation of patriots, as to the limits and lawful component parts of Italy. First and foremost was reckoned the existing kingdom of Italy as known to politicians: but to this was to be added Corsica at the expense of France, Malta at the expense of Great Britain, Trieste and Dalmatia to the loss of Austria, the Canton of Ticino by the dismemberment of Switzerland, and the Tyrolese Provinces south of the Alps now held by Austria.

From Marsála at the South-West angle of Sicily to Tunis in Africa, the passage by steamer occupies one short night, and as the ship approaches the Goletta, the tomb of St. Louis, King of France, on the right, marks the site of ill-fated Carthage. The steamer has annihilated the barrier of the blue Mediterranean, no longer a Sea, but a Lake of Commerce and of Pleasure-trips. In fact, the Suez Canal begins at Gibraltar and ends at Aden. Still the Poet's description is true: all is changed except the unchangeable Sea.

> "Thy shores are Empires, changed in all save Thee—
> Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they?
> Thy waters wasted them while they were free,
> And many a tyrant since."

It is only, when the vicinity of Africa to the coast of Sicily is fully

appreciated, that it can be understood, why Rome in ancient days was so jealous of Carthage, why in modern days Italy looked with such extreme dissatisfaction at the annexation of Tunisia by France. The Goletta is the harbour of Tunis, the greatest city of North Africa, which lies to the South of the small lake, round which now runs a railway. On the site of old Carthage, destroyed by the Romans, city after city sprang into existence, and their joint ruins have supplied materials of construction to the later city of Tunis. In the course of excavations, many objects are dug up of the Roman period, but of the old Phenician colony not one genuine fragment has survived. The Roman destroyers did their relentless work thoroughly, and effaced not only the material evidences of their civilization, but extinguished their literature and language so effectually, that no trace can be found. Standing on the high ground and looking over the expanse of waste ground and down to the sea-shore, the student tries in vain to reconcile the accounts of the Historian with the aspect of natural features now presented. The harbours have ceased to be harbours, and there is room for an unlimited amount of theory: the great cisterns, which have been revealed by the excavations, are most probably of a later period than the great ruins of Rome. This fact attracted the attention of visitors of the middle ages, and Tasso expresses the feeling in magnificent language:

> "Giace alta Cartágo: appena i segni
> Dell' alte sue ruine il lido serba:
> Muiono le città: muiono i regni:
> Copre i fasti, e le pompe, arena ed erba:
> E l'uom d'esser mortal par che si sdegna,
> O! nostra mente cupida e superba!"

A century ago it would not have been easy to visit these four great cities. Of Carthage and Syracuse little was known: a visit to Greece was considered an effort worthy of record, and a visit to Rome, the privilege of persons of large means and much leisure. Perhaps there are not many, who have even now visited all four, but to do so entails no difficulty, and not much time or expense, and brings with it a pleasant variety of travelling by land and sea, and an inexhaustible fund of interest and instructive memories. It is something worth going much further to see Athené's Temple on the Acropolis crowned with an aureole of purple light, to stand at the entrance of the prison of Socrates, and on the Hill of Mars with St. Paul: to see a Roman sunset, or muse like Gibbon amidst the ruins of the Capitol; to look down into the Catacombs of Syracuse, and imagine them filled with Athenian prisoners, some of whom in their captivity were chaunting, not in vain, a chorus of Euripides: and lastly to have sat, where Marius, a fugitive, sat before, amidst the ruins of Carthage nearly two thousand years ago.

JUNE 7TH, 1884.

THE KNOWN WORLD – ABOUT B.C. 450.

ABOUT B.C. 325

ABOUT A.D. 300

Stanford's, Geog.l Estab.t London

CHAPTER XX.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

Mr. Bunbury's careful work in two goodly volumes, accompanied by twenty illustrative maps, has placed within the reach of every one the wonderful story of the slow and gradual progress of human knowledge of the earth on which they lived, acquired by the Greeks and Romans from the time of Homer to that of the Emperor Antoninus. The last was the high-water mark of Geographical knowledge for many centuries, until Europe woke up from the sleep of the Dark Ages, and it is humiliating to think, how even now vast regions are imperfectly known, or not known at all, both in Asia and in Africa. Mr. Bunbury's narrative is in a high degree fascinating: many portions read like a romance: on the other hand, it is the result of many years of study, an accurate comparison of all existing records, and an equally accurate knowledge of Geographical facts, as they are known to exist. It may indeed be called the Manual of Comparative or Historical Geography, as derived from the classical authors, and the basis of our own modern knowledge.

Recent discoveries have revealed to us, that there were other systems of Geography unknown to the Greeks, and, if known, despised by the Romans. A large volume of Ancient Egyptian Geography has lately been published by Brugsch Bey: the great Assyrian and Babylonian Empires must have had a good knowledge of the countries East and West and North, which had fallen under their sway: unfortunately, neither Herodotus nor Ctesias had access to these documents. That the chief physical features of India were well known to Sanskrit authors is evidenced by numerous incidental allusions in many of their works, even as far back as the Veda, which allude to the rivers of the Panjáb and to the Ocean. Megasthénes might have brought back further notices than he appears to have gathered at the Court of Palibothra. Lastly, Chinese Annals disclose a new world of Geography, and kingdoms, religions, languages, and customs, of which the Greeks never dreamt, and of which the Romans, even down to the time of Ptolemy, the last and greatest Geographer, had a most imperfect

conception. We must not hoodwink ourselves, and rest upon the old legal maxim, that things which do not appear, might as well not exist; when, in ordinary conversation, we talk about the knowledge of the World by the ancients, we mean only the Greeks and the Romans, who falsely asserted themselves to be the heirs of all the previous ages, and the recipients of all pre-existing knowledge. We know now how small a portion of the intellectual wealth of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China had reached them. The ancient Arabians had no doubt a commercial Geography of their own, for which they are not fully credited. And during the darkness of the Middle Ages of Europe the later Arabs again took up the task of Discovery, and made important contributions to modern knowledge, for which they get but scanty credit. Our modern explorers in Africa, East and West, North and South, have revealed the fact, that that Continent has been traversed by caravans for centuries, and that the knowledge, which we have now obtained, might have been attained much earlier, if we had only set about it in earnest.

We can realize somewhat the position of the ancient Romans and Greeks to the whole World by considering our own position at the present moment to the centre of Africa, of Borneo, of New Guinea, of the Peninsula of Korea, and of the Plateau of Tibet: and forty years ago, of how many parts of Nearer and Further India, and of the Chinese Empire, little or nothing was known! How vague was the knowledge of Afghanistán, Kashmír, and the Valley of the Indus! Great as has been the progress during that period of Geographical discovery, how much still remains to be done!

At any rate the Greeks came into the inheritance of whatever traditional or written knowledge the Phenicians possessed, and we shall see further on, that Eratosthenes of Alexandria had access to the Septuagint Translation of the Old Testament, which contained the not inconsiderable Geographical notices of the Hebrew writers. Unfortunately both the Phenician and Carthaginian Annals have totally perished. As early as the days of Solomon these adventurous merchants had spanned the whole length of the Mediterranean, and founded a Colony at Tartessus, or Cadiz, beyond the Pillars of Hercules. With the name of this great hero, whoever he was, is associated a still more distant discovery, that of the Golden Apples of Hesperides, or the islands of the Canaries. Not the slightest allusion is made to this legend by Homer, nor yet to those distant Eastern lands, with which the Phenicians must have had direct or indirect intercourse by way of barter, through the Arabians, as far back as the days of Solomon. The silence of Homer is therefore not conclusive against the Phenician discoveries to the West, when he is totally silent with regard to their undoubted communications with the East. From Egypt, probably,

the Greeks had heard of the Ethiopians, and of the Pigmies, whose existence has in these last days in these very regions been ascertained.

Two articles of Commerce, unknown as products of the country bordering on the Mediterranean, are mentioned by Homer, and must have been imported from the distant regions beyond the Pillars of Hercules by the Phenicians. These are tin and amber. That the former came from the islands of the Cassiterides there is a concurrence of testimony, and that these islands represented the county of Cornwall there can be no doubt. The latter is found exclusively on the Northern shores of Germany, and most extensively on the shores of the Baltic Sea. We have to believe, that the Phenicians had communication, directly, or through third parties, with the collectors of this valuable commodity, or that it was conveyed overland, as unquestionably it is frequently mentioned by Homer.

As was to be expected, the earliest voyages and travels, that have come down to us, are enshrined in poetry, and surrounded with a halo of fiction, though accepted as genuine history by the uncritical ancients. The first of these legends, and anterior to Homer, is the voyage of the Argonauts. It was developed, and enlarged and localized by succeeding chroniclers, and it was fondly believed, even at the time of Augustus, that Colchis and the banks of the River Phasis were the scene of the events narrated: but there is no authority for such details. From Mimnermus, the oldest authority, we learn no further than, that Æetes lived on the banks of the Ocean-stream in the farthest East, and Homer alludes to the voyage as even in his time World-famous. In this critical age we know from our experience of the poems and novels of Walter Scott, how soon the most airy creations of the brain are localized, and entirely groundless details accepted as fact by a too-credulous generation. All that can be conceded is, that at a very remote period, long before the colonization of the shores of the Black Sea, some adventurous Greek navigator did penetrate through the Straits of the Dardanelles, and the Bosphorus, into the Euxine.

The Geographical notions of Homer in his two great Epics are next in date. There can be no doubt, that Homer believed the Earth to be a plain of circular form, surrounded on all sides by the Ocean, which was conceived of, not as a sea, but as a vast continuous stream, flowing round the earth: that the sun rose out of the Ocean-stream, and again sunk into the same at setting; the stars followed the same course, and bathed every day in the waters of the Ocean, with one exception, the Great Bear, which alone had no share in the Baths of the Ocean. To these phenomena may be added the very significant fact, that the Ethiopians, or burnt-faced men, are described as living to the South of Egypt, on the borders of the Ocean-stream, at the extreme limits of the

World, and that they were divided into two portions, the one towards the setting, the other towards the rising sun. From this statement may fairly be deduced the fact, that Homer knew of the existence of the black races on the West, as well as the East, coast of Africa.

Eratosthenes, the father of scientific Geography, pointed out, that Homer was well acquainted with the regions near at hand, but ignorant of those afar off. This conclusion, apparently so obvious, was rejected with scorn by such writers as Strabo and Polybius: in fact, such a web of superstitious reverence had been woven round the great Greek Epics, that it was deemed heresy to question Homer's dicta as regards Geography, History and Ethnology. This absence of critical judgment arrestedt he progress of true Science for several centuries: it is, as if the Geographers of Europe had felt themselves tied down by the occasional notices of places in the Old Testament, or the rising generation of Indians were unable to burst the shackles of Vedic, Puranic, and Sanskritic Geography. Some certain conclusions can be drawn both from the notices and silence of Homer. He knew nothing of the division of the World into three Continents. The union of Syllables, which make up the important names of Europe and Africa, had not been formed, and the term Asia is restricted to the meadows on the banks of the Cayster. On the other hand, his description of the relative position of the lofty island of Samothrace and the low island of Imbros, as seen from the plains of Troy, is that of an eye-witness of the scene. An incidental allusion to a voyage to Egypt, which Ulysses pretended to have made in the assumed character of a Cretan, though the narrative is a fiction, is obviously in accordance with ordinary experience. Menelaus mentions having visited Egypt, Phenicia, Cyprus, and Libya, by which was probably meant the country round Cyrene. Homer abounds in descriptions of the sea, from which a large part of his *similes* were taken, but he had no idea of any sea but the Mediterranean, though it is called by no such name. There is nothing to show, that he knew aught of the Bosphorus, the Euxine, the Ister, the Eridanus, the Phasis, or the Nile. In due course every place mentioned in the Iliad, or visited by Ulysses, was localized, and it would have been deemed a sin to doubt the identification; but it is palpable, that Homer was drawing upon his imagination, or weaving into his story the current legends of the day, with no idea of the use which future generations would make of his poetic flights. He had some vague knowledge of Nomad tribes, "milkers of mares," living beyond the mountains of Thrace; but the ominous word "Scythian" does not appear, either from the imperfection of knowledge of the Poet, or, because in the progression of races from the East to the West, that horde had not yet appeared in the longitude of Greece and Asia Minor. His mention of Pigmies,

who dwelt to the South of Egypt, by the shores of the Ocean-stream, has received a singular confirmation within the last few years from the discovery of the race of Akka dwarfs to the West of the Albert Nyanza, who were probably at that time more widely diffused. On the other hand, strange to say, his knowledge of the physical features of Ithaka, and its relative position to the adjacent islands, is vague, and not compatible with local knowledge. Not a whisper of the existence of the great Monarchies of Mesopotamia had reached the ear of the Poet: not a ripple of Chaldæan, or Assyrian, or Hamathite, culture, had disturbed the Homeric sea: and, as stated above, no trace is found of any of the legends of conquest in the Far West, which had gathered round the name of Hercules; while, although Atlas is mentioned, the myth of his supporting the heavens on his shoulders had not been developed. Whatever may be the age assigned to Homer, he is justly considered as the beginning of Greek culture, and of the character above described is the Geographical knowledge, of which he was possessed. And it must be remembered, that in such poems, with such freedom of descriptive power, and license of expression, the silence of the Poet upon the subject of existing political, and remarkable physical phenomena, implies an ignorance of them on his own part, and therefore of his hearers.

One of the first prose writings in the Greek language is the Geographical treatise of Hecatæus, which was probably published before the end of the sixth century before the Christian era. The work was named Periodus, or Description of the Earth. Unfortunately, it has perished, and all that we know of it is collected from fragments quoted in the works of later writers, which have been lately brought together and published by Müller in his Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum. Allusion must here be made to the unhappy literary fate of this, and many other of the esteemed early writers. All that we know of them is from fragmentary quotations, or translations of quotations, made by honest, but unsympathetic, successors, for whose accuracy we have no guarantee, and who, as often as not, were hostile, carping and jealous: it is as if all our knowledge of the histories of Clarendon and Hume were preserved in quotations made by Macaulay. Now knowledge is progressive, and the later writers, standing upon the foundations, painfully laid by their predecessors, and profiting by the yearly widening circle of discovery, were not fair judges of the merits of the men, who had gone before them: at least they were honester than many authors of modern time, who appropriate the knowledge, without quoting the name, of their Authority.

Between Homer and Hecatæus there had been a great widening of the horizon. In the poet Hesiod, or the works existing ascribed to that poet, appear the names of the Scythians, the Tyrrhenians,

(though the name of Italy is still unknown), the Hyperboreans, or dwellers beyond the North Wind, and Mount Ætna. In two lines of the so-called Homeric Hymns we have for the first time the use of the word Peloponnesus, and of Europe in a narrow signification: but about this time the Greeks began to send out Colonies, and we may reasonably presume, that Colonization was preceded by a certain amount of Geographical knowledge: therefore the existence of a Colony at a particular date is a measure of that knowledge. We find, that in a very brief period the Greeks of the Coast of Asia Minor, and Hellas, in a kind of generous rivalry, had thrown a girdle round the Mediterranean and the Euxine Seas, with few exceptions pushing aside their Phenician and Carthaginian predecessors. In this manner sprang into existence the Colonies in Sicily, on the East and West coasts of Southern Italy, where they were opposed by the Etrurians; the islands of the Adriatic, Spain, where they were opposed by the Phenicians, and that part of Africa, which was known as Cyrene. In the islands of Sardinia and Corsica they were unable to secure a footing. In Egypt they were allowed by the favour of Psammetichus to establish a factory at Naukratis on the Canopus branch of the Nile: a Colony was established at Byzantium, destined to be one of the Empire-cities of the World; the adventurous Milesians had pushed on to the foot of Mount Caucasus, and occupied the mouths of the great Northern rivers, which flow into the Euxine, or the Kimmerian Bosphorus. Curiosity and love of inquiry seem to have urged travellers to visit foreign countries, and among the earliest of this class was Pythagoras, who certainly visited Egypt about 550 B.C. Still, everything beyond the basin of the Mediterranean was entirely unknown to the Greeks, or known only by the reports of other nations. No Greek navigator had ventured beyond the Pillars of Hercules, or found his way to the Red Sea: whatever rumours were current about Ethiopia, or India, must have reached the Greeks through the Egyptians, the Phenicians, and, later on, the Persians. For a new factor had been introduced into the problem. The conquest of the Greek cities of Asia Minor by the generals of the great Persian Monarchs had let in a new flood of light; the Milesians and Samians became subjects of a Monarch, who resided in Mesopotamia, and this must have opened to the conquered a new and wonderful World. Darius conducted an expedition against the Scythians, crossing into Europe. Soon afterwards began the Persian war, and the Greek citizen became aware of kingdoms, and cities, and races, and languages, of which Homer had never dreamt. Over and above all, the Greeks had borrowed from the Phenicians the great power of alphabetical writing, and the existence of this power is proved by the names of the Greek mercenaries of Psammetichus scratched on the rock-monuments of Abu Simbel in Nubia. The path of

progress and discovery had thus been fairly entered upon, and the isolation of nations was no longer possible.

Physical Science and Astronomy, without which the most rudimentary Geography would be impossible, had also advanced. Anaximander, in the first half of the sixth century before the Christian era, is reported to have drawn the first map of the Earth's surface, and to have introduced the use of, if not to have invented, the Gnomon, or primitive Sun-dial, which plays such an important part in the progress of Geographical Science, as the only means known to the Greeks for determining terrestrial latitudes. Pythagoras arrived, on purely theoretic grounds, at the most important conclusion, that the Earth was of a spherical form, and, when we consider the view even to this day of many Asiatic nations on this subject, we may indeed bow in homage to the great Grecian philosopher, who enunciated this mighty idea, so contrary to the evidence of the senses. He also, for convenience sake, divided the Globe into five Zones, the Equatorial, the Arctic, and Antarctic, and the two Temperate Zones.

Hecatæus, at whose time we have now arrived, was a native of Miletus. His work was intended, in one way or another, to comprise a general but complete, review of all the countries known to the Greeks. By the irony of time the greater part of such an invaluable treatise has come down to us in the disjointed quotations of a later Grammarian, who arranged the names in alphabetical order for purposes having no relation to Geography. He had travelled much, and consulted merchants and travellers; from his fellow citizens, and his neighbours, the Phoceans, he could glean intelligence of half the inhabited World. He shared in the ill-fated revolt of his own city against the Persian King. In one book he described Europe, a word, which then received its full meaning, in the other Asia, which included Egypt, Ethiopia, and the rest of what is now called Africa. From him we hear first of the Caspian Sea, of India, and the River Indus, and a vague notion of the Persian Gulf. It is remarkable, that he mentions neither Babylon, nor any of the great cities of the basin of the Euphrates, nor Rome. His Map of the World is the first of the series of Epoch-Maps; it is surrounded by the circumfluent Ocean. It was an article of faith with the Greeks, that their country was in the centre of the World, and Delphi the very navel, just as, centuries later, an equally ignorant community were led to believe, that Jerusalem was the centre of the Universe, and all other countries were symmetrically arranged round it. The mind of the Greeks had a scientific and a symmetrical tendency, and made no difficulty in assuming what seemed to be required to meet that tendency, and in considering Europe to be equal in size to the rest of the World.

In the interval betwixt Hecatæus and Herodotus, the poets

Æschylus and Pindar wrote their immortal verse. We must not judge the description of poets with too critical an eye, or ask for the rock, to which Prometheus was attached, or test too closely the wanderings of Io: but in the Persæ occur for the first time the names of the great cities of Susa, Ekbatana, and Babylon, and we hear of the Parthians and Bactrians. Pindar considers the Pillars of Hercules, the Phasis, and the Nile, as figures expressive of the ends of the Earth.

The works of Herodotus have survived to our times, and form an epoch in Geography as well as History; but we must recollect, that it was not a systematic treatise, and we must not infer from his silence, that he was ignorant of any region: for instance, he scarcely alludes to Carthage and its dominions, as not coming within the scope of his work; nor are we entitled to say, that he had never heard of the great name of Rome, but at least it never appears on his pages. His work was written in the latter half of the fifth century before the Christian era, and is too well known to require much comment. He had travelled a great deal, and writes as an eye-witness: he had made inquiries of competent witnesses, and records their testimony: he had an opinion of his own of what seemed probable or ridiculous: he takes a comprehensive view of the size and configuration of the World in a practical manner, so that even his mistakes are not contrary to common sense, but due to imperfect information, or incorrect deductions. He had satisfied himself, that Africa, which he only knows as Libya, was surrounded by the sea, as it had been circumnavigated in the time of Necho, King of Egypt, and he considered, that Scylax had discovered the greater part of Asia from the River Indus to the Arabian Gulf. But the limits of Europe were to him quite unknown. He gave up the idea of the circumfluent Ocean, and the Hyperboreans. From him we first hear of the Keltæ, and of tribes beyond, and North of the Scythians, and his account of the Kimmerians is the first authentic record of the great movements of nations, that have taken place in all ages from Asia into Europe. He writes of these Nomads as real, and no longer fabulous, personages. He describes their customs, and mentions one tribe with a peculiar language, who were cannibals, a custom unknown in his part of the World; in this tribe we have no doubt an indication of the Finnic race; beyond them were the Sauromatæ or Sarmatians, the ancestors of the great Slavonic stock, who overpowered the Scythians: beyond, again, was the limit of the positive knowledge of the Historian, who describes races of men as having the feet of goats, probably being active mountaineers, and hybernating for the six cold months, after the manner of the Lapps, and eating the bodies of their deceased parents, as is the practice to this day among the Batta in Sumatra; but even he could not swallow the story of the Griffins and Gold of the Arimaspians.

Proceeding Southward, it appears clearly, that his knowledge was limited to the confines of the Persian Kingdom. Of Arabia he had only a vague knowledge, but the navigation of the Red Sea was established, and Commerce supplied not only the frankincense and myrrh of Arabia, but cinnamon and cassia of a country far beyond, either India and Ceylon, or the so-called cinnamon region of Africa. He alludes to tides, a phenomenon, with which the Greeks were not familiar in their own inland sea, and he uses the word Atlantic for the outer sea in one solitary passage. To Herodotus we are indebted for all we know about the voyage of Scylax from the mouths of the Indus to the Arabian Gulf; from him we hear first of the cotton, or tree-wool, and the bambú of India, and the famous story of the gold thrown up in large heaps by ants, as large as foxes, and carried away by Indians mounted on swift camels, but no allusion is made by him to elephants.

With regard to Africa his information will to all time be deeply interesting: he had no conception, that beyond the Southern desert there existed any region fit for the habitation of man: to the limits of Egypt he had himself penetrated, and by inquiry he had fixed the position of Meroe, the capital of the Ethiopians: beyond that the Nile was said to flow from the West, or setting sun, but no one knew anything of the source. In one vague allusion, intelligible only in the light thrown upon it by subsequent discoveries, he raises the dark veil, which shrouded Negro-land from his generation: he narrates, without suspecting the deep importance of his story, how five youths penetrated across the Sahára to the valley of the Niger, which he fondly connected with the Nile. It is to be regretted, that he excluded the Carthaginian dominions from his description, and therefore all the North coast of Africa, West of the Syrtes. He picked up something from Carthaginian traders, and the only name outside the Pillars of Hercules quoted by him is that of Cape Soloeis, or Cape Cantin in Morocco. In considering the reason, why the interior of Africa was thus secluded from the active and intelligent nations which dwelt upon its coast-line, and along the great Nile-basin, we must recollect the now well-established fact, that the use of Camels was practically unknown in Africa until after the Mahometan conquest. They were indeed used by the armies of Cambyses and Alexander the Great, but this use was exceptional. Amidst the heavy losses, which the world has suffered from the disappearance of many noble works of antiquity, we may indeed be thankful that the fascinating journals of Herodotus, with all their faults and shortcomings, have survived to our times.

Before the death of the great Historian (though the facts never reached his ears in his retreat at Thurii, where he settled down to record his travels), Hanno the Carthaginian had made his famous expedition down the West coast of Africa. The document, that has come down to us, is in the Greek language, and known as the

Periplus of Hanno. Not only is it one of the few records of Phenician and Carthaginian enterprise, that have survived, but it purports to be the account of the Commander himself, who was either the father or the son of that Hamilcar, who invaded Sicily B.C. 480. With a large number of emigrants, in a fleet of sixty ships, he passed out of the Pillars of Hercules, landed at the island of Cerne, which is identified with a small island, still called Herne, at the mouth of the Rio d'Oro in latitude 23° 50′, and proceeded thence further South to Sherboro Sand, just beyond Sierra Leone. The two remarkable features described by the narrator are the streams of fire pouring forth as from a volcano, and the capture of a gorilla. They visited the mouth of a broad and large river, full of crocodiles and hippopotamus, and this must have been the River Senegál. The streams of fire arose from the conflagrations of the long, dry grass, which is kindled yearly by the natives. Such was the simple story, which our knowledge of the coast confirms at every part: but it was distorted, and rendered ridiculous by exaggerated quotations in all later Geographers.

Thucydides, the Historian, did not add to the existing knowledge of Geography, though his descriptions are all clear and accurate. His contemporary, Antiochus of Syracuse, whose works have not survived, left one or two fragments, and in one of them, for the first time, appears the great name of Rome. Another contemporary, Ctesias, a Greek doctor at the Court of Persia, wrote voluminous treatises; but they have perished, and a meagre abstract by a later historian, Photius, is all that has remained of his Persian and Indian History, and it does not add to our Geographical knowledge. Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, lived in the ninth century of the Christian era, and, in his Myriobiblion, gives us the extracts from 280 ancient writers, and is for many, as for the unhappy Ctesias, the sole source of information. Ctesias wrote his treatises B.C. 398, so that they had survived twelve hundred years when the quotations were made. It is to be feared, that he was one of those, to whom Juvenal alluded as "Græcia Mendax," for in his hand India had become a land of marvels, and in his want of critical judgment he swallowed in any fable or absurdity current at the Persian Court; otherwise he had rare opportunities of knowledge. He had no knowledge of the Ganges; but he mentions elephants, though, with his usual exaggeration, he describes an Indian King marching to battle with one hundred thousand elephants, besides three thousand of superior strength and stature used for destroying the walls of hostile cities.

From him we hear of the Griffins, who guarded the gold; of the unicorn, or wild ass with a horn; of Pigmies, and men with dogs' heads; and this tissue of fables was repeated from generation to generation, down to the time of Pliny. Aristotle, however, more than doubted him, and Arrian quoted his testimony with reserve.

Strabo refers to him as one of the writers, on whom no reliance can be placed. So his worthless garrulousness was at last found out. We are not indebted to him for the description of a single custom of the Hindu.

A very different Author is the next in time. The Anabasis of Xenophon is one of the most delightful episodes in the history of the World. A brave and prudent soldier, a refined and elegant writer, the friend of Plato, and the pupil of Socrates, he was one of those gifted few, who, like the first Cæsar, have done things worth recording, and written things worth reading. As we read this famous book, and mark how discipline triumphed over undisciplined numbers, and a brave heart forced its way through physical difficulties, we feel that we have opened the handbook to victory: and, as we march across Mesopotamia, parasang by parasang, and fight our way through Armenia to the shores of the Euxine, we feel, that we must be on the eve of much greater events, and that Xenophon, by making known the weakness of the huge Asiatic kingdom, is, as he proved to be, but the advance-guard of Alexander. The expedition was for purely political objects, and the narrative was written from the point of view of a Historian, but every general, and every Historian in those days, was, to a certain extent, in the position of a Geographical explorer. Xenophon is trustworthy and intelligent in his descriptions, and we doubt not, that Alexander of Macedon found more practical advantage in the copy of the Anabasis, which he must have studied, than in the copy of Homer, which he is credited to have had always under his pillow, and which would have proved but a blind guide to the Conqueror of Asia.

Ephorus is one of the unfortunate authors, who wrote valuable works, but who have survived only in fragments, quoted for their own purpose by the next generation of writers. He appears to have made a general and comprehensive review of Geography, devoting one book to Europe, and another to Asia and Africa. He looked upon the Indians, the Scythians, the Kelts, and the Ethiopians, as the four most distant nations, taking Greece as the centre: he accepts the discoveries of Hanno, and is so far in advance of Herodotus. His contemporary Theopompus has shared the same fortune, and has but a fragmentary existence in the pages of the elder Pliny, who mentions, that he is the first Greek author, who notices the history of Rome, and the capture of the city by the Gauls. He had a better knowledge of the Italian cities; but he shakes our confidence in his judgment by his rash assertion, that the Ister, or Danube, had a double branch, and that the Western branch discharged itself into the Adriatic. This false idea, which originated in the Argonautic legend, was not repeated by the more cautious Geographers already mentioned, but from the time of Theopompus onwards for many generations became a fixed delusion,

the more surprising from the physical impossibility of such an embranchment, and the comparative facility of ascertaining the existence, or not, of a great river at the head of the Adriatic.

To this period also belongs the Periplus of Scylax, which has come down to our times. The date of this treatise is limited within a narrow margin of time by the absence of allusion to the city of Alexandria, and the mention of certain other cities, whose foundation-dates are well ascertained. A Periplus was a kind of Marine Guide-Book for seafaring men, or tourists, describing in regular order the coasts of particular seas, and as the Greek Colonies, almost without exception, were maritime, such a treatise supplied all, that an ordinary Greek required to know of Geography. We have the analogue of such a treatise in our modern Tourists' Guide. There is no possible connexion betwixt the Scylax who wrote this treatise, and the Scylax of Caryanda, who is recorded by Herodotus as having navigated from the Indian to the Arabian Gulf in the preceding century. The author begins from the Pillars of Hercules, and follows the Northern coast of the Mediterranean, as far as the mouth of the Tanais, which he considers the limits of Europe: thence he returns along the coast of Africa to the point of starting, adding a brief notice of the Western coast of Africa, as far as the Island of Cerne: this last notice supplies sufficient evidence, that the treatise was posterior to Herodotus. He knew nothing of Western Europe. He is the earliest *extant* author, in which is mentioned the name of Rome: the previous notices were in quotations embedded in the works of later authors. He falls into the same error with regard to the second branch of the Ister discharging itself into the Adriatic. He starts the idea, that below Cerne, on the West coast of Africa, the sea was choked with sea-weed and mud, and was no longer navigable, but he maintains, that Africa was a great peninsula.

A greater name now comes before us, that of Aristotle. No treatise of his is devoted to Geography, but in two of his treatises his remarks on the physical aspect of the Science are important, as indicating the basis, on which later writers constructed their edifices. He established the position, that the Earth is a sphere at rest in the centre of the Universe, and that all the other celestial bodies revolved round it. He is the first *extant* writer, who distinctly states the cosmical relations of the Earth, and, though he adopts the views of some of his predecessors, he demonstrates them himself afresh. He remarks that the Tropical and Arctic zones were uninhabitable, that the Temperate zone, from the Pillars of Hercules to India, alone was known to be habitable: he adds, that there must be a Temperate zone in the Southern Hemisphere, but he refrains from suggesting, that it was inhabited: he treats with scorn the idea, that the inhabited world was a circle, which was the prevalent idea in his day, and had been sanctioned by Herodotus. Many of his

incidental Geographical statements are quite wrong and confused, but he agrees with Herodotus, that the Caspian was an inland sea, and this saved him from an error, which clung to his successors for many centuries.

To the same period must be dated the famous myth of Atlantes, as shadowed forth in the Timæus and Critias of Plato. It would not be worth noticing, as merely the creation of the philosopher's brain, had it not gained a hold upon the Greek mind, and the reputed shallow and muddy nature of the Western Ocean was supposed to arise from the subsidence of this imaginary island. It was no doubt in the interest of the Phenicians and Carthaginians to report these seas as unnavigable. The Carthaginian Himilco is reported by Pliny to have made a voyage Northward at the same time that Hanno made his Southward, and to have found his progress checked by the heavy and sluggish nature of the sea, and the quantities of sea-weed, which obstructed the motion of the ship; so that there may have been a basis, on which all these legends rested.

The expedition of Alexander the Great from Macedon to Babylon, and thence to Transoxiana and the Panjáb in Northern India, threw open Asia to the astonished eyes of Europe, and caused a revolution in Geographical knowledge. It is only within the last quarter of a century, that we have been able to bring the narrative of Alexander's campaigns to the test of local inquiry, and even now there are some details left unexplained. The great fact stood out for ever in history, that he had marched by land to the banks of the River Beas, in the Panjáb, that he had descended the streams of the Indus, and one or more of its confluents, and found his way to the Indian Ocean, whence Nearkhus with the fleet had navigated the sea to the Persian Gulf, and the King himself had conducted the remnant of his army back by the coast-line to Babylon. It was one of the great epochs of the World; and the human race never settled down on their old lines again. Had the great King lived, perhaps further extension of knowledge would have followed, but his mantle fell upon less ambitious successors. We have next to consider what documents we have to record these mighty transactions, and it is clear that all contemporary record has perished. Arrian is the most trustworthy historian at second-hand. He lived in the time of the Antonines, in the second century of the Christian era, and five centuries after the events which he narrates, but he follows mainly, if not exclusively, the narratives, which have since disappeared, of Aristobulus, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, both of them companions in arms of Alexander. He was, moreover, a soldier himself, a governor of Provinces, and the author of other works which display a special turn for Geography. Although Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius, all flourished at a date anterior to Arrian, and treated the same subject, they followed the authority

of Clitarchus, who, though a contemporary of Alexander, was not a writer of judgment; and the works of the three Roman authors, who followed him, are not so highly esteemed as authorities as Arrian's history of the expedition.

But that same author has left another work, his Indian History, a portion of which is admitted to be a compendium of a work written by Nearkhus himself, who conducted the fleet of Alexander from the Indus to the Persian Gulf. This is a most important contribution to Geographical knowledge, and it is only in modern times, that its correctness has been tested. It is stated that Alexander contemplated the circumnavigation of the Peninsula of Arabia; and no doubt Nearkhus would have accomplished it, for there were no insuperable obstacles, but Alexander's death arrested all such great designs; and a heavy misfortune it was, for five hundred years later on Arrian records, that no mortal ever dared venture on the enterprise by reason of the vast heat of the sun and the desert shores; that the country must be uninhabitable; that no one had ever got so far as the extreme point of the Persian Gulf to the spot sighted by Nearkhus on his expedition from the Indus, and that, had these seas been navigable, Alexander would not have left them undiscovered.

The successors of Alexander the Great contributed notably to Geographical discovery. The works of Megasthenes have unfortunately perished; but large extracts have survived in the works of Pliny, Diodorus, Arrian and Strabo, and they contain matters of great interest regarding India. Few embassies have been so important as landmarks in history as that of Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleucus Nikator, King of Babylon, to Sandracottus or Chandragupta, of the great Maurian dynasty, King of India, at his capital of Palibothra, now Patna, on the Ganges. We here touch ground in Indian Chronology, and on this pivot turns a cycle of events of the greatest importance. Megasthenes was probably the only Greek, who penetrated so far into India. His route is easy to follow. He crossed the River Satlaj, beyond the point, where Alexander the Great turned back; he must have seen with his eyes the magnificent snowy ranges of the Himálaya, or Indian Caucasus: he passed into the basin of the Ganges by the road of Sarhind; crossed the Jamna; worked his way to the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, and he identifies the capital by placing it at the junction of the Ganges and the Erannoboas: in the latter name we recognize the Sanskrit Hiranya-bahu, or golden-armed, another name for the Sone, which also means gold. He knew little or nothing of the course of the Ganges South of Palibothra, or of the mountain-ranges or table-land, or in fact of anything beyond the basin of the Indus and the Ganges. And this is the more remarkable, as, from the Inscriptions erected by Asóka, grandson of Sandracottus, it is known, that his kingdom extended South of the Vindya range to Cuttack on the

East coast, and Ganjam on the West. His estimate of the extent of India was sober, and he had definite information regarding Ceylon, but he knew nothing of the peninsula of India. We learn from Strabo, that another ambassador Daimachus was sent by Seleucus to the son of Sandracottus, and wrote an account of his journey, which has perished. A work of Patrocles, Governor of the frontier Provinces of India, is quoted by Strabo, as having been considered by Eratosthenes more trustworthy than Megasthenes. Pliny mentions a work by Dionysius, an ambassador sent to one of the Indian kings (a vague term), by Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, probably by the sea-route. After this a cloud falls upon India, and there was no more communication with Europe for centuries. But at a period anterior to the invasion of Alexander, by some means or other, the unique invention of the Phenician Alphabet, passing through intermediary derivatives, either by sea or land, had found its way to India, and given birth to the two forms of the Asóka Alphabet, which are the groundwork of all the Characters of writing of Nearer and Further India. For one strange error, which disfigured Geography for many generations, we are debtors to Patrocles, who is reported to have asserted, that it was possible to sail round India to the Caspian Sea, which was in fact merely a gulf in the Ocean, and this error appears in the maps of Strabo.

In the mean time the Ptolemies were founding cities, and encouraging Commerce down the West side of the Red Sea, and the Inscription of Adúlis in Abyssinia testifies to the fact, that elephants were there trained for war. A line of stations extended to the Straits of Babelmandeb, and beyond to the Southern Horn of Africa, or Cape Guardafui, which produced not only myrrh and frankincense, but cinnamon, whence it came to be known to Geographers as the "Land of Cinnamon." Each explorer put up a stela to commemorate his furthest point of advance. A Commerce, no doubt, existed in Indian commodities, but there was no direct trade with that country. The Sabæans on the opposite coast of Arabia acted as intermediaries betwixt India and Europe. It is a fact, that neither Eratosthenes nor Strabo, who wrote at a later date, had any knowledge of India, except through the writings of Megasthenes, and the contemporaries of Alexander. One writer left a valuable record, which, though it has long since perished, was praised by the highest Geographers, and copiously quoted. This was Timosthenes, an admiral under Ptolemy Euergetes, who drew up a practical description of the ports of the Mediterranean.

The generation, succeeding to that of Alexander, heard a new name, that of the Island of Britain. Herodotus had heard of the Cassiterides, but they were generally placed off the coast of Spain. A writer named Pytheas, a native of Marseilles, left a treatise giving an account of his own voyages, and describing other countries, of which he had hearsay report. His work has perished, but it was

quoted by Eratosthenes, which fixes the date. He is also quoted by Polybius. He had visited Britain, and Iberia, and had heard of the Island of Thule and the Teutoni. He is reasonably supposed to have penetrated by sea as far as the mouth of the River Elbe. He thus largely added to the Map of Western Europe. He was a good Astronomer, and fixed the latitude of Marseilles with fair correctness. He described Thule as lying within the Arctic circle, and he must, therefore, have heard of the phenomenon of continuous day at the summer-solstice. He was the first to connect the tides with the moon. An author named Theophrastus of this period, though writing upon the wonders of Nature and Art, mentions incidentally the Rhine, as being frozen hard in the winter like the Ister, and flowing to the land of the Germans. He also first notices the existence of beautiful islands beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which filled so large a part of the interest of the next generations, the Fortunate Islands; and the one more particularly described by him was no doubt Madeira.

We are now arrived at a period, the latter half of the third century before the Christian era, when the accurate and philosophic Greek mind would no longer be satisfied with the journals of travellers, the itineraries of generals, the stories picked up from the mouths of sailors, the estimated distances by land or sea. There was a severe side of Geography, to which Astronomical Science could be applied, and aid in tabulating the collected information, and reducing it to scientific form. Eratosthenes was the Librarian of Alexandria, and had access to the accumulated stores of knowledge, and among them to the Septuagint, which contains certain striking Geographical details. All his voluminous works have perished, and he lives only in the quotations and severe criticisms of Strabo. Maps no doubt did exist: the object of Eratosthenes was to reform the map of the World, as it had existed down to his time, and to reconstruct it on scientific principles: hence he has been justly called the father of scientific Geography. We must recollect, how inadequate the means were at his disposal, and how imperfect the data: this causes us more to admire his wonderful sagacity and sound judgment; so sound, indeed, that he proved to be more judicious in his inferences than many of his successors of two centuries later, in spite of their far greater opportunities for generalizing.

Aristotle and Euclid had established beyond controversy the position and figure of the Earth: the obliquity of the Sun's course had not escaped notice, and the great circles of the equinoctial and ecliptic, or zodiacal, circle, as well as the lesser circles of the tropics, parallel with the equinoctial, were known, and these conceptions had been already transferred from the celestial to the terrestrial globe. Eratosthenes made a careful and successful measurement of the circumference of the terrestrial globe. It was

an obvious problem based upon the spherical form of the earth, and had been attempted at a time even anterior to Aristotle, but neither the method nor the data, of these early measurements are supplied, nor did the result approximate so nearly to the truth as the calculation made by Eratosthenes, who, assuming Alexandria and Syene to be on the same meridian, at a known distance from each other, measured the shadow of the Gnomon at each to determine their latitude, and concluded that the arc of the meridian intercepted between the two was one-fiftieth part of the great circle. But though his data were in every factor frightfully erroneous, his calculation, however, came surprisingly near the truth, as by his measurement the circumference of the globe amounted to 25,000 *Geographical* miles, while in fact the circumference at the Equator is a little short of 25,000 English miles.

The *habitable* world, as distinguished from the surface of the globe, was in his time very limited, as he knew nothing of the teeming millions of undiscovered regions. Excessive cold to the North, and excessive heat to the South, seemed an impassable boundary; and as to the Southern tropics, and temperate zone, he thought no more about them than we do of the inhabitants of the Moon. His great object was to determine the length of the long narrow map of the habitable World. He proceeded to show, that the length was more than double the breadth, and was rather more than one-third of the circumference of the globe: the remainder he considered to be occupied by sea, and his intellect was sufficiently clear and enlarged for him to remark, that one might sail from Spain to India along the same parallel of latitude. In fact, this great man predicted, as a matter of theory, the circumnavigation of the World, though it seemed a thing as practically impossible, as a journey is now to the Moon.

He then proceeded to lay down a main parallel of Latitude, passing through certain points, *viz.* from the sacred promontory, the Westernmost point of Iberia, through the Pillars of Hercules along the whole length of the Mediterranean to the Island of Rhodes, and thence to the Gulf of Issus. Hence it was prolonged along the Southern foot of Mount Taurus, which he conceived as preserving a uniform direction from West to East, and continuing under the name of Caucasus along the Northern frontier of India, until it ended in the Indian or Eastern Ocean, beyond which there was nothing. Now the value of such a parallel depended upon correct observations of Latitude taken all along it; there was no means of taking such observations correctly, and none existed, except in a few cases.

The parallel was supposed to pass betwixt Sicily and Italy, and the Southern extremity of the Peloponnesus: and this mistake was continued by all Geographers down to the time of Ptolemy, showing how little attempt was made to verify data in places so familiar

to both Greeks and Romans. Nothing either was known of the projection on the African coast, and, by delineating that coast-line of a nearly uniform direction from East to West, a great displacement necessarily took place of Sicily, the relative position of which to Africa could not but be well known. A meridian line of Longitude was drawn through Alexandria and Rhodes, extending Southward through Syene and Meroe, and Northward through Byzantium to the mouth of the Borysthenes. These data were far from correct, and yet Eratosthenes showed a clear comprehension of the problem, which presents itself to the scientific Geographer. There is an entire absence of an accurate knowledge of Longitudes, or of any means of ascertaining them approximately, as they had very imperfect means of marking the measurement of time. Hipparchus, who will be mentioned further on, had the sagacity to point out that the observation of eclipses might be applied to the object, but we find that, three centuries later, in the time of Ptolemy, scarcely any observation of this kind was available. This was a fatal shortcoming in the preparation of a correct map. Even the measurement of ordinary distances by sea or land was of the rudest description, and unfit to be the basis of calculation.

Accepting the existence of Thule, he made that his most Northerly parallel. He mentions Britain, but had never heard of Ierne. His most Southern parallel passed through the land of the Sembrito on the Upper Nile, which he prolongs through the land of Cinnamon to Cape Guardafui, the most southerly point on the East coast of Africa known to navigators. He further prolonged the parallel through Ceylon without any apparent authority for so doing. He had absolutely no knowledge of the existence of China, or rather of trans-Gangetic Asia. He was the first to mention the name of the Nubians, as occupying the country on the west of the Nile from the neighbourhood of Meroe: they are described as a great nation, and not subject to the Ethiopians of Meroe. This name is not found in Herodotus, and the inference is, that the immigrations of the Nubian race, which is distinct from the Ethiopian, as well as from the Negro, found their way from the West to the Nile basin in the interval of time that elapsed betwixt Herodotus and Eratosthenes. This is an Ethnological fact of some importance. As stated above, he had thrown off the blind reverence for the Geography of Homer, and in this particular also he was in advance of succeeding generations. He had also arrived at sound views as to the causes of the inundation of the Nile, which could not escape his notice, as he spent his life in Egypt.

Eratosthenes was not esteemed at his full deserts by his immediate successors: it is only in modern times, that the soundness of his conclusions has been substantiated. The great Astronomer Hipparchus, who lived a century later, wrote a treatise

which has been lost, to criticize these conclusions. All that we know of it is from quotations in Strabo, who was not an Astronomer. He had clearly conceived the idea, that in a map every point should be laid down according to its Latitude and Longitude determined by astronomical observations; but such a method was impracticable, and continued to be so as late as the time of Ptolemy. He conceived the idea of dividing the circle into 360 parts, or degrees. He carried out a further theoretic division of the habitable World into "climata," or zones, by lines parallel to the Equator, for each of which he indicated the length of the longest day. He admitted the existence of Thule, where the solstitial day was twenty-four hours long. As an Astronomer, he knew, that this would really occur in the Arctic Circle, and consequently more readily admitted the statements, that it had been actually observed, which, if the identification of Thule with the Shetlands be correct, was an error. He refused to admit, that the habitable World was surrounded on all sides by sea, grounding his dissent on some scientific view regarding the tides: he clung to the old error of supposing that the Ister had a second arm flowing into the Adriatic, and, in spite of his great learning, he went back to the old-World view of the accuracy of the Homeric Geography. It seems strange to contrast such ignorance of the nearer horizons with the knowledge of the further acquired by this great Astronomer, who discovered the procession of the equinoxes, calculated eclipses, determined the revolutions and mean motions of the planets, and prepared a catalogue of the fixed stars.

In the mean time the conquests of the Romans had opened the way to a more complete knowledge of Europe, and in the pages of the historian Polybius, which have come down to us, we read the results. He had peculiar opportunities of information, for, a Greek by birth, he had been sent to Rome as a hostage after the second Macedonian war, and attached himself to the person of Scipio Africanus, the younger, and was present at the destruction of Carthage. He states, that he made long journeys through Gaul, Spain, and Africa, with the object of ascertaining their Geographical position. His narrative ends with the taking of Corinth B.C. 167, but, as the author lived twenty years longer, the latest date of his Geographical information may be placed at 130 B.C. He had devoted one volume to Geography, but it is lost, and only known to us by citation in Strabo; however, in his History he clearly was fully alive to the importance of correct Geographical statements. From him we hear, for the first time, of the Pyrenees and the Alps: over the latter he describes the pass, traversed by Hannibal, and three other great passes. He had sound views with regard to the Adriatic, and describes the Egnatian Way, which connects that sea with the Ægean. He had visited Byzantium, and describes the advantages of the position of that city: he had good

information regarding the Euxine Sea, the Palus Mæotis and the so-called Kimmerian Bosphorus, which united them. He mentions incidentally the establishment of the Gauls, or Galatians, in Phrygia, which is an interesting Ethnological fact. In Africa, owing to the conquest of Carthage, and the alliance with Massinissa, king of Numidia, his knowledge had been greatly enlarged. Pliny mentions, that he made an exploration beyond the Pillars of Hercules down the West coast of Africa, but this part of his narrative has perished, and Pliny's allusion to it is very indistinct.

While the progress of Roman conquest was enlarging the knowledge of Europe, the knowledge of Eastern Asia was on the way to extinction by the rise of the Parthian Monarchy, which, by the occupation of Mesopotamia, placed an insuperable barrier to all further progress. The Greek settlements of Bactria and India were cut off for ever, and gradually succumbed to more powerful invaders. There may have been an intercourse across the Continent by caravans, but from this time forward India was a sealed book to Europe, except as far as scanty information reached by the way of the Red Sea. Strabo quotes from other Greek authors, such as Apollodorus, the Grammarian, who wrote a commentary on the catalogue of ships in the Iliad, and a Geographical treatise in Iambic verse, possibly to assist the memory in places of education. He mentions also Demetrius of Skepsis, who wrote a treatise in thirty books upon the catalogue of Trojan allies. He lived near the reputed site of Ilium, and was the first to doubt its identity with the Homeric city; and both he and Apollodorus mistrusted the Geography of Homer. To him succeeded Agatharchides, the author of several Geographical treatises, known to us only by their mention by the Patriarch Photius in his Myriabiblion. He was tutor to King Ptolemy Soter II., about 120 B.C., and had every opportunity of informing himself with regard to the Red Sea, and fortunately Photius has made an abstract of both these books. His notices of the Ethiopian tribes in the interior of Africa are quoted by all subsequent authors. To him succeeded Artemidorus, who lives in the quotations of Strabo. He appears to have been highly esteemed, to have systematized existing knowledge, and to have been accurate in details of distances and dimensions. Scymnus Chius, in the last century before our era, has the credit of having composed a little compendium of Geography in Iambic verse, which has come down to our time. It is only a long fragment of a much greater work, and it is stated, that it was composed in Iambics to help the memory. It is a worthless production, as the author consulted Authorities of all periods, and, instead of representing the Geographical knowledge of his own day, has left a jumble of confused statements. In addition to these mere compilers of the knowledge of others, to this period can be credited one voyage, made solely for purposes of exploration, the narrative of which is found in the frag-

ments of an author named Posidonius, quoted by Strabo. Eudoxus, a native of Asia Minor, happened to visit Egypt, and met an Indian captive, who had been wrecked in the Red Sea. Under the guidance of this man, Eudoxus made two voyages to India, and brought back a valuable cargo. He also penetrated to a certain point down the East coast of Africa, but no particulars are given. He also made a voyage down the West coast, but the narrative of Posidonius breaks off abruptly. The only fact recorded by him is, that the languages spoken by the Ethiopians visited by him, both of whom were certainly North of the Equator, were the same: this fact can be admitted to a certain extent as true South of the Equator, but, unless there is a great displacement of races, not of the North. The inference formed by both Eudoxus and Posidonius was, that Africa could be circumnavigated. The evidence hardly supported this sanguine statement, but we see how clearly both the great discoveries of later years, the circumnavigation of Africa, and the globe, were distinctly anticipated by writers before the Christian era.

Geographical discovery still followed, as the handmaid of the Roman conquest. Sallust's account of the war with Jugurtha supplies us with a certain amount of information regarding Africa. At this time we hear, in Plutarch's life of Sertorius, of the Atlantic Islands, known fancifully in the poets, and the imaginations of the ancients, as the Islands of the Blest, or the Fortunate Islands, which can be identified with Madeira and the Canary Islands. The campaigns of Pompey and Lucullus in Spain and Asia Minor had opened out new routes and revealed the interiors of new countries. Lucullus led the Roman arms for the first time across the range of Mount Taurus, the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and reached the Eastern limits of the Empire. For many centuries Mesopotamia became the battle-field of the Romans and their neighbours, the Parthians and Persians, and Armenia was again opened out to the explorer. Judæa and Jerusalem were now occupied. All these wars were narrated by Posidonius, a philosopher of distinction, and a friend of Cicero and Pompey. All his works have perished, but he is the author, to whom Strabo most frequently refers, as his Authority on Geographical details. He made an independent attempt to determine the circumference of the earth on scientific grounds, based on the comparative altitude of the star Canopus at Alexandria and Rhodes; the conclusion he arrived at was not very wrong, but his data as to the Latitudes of the two places, and their distance from each other, were egregiously incorrect, though the errors corrected each other. Unfortunately he was led to correct one side of his calculation, and in consequence to reduce the circumference of the World to three-fourths of its actual dimension, and by a strange fatality this conclusion was accepted by all later Geographers, and even by the great Astronomer Ptolemy. It is curious to find Posidonius, like his predecessor Eratosthenes,

remarking, that any one setting out from the West with an East wind would sail to India. He was the first Greek writer, who had a clear idea of the tides, which he ascribes to the Moon; and from him we learn, that tin was brought across France from Britain to Marseilles.

The Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, like the Anabasis of Zenophon, is one of the books, which the World would not willingly have lost. It reveals to us Gaul, Britain, and a portion of Germany. A Roman army reached the Rhine, and crossed the Straits of Dover, and we hear for the first time of the River Thames. He ascertained the fact, that the nights in the later summer were shorter in Britain, the climate more temperate, and the cold in winter less severe, than in Gaul. He remarks the fact, that in his time the Germans were perpetually pressing upon the Gauls, and tending to establish themselves across the Rhine, contrary to what had been the tendency previously. In the Eastern campaign of Antony, we find the first notice of Palmyra. The Roman Empire was now completed under Augustus, and there was no escape for a Roman citizen beyond these limits. The mountaineers of the Alps had been gradually subdued. The Ister was the northern boundary, and Tomi, to which place Ovid was banished, was the outpost of civilization. Beyond were the Dacians, the Bastarnæ, and the Sarmatians, Nomads, and only half-civilized, and their Geographical limits imperfectly ascertained. The Rhine was the boundary of Gaul. No attempt was made to invade Britain. In Asia the Euphrates had become the boundary. The Emperor Augustus received an embassy from a King of India, about B.C. 20. It is mentioned by Strabo and Dion Cassius and other later writers. Two naked facts are recorded, that they brought with them a living tiger, the first seen at Rome, and that one of their number, Calanos from Barygaza, now Baróch, on the West coast, burnt himself alive at Athens upon some philosophic principle. Whether this embassy came by land through Parthia, or by sea, is disputed. Augustus in the Ancyrean Tablet mentions, that repeated missions had been sent to him from India; and Nicolaus of Damascus, whom Strabo quotes, states, that he had himself seen and conversed with the envoys. He was a contemporary of Strabo, and the fact of the embassy must have been notorious, and cannot be gainsaid. The Romans had heard about this time, in a vague manner, of China. Silk had found its way to Rome, and become an article of luxury. A line in Virgil's Georgics is the earliest allusion to the Seres, and it conveys a clear, though mistaken, allusion to silk, and the material of which it was composed. Whether this silk found its way by sea or by land, we cannot say. Until the time of Pliny it was believed, that the silk was stripped from the leaves of trees, and it looks, as if the country of Serendip and the cinnamon bark were indicated.

It is rather a surprise to find, that no Roman authors of note devoted themselves to Geography, or felt an interest in describing the Empire, which their arms had won. Cornelius Nepos and Sallust paid attention to the Geographical portion of their works, but made no extension to our knowledge. The most important contributor was Juba, the second of the two kings of Numidia, in North Africa. He had been brought up at Rome, and became the friend of Augustus, who restored to him his father's dominions. He availed himself of his great opportunities to write a description of Africa, which has unfortunately perished, but is frequently cited by Pliny, who clearly made more use of him than these citations. Of the interior he knew little or nothing, and a specimen of his knowledge is his wonderful theory of the source of the Nile in a mountain of Mauretánia, whence it flowed for many days underground. He had made diligent inquiries regarding the Fortunate Islands, and mentions among their names Canaria, which he fancifully derives from the abundance of dogs on it. It is remarkable that Strabo had never heard of Juba's treatises. Whether he wrote in Greek or Latin, is uncertain, probably the latter. As a fact rivers do flow underground in the Sahára.*

But the Romans constructed roads in every part of their dominions, put up milestones, and drew up itineraries, which must have been remarkable additions to Geographical knowledge. None of those constructed at this date have come down to us, but there is no doubt that they existed. M. Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, caused a Map of the whole World, as then known, to be set up in the portico of Octavia at Rome, with a detailed statement of the distances and the area. Pliny speaks of this in high terms of admiration. This was not the only instance of a map on the walls of a Temple; and we gather from a line of Propertius, that at schools maps were painted on boards, and that Geography was considered to be part of the education of Roman youths. Augustus ordered a census to be made of the population of the Empire, and this must have led to the accumulation of much statistical information. In this reign Ælius Gallus made his celebrated expedition into Arabia, which is recorded by Strabo. Petronius invaded Ethiopia, and defeated Queen Candace: this is also recorded by Strabo. Cornelius Balbus conducted an expedition into the interior of Africa against the Garamantes, and penetrated as far as the modern Ghadámis and Fezzan. Pliny gives a full account, but it is remarkable, that Strabo, though he alludes to the triumph of Balbus, has no detailed information. Dion Cassius is also silent; but Virgil, in his famous line in the sixth Æneid, has made the name of the Garamantes, a convenient word for his metre, famous to all time. Drusus, the step-son of

* See page 371.

Augustus, was the first, who conducted the Roman armies to the River Elbe: after his death his brother Tiberius advanced by land to the Elbe, while the fleet sailed round to the mouth, and ascended it: this was their first appearance in the Northern Sea, and Augustus alludes to it in his Ancyrean Tablet. It is not clear, whether the Kimbrian promontory, or Jutland, was then discovered. However, the defeat of Quintilius Varus, and the destruction of three legions somewhere in Hanover, changed the whole aspect of affairs, and was never retrieved. Though Germanicus, nephew of the Emperor Tiberius, earned a great reputation, and asserted, that he had subdued all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, as a fact, he himself never reached the Elbe.

Passing by Diodorus Siculus, who added nothing to Geography, we come to the great work of Strabo, which has survived to our time, and is the greatest work of antiquity, both in its conception and execution. It represents the high-level mark of Geographical knowledge at the time of the death of the Emperor Augustus, and the completion of his task of consolidating the Empire. Strabo was a Greek, of the town of Amasia, in Pontus in Asia Minor: he was probably educated at Alexandria or Rome: he visited Greece, Italy, and Egypt; he accompanied Ælius Gallus in a voyage up the Nile to Syéné and Philæ. On his return to his native city, he composed a great historical work, and, when that was completed, he commenced his Geographical treatise, which he describes as colossal. It was not actually completed till A.D. 19. His residence in so remote a city as Amasia in Pontus may account for contemporary works, such as that of Juba, having escaped his knowledge, and will also explain the comparative neglect, with which his work was received, as it is not even alluded to by Pliny, who lived half a century later. We may indeed be thankful, that it has come down to us, as it is one of the most important works, produced by any Greek or Roman writer. It was the first attempt at a general treatise on Geography, as he conceived the idea of mathematical, physical, political, and historical subdivisions of the subject. It is a remarkable phenomenon, that Strabo accepted as truth all the legendary Homeric Geography, and treated the works of Herodotus with contempt. When he differed from Eratosthenes, he was generally wrong: he was too hasty in rejecting Pytheas. Singularly enough, he had very sound geological views, and his philosophical mind suggested the obvious consideration, that, as the known World occupied only one-third of the circumference of the globe, there might be in that space two or more habitable Worlds, with the inhabitants of whom, being of a different race, the Geographer had no concern. Seneca, in his famous passage in the Medea, must have caught up the echo of some such suggestion as this. He still believes the Caspian Sea to communicate with the Northern Ocean. His knowledge of Britain was only that

supplied by Julius Cæsar: he mentions Ierne, but totally discredits Thule, and other islands round Britain. From some of his descriptions it is clear, that he wrote with a map before him, and with regard to Vesuvius he makes the sagacious observation, that it had the appearance of having once been a volcano; he did not suspect how very soon afterwards it would re-establish its credit. As to his knowledge of Nearer India, it had not progressed beyond that possessed by Eratosthenes. Of Further India and the Indian Archipelago he had heard absolutely nothing, and his allusion to the Seres is such as clearly shows, that he believed them to be an Indian tribe. Notwithstanding the great increase of the trade to India, which he admits, he knew nothing of the Indian Ocean, on either the African or the Arabian side. The Southern Horn, or Cape Guardafui, was still the limit of the known World, and of the outer coast of Arabia he knew nothing. He adds nothing to our knowledge of Africa, which, excluding Egypt, he stills calls Libya, the term Africa being restricted to the Province of Carthage, and used only by the Latin authors.

In the half century which intervened betwixt Strabo, the great Greek Geographer, and Pliny the Elder, the great Latin describer of Nature, which period includes the reign of the Roman Emperors from Augustus to Vespasian, the Empire had been enlarged. Claudius had invaded in person, and conquered, Britain. Tacitus mentions Londinium, as an emporium of trade, but still the legionaries had at first objected to embark on an enterprise, which would lead them beyond the limits of the known world. To the South a Roman General had forced his way over the ranges of Mount Atlas in Africa. In this period Hippalus, a Greek mariner, who had observed the regularity of the monsoons, was bold enough to make use of them, and steer a direct course to India from the coast of Arabia. This practice became completely established before the time of Pliny, and the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea. Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, almost the only *extant* Latin Geographer, lived in this period: his work is very compendious, but is quoted by Pliny, which indicates, that it was valued in his day. We find in him a new and remarkable conception. Starting upon the basis, that the habitable World was surrounded by the Ocean, he lays down as a fact the existence of another habitable World, or Antichthón, in the Southern Temperate Zone, but unknown and inaccessible, and, strange to say, he seemed to indicate Taprobane, or Ceylon, as part of this new Continent. He is singularly deficient in critical judgment, as he quotes all the idle stories of early Geographers, which had long been abandoned by more sober authors.

Pliny the Elder was an Italian, a friend of Vespasian and Titus; he was in command of the fleet at Misenum A.D. 79, when the eruption of Vesuvius took place, and he lost his life in his anxiety

to examine too closely the surprising phenomena. He had all his life been accumulating vast materials for his History of Nature, and at a comparatively advanced age, after writing several other books, he devoted himself to this great work, which has survived to our time. It is a vast compilation, but devoid of critical judgment, or philosophical arrangement. There is a total absence of a scientific comprehension of the great subject. The Latin mind was essentially inferior to the Greek in this particular. Pliny gives dry catalogues of the names of cities and physical features: the subject, which had almost risen to the rank of a romance in the skilful treatment of the Greek, shrunk into the narrow, though perhaps more correct, shape of a Dictionary in the hands of the Romans. He clearly had a map before him, and follows the outline, and makes no attempt to assign Latitudes or Longitudes. Still the extent of information supplied by him far exceeds that of his predecessors. The system of Roman Administration had furnished statistical details. He knew better than to suppose, that a branch of the Ister could flow into the Adriatic, but he still upholds the old fable of the Rhipean Mountains and the Hyperboreans North of the Palus Mœotis. The fleet of Augustus had penetrated beyond the Kimbrian promontory, or Jutland, into the Baltic, but his knowledge ceased there, and he was so entirely devoid of critical judgment, that he quotes the names of tribes, mentioned centuries before by Herodotus, and long before totally ignored by the more cautious Grecian Geographers. He had a dim vision of a great island to the North, of unknown extent, and said to form another quarter of the World, called Scandinavia, and this is the first mention of that great name. We read in his pages for the first time of Albion and Hibernia, the Silures and the islands of the Orcades, the Hebrides, Mona and Vectis, unquestionably the Isle of Wight. Strange to say, though he had filled the office of Procurator of Spain, he still connects the Cassiterides, abounding with tin, with that country, and not with England. Palmyra had risen to importance in his time. Judæa had been conquered: the mystery of the Caucasian Range had been solved, for he mentions the pass of Dariel, the Caucasian gates: he still adhered to the error, that the Caspian Sea was an inlet of the great Northern Ocean, though he had found out about the route taken by the overland trade from India to the Caspian. His knowledge of India had certainly advanced, and he mentions the chief confluents of the River Ganges, and we can recognize the Jamna, the Kein, the Chambal, the Kosi, and the Són, or Hiranyabáhu, which are mentioned as two separate streams. We hear from him of the new, but established, sea-route across the Indian Ocean from Cape Fartak on the coast of Arabia to the coast of India, which he gives with correctness, as it is confirmed by the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, which will be noticed further on. The knowledge of Taprobáne, or Ceylon, had been remarkably increased by the circumstance of a

ship having been carried away, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, from the coast of Arabia by North winds, and driven to a port in the Island of Ceylon, where the king showed hospitality to the strangers, and sent four envoys in return to Rome, from whom Pliny professes to have obtained his knowledge, which, however, is both erroneous and unintelligible. Perhaps his means of oral interchange of ideas with the Sinhalese Envoy was as imperfect as that of Geographers of the present age with the Envoys of King Mtesa of U-Ganda from Victoria Nyanza. In Africa he mentions Adúlis in Ethiopia, famous for its Inscription, subsequently copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes; it was situated outside the limits of the Roman Empire at the time of its widest extent, and was rising in importance since the time of Strabo, who does not mention it. He had made no progress in the knowledge of the interior of Africa, and clung to the idea of the Southern Ocean being at a moderate distance from Meroe. This baseless theory compelled him to accept the still more strange notion of Juba, whom he quotes, that the stream of the River Niger, of which he had unquestionably obtained correct information, was the upper course of the River Nile, which flowed Eastward. He records the fact of the discovery of the Fortunate Islands, the Roman expedition across the Atlas, the exploration of Ethiopia, and the upper course of the River Nile, and the campaign against the Garamantes. His final conclusion is startling, that Europe is nearly as big again as Asia, and more than twice as large as Africa. It has already been remarked, that he never alludes to the existence of Strabo's great work, which was completed before he was born.

Very nearly contemporary with Pliny was the anonymous Treatise known as the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, which is a manual for the instruction of navigators in that sea, in the widest sense of the word, not only the Red Sea, but the coasts of Africa outside the Straits of Babelmandeb, as far as they were known, the coasts of Arabia and India, down to the extremity of the Malabar coast, with a few notices of the more distant parts of India and one of China. It is obvious, that the writer was a Greek merchant of Alexandria in Egypt, and his statements, intended solely for purposes of business, are among the most satisfactory and trustworthy, that have come down to us. His knowledge of the East African Coast had extended twelve hundred Geographical miles, and reached as far as the Island of Zanzibár. Beyond that nothing was known, but it was presumed, that the coast trended away to the West, in obedience to the theory, which had fixed itself in the minds of men, that Africa was circumnavigable; but it was a great advance to get South of the Equator. Of the trading ports on both sides of the Red Sea he had good accounts, but of the Persian Gulf he was ignorant. He traces the South Coast of Arabia, and, crossing the mouth of the Persian Gulf, he proceeds Eastward, till he comes to

a country, which he called Scythia, and the mouths of the River Indus. This mention of Scythia is a singular confirmation of the fact, established by other proofs, of the Greek dominion in Bactria having been overrun by Scythians, who had worked their way down the Valley of the Indus. He then proceeds Southwards to Barygaza, the great emporium of Western India, the modern Baróch.

He mentions that Greek drachma of the Kings of Bactria were still current in the market, which is a singular confirmation of facts otherwise discovered; in modern times hundreds of large gold coins, as fresh as if just from the mint, with the image of Nero, have been found lower down, near Cananore, and coins of Julius, Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar have been found much further inland. This indicates a Commerce in existence at the time of the Periplus. Imperfect as is the allusion to India, it is interesting to find the country now known as the Dakhan, called Dakhinabádes, which is very nearly the correct name in Sanskrit. When the author describes the West coast of India, he mentions a place called Komár, or Komári, which we unhesitatingly recognize as Cape Kómorin, the Southern promontory of India. Now the derivation of this word is unquestionably Kumári, the Virgin, from a Temple dedicated to the Goddess Dúrga: thus we have an important epoch fixed, that at a period anterior to the date of the Periplus, and long enough to fix a notorious name on a headland, the Arian race had penetrated to the most Southern point of India, carrying with them the Brahminical religion and Sanskrit language. The author of the Periplus undertakes to trace the coast onward to the River Ganges, and, though he alludes to pearls, pepper, and tortoise-shell, and Taprobáne with the name of Palæsimundus, yet clearly he writes no longer from proper knowledge, but mere hearsay. Here we see the first glimmering of the idea of a country more Eastern than the Ganges, described as the Island of Chryse, which later on developed itself into the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy, identified with the Peninsula of Indo-China or Further India: he alludes to the export of muslin fabrics.

We hear dimly of a country called Thina, lying up to the North, where the sea-coast ends, from which was exported silk, both raw and spun, and woven: these were carried overland through Bactria, and down the Ganges to the West coast of India. Here we can trace the two different routes, by which exports were made from China to India, for we have reached the real China at last. As stated above, it looks very much, as if the term Seres was connected with Serendip, or Ceylon. In both the above routes the exports from China to India were by land, and no idea of a sea-route is indicated: one of these land-routes from China to Bactria would be the well-known route over the Pamir, the other *vid* Tibet, over the ranges of the Himálaya into the basin of the Ganges, which still exists, though obstructed by the policy of Tibetan exclusive-

ness. The author evidently is in a mist as to the exact position of China, but to our present knowledge his statements are quite reconcileable. We have to thank him for a thoroughly honest, and most remarkable book.

Dionysius Periegétes has left a poem in 1200 Hexameter lines, giving a succinct account of the World, and all the particulars, which a man of education, not a traveller, should know. This poem represents the knowledge of the cultivated class at a period, which from intrinsic evidence is fixed at the reign of Domitian. He evidently was deficient in the historic sense, for he places the same value upon the conquests in the East of Bacchus, as of Alexander. He attaches importance to the Indian Promontory, as the extreme Eastern limit of the World, and tells us, that Bacchus put up columns, where the Ganges pours its white waters to the Nysæan shore, just as Hercules put up columns at the extreme limit of the West. He alludes to the Seres, as a Scythian tribe, evidently confusing the transmitter of the silk with the original unknown producer. He still gave credence to the notion, that the Caspian Sea was but a Gulf of the Northern Ocean. He mentions the Aláni, who were on their march Westwards to work the downfall of Rome, and in this poem we hear for the first time the terrible name of the Hun, on the East side of the Caspian. He notices Chryse, the golden isle at the rising of the sun, and Taprobáne, the Mother of elephants. During the decline of the Roman Empire this little Greek poem became very popular, was twice translated into Latin verse, paraphrased, commentated upon by Eustathius, who commentated upon Homer in the twelfth century of our era. When letters were revived in Europe, it was used as a manual, and was actually studied at Oxford down to a recent period. And yet the idea presented of the World by the poet is as hazy, as that which could be extracted from a London lady, or a Dorsetshire clown, at the present day, and the map of the World, formed upon the data supplied by the Text, when it is remembered, that this must have been the prevailing notion from the time of Vespasian to the time of Vasco di Gama, is lamentable to look upon.

Tacitus, the Historian, was son-in-law of Agricola, who circumnavigated Scotland and proved that Britain was an Island. In his life of Agricola, and his Germania, he fills in details of the Geographical picture, without adding to the breadth of knowledge. He had heard of vast islands in the Northern Sea, among which he locates the Suiones, or Swedes. Beyond them was a sluggish sea, and the light of the setting sun was prolonged, till it mingled with that of sunrise. No doubt his contemporaries believed the former, and doubted the latter of these phenomena.

The Emperor Trajan extended the limits of the Empire beyond the Danube, and left upon the Iron Gates his Inscription to record

this fact, and the language of Romania remains as nearly the only record of the Roman Colony: the bridge over the Danube has been swept away. In Trajan's time, about 107 A.D., according to Dio Cassius, an embassy from India came to Rome. His conquests in Mesopotamia enlarged the Geographical knowledge of that country and Armenia. His successor, Hadrian, spent many years in a grand tour over his dominions. One little work of that period has survived, being the Periplus of the Euxine Sea by Arrian, who was himself Governor of Cappadocia and Pontus, which has the united merit of an Official report and a Geographical treatise, written by a competent man from his own proper knowledge. He mentions having a full view of Mount Caucasus from his ship, and some audacious antiquary pointed out to him the rock, to which Prometheus was attached! In my travels I have often listened to indications, equally mendacious, though made in good faith by an over-credulous narrator. In the long, peaceful reigns of the Antonines, no doubt, commercial intercourse extended, of which we have two evidences. Aurelian Victor alludes to an embassy from the Indians and Bactrians, and the Annals of the Chinese Empire have revealed the fact, that in A.D. 166, an Ambassador from Antun, King of Tathsin, the name, by which the Roman Empire had long been known to the Chinese, reached the Court of the Chinese Emperor.

During this period lived, and wrote, a Geographer of eminence, who has been hardly dealt with by time, and whom we know only by quotations: his name was Marinus, and he was a native of Tyre. He had profited by the long peace of the Roman Empire, and the wide spread of knowledge, and his advance beyond the level of the Geography of Pliny is very considerable. The great Geographer Ptolemy lived at nearly the same period, and must have been largely indebted to his predecessor, but we cannot specify the extent of the debt. He was a man of great diligence and sound critical acumen. He mentions, that a Roman expedition succeeded in crossing the Sahára, and reached the Sudán, or Negro-land, but the exact point is uncertain. He had received remarkable information of the caravan-route over the Pamír to the silk-producing countries; he had realized the existence of a Further India, or the Golden Chersonese, and a considerable Eastern extension beyond that: he had also ascertained that the Eastern Coast of Africa extended South of the Equator, and that apparently the coast-line beyond that had no limit: to the North he admitted the existence of Thule, and the fact of its being within the Arctic Zone. All these considerations forced upon him the necessity of giving the habitable World a length and a breadth far exceeding the moderate views of Eratosthenes; but the undoubted truth of the facts, that urged him to this conclusion, was so shrouded by the exaggerations and inaccuracies of his calculations of the Latitude and Longitude, that he

fell into stupendous errors, which were only partly corrected by his successor, Ptolemy, and which were destined, centuries later, to have such a deep influence on the extension of Geographical knowledge to the West. Ptolemy nobly admits, that he made the work of his predecessors the basis of his own; had he not done so, no one would have heard of the great learning and intelligence of Marinus of Tyre.

With Claudius Ptolemy, a native of Egypt, who lived at Alexandria in the middle of the second century of the Christian era, the Geographical knowledge of the Ancients reached its highest level. It is difficult to say, whether he was more renowned as a Geographer or as an Astronomer. He undertook to reform the map of the World, and not, like Strabo, to give a physical description of the World; he wished to construct that map on sound scientific or astronomical principles. Unfortunately the number of astronomical observations was too small for the purpose, and he had to supplement the deficiency by calculations based upon itineraries; he fell into the snare of clothing the result of such unscientific material in a scientific form, giving the Latitude and Longitude of every place, though they had not been determined by observations, and this fact must be borne in mind, when too much stress is laid upon the authority of his maps. A modern Geographer takes care to indicate the process, by which he arrives at conclusions, whether by scientific observations, or mere calculations. Ptolemy did not take this precaution: his scientific garb is merely a specious disguise of arbitrary conclusions drawn from uncertain data. Six books out of the eight consist entirely of tables of Latitudes and Longitudes of places for the purpose of enabling any reader to construct a map. His work assumed the form, but the form only, of tables of scientific observations. The measurement of Longitude by time was beyond the power of his contemporaries. His method of preparing his maps was, however, far in advance of his predecessors.

When we consider the extent of Geographical knowledge evidenced in his work, we have to recollect the long peaceful years of Administration of the Roman Provinces, which had passed since the time of Pliny the Elder, some particulars of which have been already alluded to. His conceptions with regard to Europe were in the main correct, though deformed by strange and inexplicable blunders: he falls into error with regard to the great rivers flowing into the Euxine, though he is the first correctly to indicate the Volga. He cleaves to the old error with regard to the Rhipean mountains, but he knew, that the Caspian was an inland sea, thus shaking off the error of centuries. The Jaxartes, according to him, flowed into the Caspian, as well as the Oxus. He had clearer views of the vast extent of Scythia, or Russia in Asia, and some dim idea of the land of the Seres, the emporium of the silk trade; beyond Scythia, and South of the Seres was the land of the Sinæ or Thinæ,

the capital of which was Cattigara, and mariners had attained this country by a sea-route. He strangely misconceived the shape of the Peninsula of India, and the size of Ceylon. Beyond the Golden Chersonese he, by a strange error, makes the coast trend to the South, and prolongs it indefinitely, as the Southern boundary of the Indian Ocean, till it joins the Continent of Africa, South of the Equator. The Indian Ocean thus becomes an internal sea, like the Mediterranean, but with no outlet. It is clear, that some account had reached him of the long Peninsula of Malacca, and the still longer chain of islands of the Indian Archipelago, trending to the South, and believed to be continuous land, and fancy had supplied the rest, as a further expansion of the idea of an Antichthón, started by Pomponius Mela.

With regard to Africa a value has been assigned to the statements of Ptolemy far beyond their real deserts. Starting from Egypt, he traces the Nile back to the island, or rather peninsula, of Meroe, formed by the junction of two rivers. Beyond that navigation was impeded then, as now, by the vegetation. But Ptolemy had heard from traders, probably by way of Abyssinia, of a lake, from which the Blue Nile had its source, though he still deemed the White Nile to be the main stream. From Rhapta on the East coast of Africa, near Zanzibár, he had picked up information of two Equatorial lakes, giving birth to two branches of the headwaters of the Nile, and had depicted it in his map. In these last days two such lakes have been discovered, and the Nile may be said to have its source in one, and pass through the other. He had also heard of a range of mountains so lofty, that they were covered with snow, which he called the Mountains of the Moon. In these last days two snow-covered mountains to the East of the Nile basin have been discovered. As regards both lakes and mountains, there has been a wonderful confirmation of the truth of the reports, collected by the Geographer, but in neither case had they been correctly entered on the map, nor any pretence made of a scientific delineation. Ptolemy assumed incorrectly, that the lakes were fed by the snow of the mountains, and correctly, that the river was fed by the lakes. In neither case had he any accurate means of information.

So also he names the Gir, and the Nigír, as rivers of the interior, but his statement is far from clear. A false etymology has given rise to the idea that the river of Timbaktú, known as the Joliba, and Quarra, must necessarily be the so-called Niger, or Black River, because the inhabitants are black. The name has now become inseparably connected with that river, but it is doubtful, whether the Gir and Nigír of Ptolemy were not quite distinct from the river of Timbaktú, and North of the Sahára. Any argument, based upon the Latitudes and Longitudes assigned by Ptolemy, falls to the ground after a consideration of the method adopted by him of

assigning them to places, of which he had absolutely no scientific information. He appears not to have been aware of the existence of the Sahára betwixt Getúlia and the Sudán. His information with regard to the West coast of Africa is equally unsatisfactory, and cannot be reconciled with existing Geographical features. We are left in total uncertainty.

On the whole, Ptolemy's high character as an Astronomer, and the speciously scientific mode of marshalling his facts, has led many, up to a late date, to place a much higher value on his statements, than can be warranted by the imperfection of his materials. The plan, which he had proposed to himself, was a noble one, but it was one, which could be realized only in days like our own, when there is an abundance of opportunity of correcting estimates of distance by actual observations. It is a singular fact, that the exaggerated prolongation, which he made of the Continent of Asia towards the East, had necessarily the effect of greatly reducing the interval of unknown space lying between Eastern Asia and Western Europe; and this error was the parent of Columbus' enterprise to find his way Westward to India, and led to the discovery of America.

If Ptolemy's Treatise superseded all previous works, it had also no successor. The age of Roman literature, Greek or Latin, was passing away, and there is little further of the nature of discovery to record. At this period Clement of Alexandria wrote about the Gymnosophists, and alludes to Buddha by name, thus implying a knowledge of the religion of India. Dio Cassius, a contemporary author, records the invasion of Britain by the Emperor Septimius Severus. On the Eastern frontier the Parthian gave way to the Persian dynasty, leading to renewed hostilities, and the shortlived splendour of Palmyra succeeded. In the time of the Emperor Julian we hear of another embassy from the Divi and Serendivi, probably the Maldives and Ceylon.

The writers, whose works have survived to us, are not of great Geographical importance; they are Pausanias, whose object was Archæological; Marcianus, who wrote the Periplus of the Outer Sea, and an anonymous fragment of the Stadiasmus of the Inner Sea, which is an original and valuable work. To these must be added the great Geographical Dictionary of Stephanus of Byzantium, compiled about the sixth century, of which only an epitome has survived. Among the Roman writers we may notice Philostratus, author of the life of Apollonius of Tyana, whose date is fixed after the death of the Empress Julia Domina: whatever truth there may be in his romance of the visit of his hero to India, still we have the fact of a certain degree of knowledge, however vague, of India, which has to be taken into account. Solonius flourished in the third century, and first makes use of the term Mediterranean for the Inner Sea. Ammianus Marcellinus, who

chronicles the campaigns of Julia, alludes to the Huns and Saraceni, or men of the East. In the fifth century lived Orosius, whose work had the honour of being translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred. The famous itineraries of Antonine and others are contributions to Geography. Last on our list comes Cosmas Indicopleustes, a merchant, who had travelled over a great part of the World, and wrote his Topographia Christiania about 535 A.D. He had all manner of queer notions, one of which was that the World was not a sphere, but a solid plane. He first mentioned the Sinaitic Inscriptions, and copied the Inscription of Adúlis in Abyssinia, which has since perished. He speaks with distinctness of China at the end of the World, but still visited by merchants. He still considered the Caspian Sea as a Gulf of the Northern Sea.

It may be fairly assumed from the Histories of all nations, that, when any country is described as excelling in marvellous beauty, or wealth, or surrounded with strange horror and awful physical phenomena, *it is unknown*. All the tracts visited are found to resemble each other very much in general features, and to be habitable by man; and the human race is found to have the same structural conformation. In a period, when the progress of knowledge is arrested, we find phenomena like loadstone-rocks, and men with heads under their shoulders in tracts, which were fully described previously. India fell back into darkness after the time of Alexander, just as Kashgaria has fallen back since its re-conquest by the Chinese. On the other hand, the Extreme Orient and Oceania with all their wonders have come into the clear light of day. We have had to give up with a sigh the Garden of Eden, and the cradle of the Human Race, as we can find no place for it. We know clearly what the author of the Acts of the Apostles meant by the Oikoumené, or habitable World of his time. We can appraise at their just value the boasts of Horace and Virgil, and other writers of the Augustan age, with regard to the Seres, the Garamantes, the Indi, the Scythes, and the dwellers on the Danube and the Euphrates. The Greeks threw the fascination of their genius round the tamest subjects. Homer's wanderings of Ulysses, Plato's Atlantis, Herodotus' wonderful stories, travellers' tales, told from mouth to mouth, and bold, but quite unsupported, theories of great Astronomers, choked the steady progress of knowledge, which can only be maintained by heaping facts upon facts. The Romans, like ourselves, were a more prosaic and matter-of-fact people: they drew up Itineraries and Provincial maps for the use of the General and the Administrator. So in India all the romance has died out before the inexorable requirements of the Collector of Revenue, and the Police-Officer. Great cities, which our forefathers spoke of with respect and half-knowledge, live only in the memories of Anglo-Indians, such as the writer of this

Essay, as halting-places of our Soldiers, or head-quarters of our Administrative Districts.

It is depressing to think, that we have no new World to conquer in the old heroic fashion. We should indeed like to see a new Alexander conduct an army to Lassa, break up the Tibetan exclusiveness, and come out in the Provinces of Kansuh, and Sechuen of North China. Central Africa, Borneo, and New Guinea have still to be traversed: the outline is drawn, but the details of the picture have to be filled up. We have no new Meridian line to draw like Eratosthenes, no new theory of a Great Circle with three hundred and sixty degrees to propound, like Hipparchus. We have no news to bring home like Pytheas and Hanno, which, after being disbelieved for centuries, will prove true, and no visions of countries beyond the Atlantic, the limit of the World, like Eratosthenes and Seneca. We sympathize with those early Geographers, those great hearts, and wonderful intelligences, with such limited means of locomotion and observation. How they must have yearned to know who the nations were, that were hidden from their sight! Who inhabited the Southern Tropics and beyond, from whom no message had ever come? What were the Antipodes, and the Antichthón? For they knew, from the conformation of the sphere, that there must be a space unoccupied or undiscovered.

> "Venient annis secula seris,
> Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet, et ingens pateat Tellus,
> Nec sit terris ultima Thule
> Seneca."

LONDON, 1882.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA.

THE Ancient Geographers believed, that there was a vast Continent to the South of the Indian Ocean, which they called Antichthón. Navigators had come upon Islands at such a long distance from each other in the Indian Archipelago, that it was believed, that there was one continuous land. The idea survived as far as 1568 A.D., for when Mendána, the Nephew of the Spanish Viceroy of Peru, discovered the Solomon Islands, he named them Tierra Australis, believing that he had found a new Continent. Subsequent discoveries have dissipated all such notions, but a new Region has been added to the descriptive category of the World, named "Oceania," and this is the subject which I purpose now to treat.

What are the limits of Oceania? It has sometimes been called Australasia, as being a Southern extension of Asia, and including the great Island-Continent of Australia; but, as it is an insular Region lying upon the waters of the Pacific, the name "Oceania" is more suitable. With certain exceptions, which will be named, it lies South of the Equator, and North of the Tropic of Capricorn. Estimated by the actual land-area, it is only a little larger than Europe: estimated by the surface of the face of the globe, over which the Islands are spread, the area occupied exceeds that of Asia, for it stretches from Australia on the West to Easter Island on the East, from the Sandwich Islands North of the Equator to the Southern point of New Zealand. Malaysia is excluded from this Region, as it is part of Asia, and has participated in the civilization of Asia. It may be said of Oceania in its entirety, that it has lain outside the influences of Asiatic Civilization and Religions, and Languages. It may be divided into four Sub-Regions: I. Polynesia. II. Melanesia. III. Mikronesia. IV. Australia.

The Sub-Region of Polynesia extends from Easter Island in the far East to the Tonga Group: from East Longitude 110° to East Longitude 175°, and from the Sandwich Islands, 25° degrees North of the Equator, to New Zealand, 45° South of the Equator. The chief Groups are the Society or Georgian, the Harvey or Cook, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, the Union, the Samoa, the Tonga, and New Zealand. The number of Islands is very great, and the beauty

LANGUAGE MAP OF
OCEANIA
PREPARED FOR
THE BRITISH & FOREIGN
BIBLE SOCIETY
by Dr R.N. Cust.
ASIA
CHINA
JAPAN
NORTH AMERICA
Vancouver I.
S. Francisco
TROPIC OF CANCER
Sandwich I.
Hawaii
Philippine
Borneo
Timor
MIKRONESIA
Ladrones or Marianne
Caroline I.
Marshall
Mille
Gilbert I.
EQUATOR
Galapagos I.
SOUTH AMERICA
Marquesas I.
Nukuhiva
POLYNESIA
Union I.
Tokelau
Navigators I.
Samoa
Fiji Arch.
Society I.
Tahiti
Low Archipelago
Tuamotu
Friendly I.
Tonga I.
Cook I.
Rarotonga
Cambier I.
Mangareva
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Austral I.
Rapa
Easter I.
Valparaiso
AUSTRALIA
Darling Downs
Bathurst
King Georges Sound
Port Lincoln
Adelaide
Melbourne
Tasmania
Maori
NEW ZEALAND
Chatham I.
Scale of Miles
E. Gr. 180 W. Gr.
Stanford's Geographical Estab.

of the scenery, and the fertility of the soil, are notorious. Their existence may be said to have been certified by Tasman in 1645, and by Bougainville in 1768, but they were first brought to public notice by Captain Cook in his first celebrated voyage, when he visited Tahíti for the purpose of making Astronomical observations, and in his last voyage he discovered the Sandwich Islands or Hawaii, and there he perished.

Since then they have been repeatedly visited. New Zealand is British. The French Government laid their cold hand upon the Society, Paumatu and Marquesas Groups. The Sandwich Islands are under the joint Protectorate of Great Britain and the United States. The Samoa Group maintains a precarious independence under the joint Protectorate of Great Britain, the United States, and Germany. The other Groups are for the present independent; but in these days of shameless annexation it is impossible to say how long this may last. Neither Austria, Italy, nor Russia, have taken up Annexation thoroughly as yet. One thing is certain, that all over this Region, in consequence of the European civilization, intoxicating drinks, and loathsome diseases left by the sailors, the population is wasting away, and will soon be entirely extinct. The Mountains and Valleys alone will remain in the grasp of the European Invader and Plunderer.

One important influence has been at work from the commencement: large portions of the population may be said to be nominal Christians, and have certainly abandoned the old bad habits of their ancestors. The Marquesas and Paumatu Group are mainly Roman Catholics: the little islands of Wallis Island, alias Uvea, and Horne Island, alias Futuna, are entirely so: all the others are Protestants, being brought over by the teaching of the Church Missionary, the London Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. No more fascinating page can be found in the History of Protestant Missions. It was no easy achievement, but the extraordinary feature is that, as each Island was converted, Native Teachers were found ready to step forward, and go among their Heathen-neighbours: thus gradually Island after Island was won to Christ, but in each is the Martyr Tomb of the first Christian, who was often killed, generally maltreated, and sometimes devoured with his wife and children. Nor were the labours of these devoted Polynesians confined to their own race, and language; but they have been found ready to this day to go forward to Melanesia, among the black races of the Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and finally New Guinea, where at this very moment they are gallantly risking life, and giving up the ordinary comforts of life. It is a most remarkable phenomenon, and a wonderful testimony to the revivifying and strengthening power of the Religious Idea, conveyed to unsophisticated and virgin races.

It may be accepted as a fact, that the languages of all these

innumerable Islands of Polynesia are sister-languages, of one Family, and descended from one common Mother-Speech. In common parlance they are called dialects; but there are a certain number of distinct languages, mutually unintelligible, as the assertion, that the Islander of one Group can always readily make himself understood by the Natives of another, is not confirmed by experience, and the best proof is, that at great expenditure of labour and money the Bible has been translated and printed in the languages of Tahiti, Rarotonga, of the Harvey Islands, Marquesas, Samoa, Niue, or Savage Island, Tonga, Hawaii, and Maori of New Zealand. A comparison of these several Texts will convince any one of the distinctness of each form of speech: there are others also sinking in many cases to the rank of dialects of one or other of the above Islands. It has been a favourite theory of some, that the Polynesian Language-Family is akin to the Malâyan Family. A very great authority, Von Humboldt, on the information available to him in 1830, said so, and men bow to authority: we have much better means of inter-comparison now: it is admitted that a certain percentage of loan-words is found, but not exceeding four per cent., and mostly modern words; but the languages are radically distinct, both in structure and in word-store: there is no difficulty is bringing this to a test by a careful comparison of a Gospel in the two languages.

The leading features of the Polynesian Family of Languages are as follows. I. The Adjective follows the Substantive. II. Number is indicated by a change in the Article. III. The Possessive Pronoun precedes the Noun. IV. The Nominative follows the Verb. V. Time is indicated by a preceding Particle. VI. There is no Grammatical Gender. VII. The Passive Voice is formed by a Suffix. VIII. Intensity and Continuity of action is indicated by a Prefix and Reduplication. IX. Causation is effected by a Prefix. X. Reciprocity of action is indicated by a Prefix and Suffix, and often by a Reduplication of the word as well. XI. Words always end with a Vowel. The language is spoken with great grammatical accuracy: the word-store is sufficient for the expression of every idea: there is generally a ceremonious language for use among, and to, Chiefs: the component part of the name of a Chief is disused during his life, and sometimes after his death. A considerable literature has now sprung up in several of the languages, and excellent Dictionaries and Grammars are provided, and this is entirely the work of the Missionaries.

To what race of men do they belong? First let me describe their features: the same type, more or less modified, applies to the whole Region. They are bronze in colour, tall in stature, handsome and prepossessing, hospitable and gentle, with a certain knowledge of arts, excellent navigators, with abundance of oral legends and songs, but without any knowledge of the art of writing; licentious; in many

Islands cannibals; in all idolaters with occasional human sacrifices; cruel in their quarrels; wholesale killers of their offspring. With Christianity most of their evil habits, and some of the energy of their characters, and all their capacity for song, has disappeared.

A vast literature has come into existence as to the origin of the population of the whole of Oceania. Four distinct theories have been propounded. I. That a vast Continent once occupied the space, which has subsided, and the Islands are the summits of the highest Mountains. II. That the Eastern portion of the Region was colonized from South America. III. That the whole Region was colonized from Asia. IV. That New Zealand was the birthplace of an autochthonous race, the Maori, which spread over the Eastern Islands, and as far North as the Sandwich Islands. This, of course, leaves the origin of the Australians, Melanesians, and Mikronesians totally unexplained. The ingenious Frenchman, who starts the last theory within the last few years, has a peculiar contempt for those, who still, even in a faint-hearted way, adhere to the generally received notion of a common origin of the human race. As a fact, within the Region of Oceania are three distinctly marked separate races, the bronze, the black woolly-haired races which occupy Melanesia, and the black straight-haired of Australia. None of the last three theories cover the whole ground, and as to the Sunken Continent theory, it is merely pushing the problem back to a still more remote period, for, after we have grasped the physical idea of a Continent, we have still the question of the origin of the Race, which inhabited it, and how it came to be tripartite.

There have not been wanting those, who put forward the idea of an Arian origin to the Polynesian: the great Grammarian Bopp set the example, but was considered even by his most devoted admirers to have failed. Since then, some with less technical knowledge, and far less renown, have attempted to walk in the same hazardous path, but the conception of the Arian Maori, or of any Arian language in a state of agglutinative existence, has not found favourable acceptance.

I pass on to the Region of Melanesia: other names have been used by former writers, but Geographers at least are settling down to this terminology. The English Colony of Fiji is on the extreme East flank, and a necklace of Islands extends in a semi-circular sweep to the great Island of New Guinea, the whole of which is included, as well as some smaller Islands, which are with difficulty differentiated from the adjacent Islands of Malaysia in Asia. The Region extends from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Equator in Latitude, and from 170° to 130° Longitude East of Greenwich. Fortunately the Groups of Islands are well demarked, and we can proceed with absolute certainty geographically, and relative certainty linguistically, owing to the labours of several Missionary Societies. The inhabitants clearly belong to one race,

black in colour, woolly-haired, small in stature, fierce, and inhospitable, unskilled in Navigation, of a low type of Culture. Wonderful as was the phenomenon of the absolute unity of the languages of Polynesia, still more wonderful is the phenomenon of the multiplicity, and entire separateness, of the languages of Melanesia. Each Island has its own, and many Islands several. It is possible that the degree of distinctness may be exaggerated, and hereafter, when greater materials of comparison are available, certain affinities of structure may be discovered. A great deal has been done. Grammars, Dictionaries, Grammatical Notes, Vocabularies, Texts, have been published, but generally by men more apt to collect and record individual languages, than to systematize Groups. But in some Islands, notably New Caledonia, New Guinea, and the Bismark Archipelago, facts are required.

The circumstances of this Region are so peculiar, that I think it worth while to give the component Groups in detail.

I. The Fiji Group, consisting of the numerous Islands of the Fiji Archipelago, and the Island of Rotuma: the languages of the two are entirely distinct, and have both been well studied. Of the Fiji there are numerous dialects.

II. The Loyalty Islands, consisting of three small Islands, Mare alias Nengóne, Lifu, Uvea. The languages of these three are so distinct, that the Missionaries, though belonging to the same Society, have found it necessary to prepare three distinct Translations of the Bible, and moreover in Uvea, in addition to the Melanesian aboriginals, there is a flourishing Colony of Polynesian immigrants from the Island of the same name in Polynesia, who have conserved their own language.

III. The New Caledonia Group includes that large Island, and the tiny Isle of Pines. Up to this moment I have failed in obtaining an exhaustive statement of the names of the languages of the greater Island, but there appear to be at least seven varieties, for no Grammatical Notes, but only scanty Vocabularies, or brief allusions, are forthcoming. I have written to a learned Roman Catholic Priest at Noumea, praying for fuller details.

IV. The important Group of the New Hebrides comes next, with its sixteen languages, as recorded up to this time, and a much larger number of Islands. Some Islands are entirely occupied by Polynesian immigrants, and their language is Polynesian, not Melanesian, and are not included.

1. Aneityum.
2. Tanna.
3. Erromanga.
4. Fate or Sandwich Island.
5. Nguna or Montague Island.
6. Mai or Three Hills Island.
7. Tongoa.
8, 9. Api I. Tasiko, Lemororo.
10. Pama.
11. Ambrym.
12. Mallicollo.
13. Whitsuntide or Pentecost.
14. Espirito Santo (2 dialects).
15. Leper's Island.
16. Aurora (Maiwo).

Of many of these languages we have Grammars, Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammatical Notes, and Texts. The necessity of preparing distinct Translations of the Bible proves the entire distinctness of the speech of Islanders often living in sight of the homes of each other, but holding little or no intercourse.

V. The Banks Island Group supplies the names, but little more than the names, of nine languages.

1. Merlav or Star Island.
2, 3. Santa Maria. Gog, Laku.
4. Vanna Lava or Great Banks Island. (11 dialects).
5. Mota or Sugar Loaf Island.
6, 7. Motlav or Saddle Island. (2 languages).
8. Rowa.
9. Norbarbar or Bligh Island.

Mota is a notable exception, for the mere chance of a Missionary Training School having been opened on the Sugarloaf Island has made its language, the Mota, the lingua franca of the Region; as the boys, who are trained, in addition to the separate language of their own homes, learn the common vehicle of instruction and social intercourse. In this language we have ample Grammatical supplies.

VI. The three small Groups of Torres Island, Santa Cruz and Swallow Islands supply four languages very imperfectly known, the Lo of the first Group, two languages of the second Group, and one of the third Group.

VII. In the important Group of the Solomon Islands I find ten languages.

1. San Christobal (2 dialects).
2. Uláwa.
3. Malanta (4 dialects).
4. Guadalcanar (3 dialects).
5. Florida.
6. Savo.
7, 8. Ysabel. Bugotu, Gao.
9. New Georgia.
10. Eddystone Island.

Of some of these we have only a shadowy knowledge; of others we have Texts, Vocabularies, and Grammatical Notes, and our knowledge is increasing yearly.

VIII. The Group of the so-called Bismark Archipelago is composed of the Islands of New Britain, the Duke of York's Island, New Hannover, New Ireland and Admiralty Island. Of the two former we have Translations of portions of the Bible, of the three latter only scanty Vocabularies.

IX. The Louisiade Archipelago is represented by a Vocabulary of one language.

X. The Group of New Guinea and its Islands. This is a comparatively speaking Terra Incognita: it is only within the last ten years, that any thorough exploration has been attempted. About sixty-five languages are recorded, but of these only five are

represented by solid information. Mafúr in Gelvinck Bay in the Dutch territory, Motu and South Cape on the South Coast in the British territory, and the languages of Murray Island and Saibai Island. The others are represented by Vocabularies collected by unscientific travellers, or by notions founded on hazardous reports. The cloud is lifting up, especially in the British portion, although some notable progress has been made in the German and Dutch portions also. We find the languages on the Coast looking to Malaysia affected by Malay influences, and on the Coast looking to Polynesia Polynesian affinities are traced distinctly. There is a field for endless discussion, and great difference of opinion, and the data are very insufficient. The opinions of a great German writer, Dr. Frederick Müller, are contested by a great Dutch scholar, Prof. Kern, and the theories propounded by Dr. Codrington, who, of all Englishmen, is best acquainted with the subject, are controverted by Prof. Georg Von der Gabelentz, who has inherited from his Father, the illustrious Scholar, and acquired by his own labours, a high position among the Linguistic Scholars of Europe.

In New Guinea there are unquestionably two races, a black and a brown. Some would maintain, that a third race once existed, leaving some slight survivals still. These races have intermarried, and formed numberless varieties. The two races meet about the line of Cape Possession on the South Coast, but nothing whatever is known of the interior of the Island: no one has ever yet crossed it from sea to sea, though attempts have been made in vain.

Thus ends the detail of the Melanesian languages: it is admitted, that after making allowances for their differences, they are homogeneous, and belong to the common stock of Oceania: that they have borrowed much, but that the loans have been made from a kindred, and not an alien, stock. The pure original essence of these languages has not been poisoned by any really foreign admixture, which cannot at once be traced to its source, and removed like a stain from a garment.

The characteristic of Melanesian languages is, that they use Consonants much more freely than Polynesian, and have some sounds not found in the latter, and are difficult to transliterate. Many Syllables are closed. There is no difference between the definite and indefinite Article, except in Fiji. Nouns are divided into two classes, with or without a pronominal Suffix, and the principle of division is the nearer or more remote connections between the possessor and possessed, e.g. the parts of a man's body would take the Suffix, but an article possessed for mere use would not do so. Gender is only sexual. Many Nouns indiscriminately represent Noun, Adjective or Verb without change, but sometimes a Noun is indicated by a Prefix without any other change. Case is indicated by Particles prefixed. Adjectives follow Substantives. Pronouns are numerous, and the Personal Pronouns have four Numbers,

Singular, Dual, Trinal, and Plural, also Exclusive and Inclusive. Almost any word may be used as a Verb by adding a Particle. The common characteristic of all is to mark Tense and Mood, and in some languages Person and Number, by Particles prefixed. These Particles vary in the different languages; they have Causative, Intensive, Frequentative, and Reciprocal forms. We hear of no legends; the people are cruel, Cannibals, and revengeful, but they have been cruelly used by Europeans and Americans.

I have already noted, that within the Geographical area of Melanesia are several Polynesian settlements; how they got there can only be imagined: a storm, or a tribal feud, may have been the cause, and in two cases, Uvea of the Loyalty Islands, and Futuna of the New Hebrides, the name and the language indicate the Islands, whence the immigrants came, Uvea or Wallis Island, and Futuna or Horne Island to the West of the Navigators' Islands. But in the New Hebrides, the Islands of Aniwa, and a portion of Mai, the little Islands of Mel and Fil, and in the more Northerly Group, Duff Island, Swallow Island, Tucopia Island, Cherry Island, Reynell and Bellona Island, Ontong Java Island, and Leneneowa, are occupied by inhabitants, whose speech betrays their origin. The Polynesian blood is sometimes quite pure: sometimes the brown Polynesian Mother, taken captive by the Black Savage, has produced a mixed race. Sometimes the brown colour has given way entirely, and the Polynesian language is spoken by an entirely black Melanesian.

I now approach the third Region, Mikronesia: it extends over a large area from 130° to 180° East Longitude, and 20° North Latitude to the Equator, but it embraces Groups of very unimportant and small Islands. Singularly enough, they are exceedingly populous, and have escaped up to this time the curses of Civilization, Slavery, Man-stealing, Liquor-shops, and Infectious diseases. The people are gentle and sociable, and have never practised Cannibalism, or Human Sacrifice. Only fourteen languages are recorded: of these five are represented by Translations of the Bible, the remainder by Vocabularies; none by Grammars. Proceeding Eastward from the confines of Malaysia, we reach Tobi, or Lord North's Island, and further on Pellew Islands, to which Prince Le Boo of last century has given a notoriety: and thence the Ladrones or Marianne Group, of which there is reason to believe, that all the native languages have perished, and that one of the languages of the Philippine Islands is now current. We have Vocabularies collected by Travellers, or shipwrecked sailors. In the more important Group of the Caroline Islands we have information of six languages, four of which are represented by Vocabularies, Yap, Mackenzie alias Uluthi, Uatan, and Satawal, and two by Texts, the Ponape and Kusai: we know nothing of their relation to each other. Passing Eastward we reach the Mortlock Islands, the language of which is represented by a Text, and further on the

Marshall Islands, known as the Ralakh, and Radakh Islands, of which one language, the Mille, is represented by a Vocabulary, and a second, the Ebon, by a Text. Proceeding Southward we reach the Group of the Kingsmill, or Gilbert Islands: one language without special name is represented by a Text: a language named Tarawa has been recorded, and has a Vocabulary, but possibly it is identical: one Island of the Union Group has been colonized by Mikronesians. This completes our knowledge of the Region.

The characteristics of these languages are nearly the same as those of the Polynesian Family: close Syllables are common, and occasionally double Consonants are used with a slight breathing between them: the accent generally falls upon the penultimate. In some of the languages there is no Article, and, when it exists, it is placed after the Noun. Gender is sexual only. The Number is left to be inferred from the context, or is expressed by a pronominal word, or a Numeral. Case is marked by position, or a Postposition. In Ebon one class of Nouns takes a pronominal Suffix, which gives the appearance of Inflexion. This class has the sense of close relationship. Words can be used as Nouns, Adjectives, or Verbs, without change of form. In some languages the Personal Pronoun can be singular, dual, or plural. In others there are special dual forms. In the Ebon there are special Inclusive and Exclusive forms of the Personal Pronoun. Verbs have no Inflexion to express Mood, Voice, or Tense, but use Particles. In Ebon, however, the Tenses are distinctly marked. There are Causative, Intensive, and Reciprocal, forms of the Verb. Words of ceremony are used in some of the languages, and there are special words for religious functions. The Syllables, which occur in the names of Chiefs, are disused.

The fourth Region of Oceania, Australia, presents Phenomena totally different from those hitherto described. Of its two Sub-Regions, one, Tasmania, has lost its position in the Linguistic World, as the last indigenous inhabitant has perished, and the scanty memorials of its languages and dialects are merely of archæological interest, and in fact no Text has survived to show what the language was. In the second Sub-Region, Australia, the same causes are in operation, and will probably lead to the same result. European civilization will have its way, either in the destruction of the race, or the treading out of the language. It is supposed, that at least sixty thousand natives still survive in different corners of this vast Continent-Island, and probably that number exceeds the population of Polynesia, but the environment of the Australian is an unfortunate one. Even the Missionary has been found wanting to care for these poor scattered and harrowed sheep. Many noble men and women can speak the language of Samoa, or Fiji, or Aneityúm, or Mota, but not one a single Australian language. Where any Missionary work is done, it is in the English language.

In New Guinea our knowledge of the tribes, and languages, is incomplete, because the interior has not been explored; but the whole of Australia has been occupied, and the Natives pushed aside, or out of the world. If we can believe our informants, the ways of Immorality here are different from those of other parts of the World. If the European consorts with a Native female of Asia or Africa, a mixed race springs up, nearly always Christian, and certainly superior in culture to the pure Natives. But in Australia the unhappy woman, impregnated by an European, takes her offspring back to her tribe, and there have come into existence mixed races, more savage, more daring, and more wild, than their maternal relations. In some such way wolf-dogs have come into existence. It is asserted, with some show of probability, that all the languages of Australia spring from one common source, and the same is said of the tribes. A long list of eighty-two varieties of languages and tribes is given in Wallace's Australasia, and in a general way they are marked off into Regions; but the Natives in Australia so entirely go for nothing, and are so far less valuable than the sheep, that the idea of preparing a language-map of Australia seems never to have been entertained. One translation of a Gospel was printed in the Narrinyéri, but the Edition has been exhausted, and no demand made for a reprint. I have failed in getting a copy. Some Grammars, and Vocabularies have been compiled, and in general books on Philology an analysis of these passes muster for a representation of Australian languages; but I cannot realize the problem of the speech of the people in Australia, even as clearly and hopefully as I do in New Guinea, with all the shortcomings of our knowledge. I have written to Australia to seek fuller information, and have received notice of a forthcoming work. When I come to consider the proofs of the unity of these languages as a Family, I find a general accordance in Phonetics, as evidenced by the universal rejection of Sibilants: there is a common stock of primitive words, such as members of the body, objects of general utility, and personal Pronouns. I find in all an imperfect conception of Number, and the uniform use of the same word for "Two." I find in all Dual Suffixes, and duplicate terms for the same object. On the other hand, there are tremendous differences in the word-store of adjacent tribes. I cannot forget, that in the last generation African languages were spoken of as a unit: the World knows better now. The theory of a connection of the typical Australian language with the Dravidian languages of South India may be looked upon as problematical, and certainly premature. All the languages known are agglutinative: they have no Relative Pronoun, or Article, and only sexual Gender: the accent falls generally on the Penultimate: there is an extreme use of onomatopœic words. The perfection of the language, as a language, is a contrast to the barbarous degradation of the people, as a people;

but this is not an uncommon phenomenon in Linguistic Science. The construction of sentences is very complex, and some of the sentences are not capable of literal translation, and have to be paraphrased. It is much to be regretted, that the study of these languages has been so much neglected, as the Australians occupy, in the company of the Bushmen of South Africa, the lowest rounds in the ladder of human culture, and the logical arrangement of thought, as represented by their word-forms and sentence-moulds, supply unequalled insight into the working of the human mind: and thus only can we feel our way to the Origin of Language.

The Australian race of men is as isolated from the rest of the World as the Fauna and Flora of the Region. They differ in physical characteristics, and have black hair, curly, but not woolly: their mental qualities are decidedly inferior to those of other savage races: their skin is black, and offensive in smell: they are great hunters, and sometimes a talent for the art of rude drawing is exhibited: they were Cannibals from choice rather than necessity: they are entirely ignorant of the use of the bow and arrow, but have the speciality of the boomerang and the throwing stick: they had no Religion, but that of ghosts and demons.

It is obvious, that a great deal more has to be done to give an exhaustive statement of the languages of Oceania, and I can only repeat, what I have often written before, that until accurate data of all the languages of the World are collected and collated, all speculations as to the origin of Language itself are premature. Speculations as to affinities of these languages of Oceania with those of the rest of the World seem to be hazardous, as there are no written records to guide. The existence of the English language as the Vernacular of Pitcairn Island would have presented a hopeless puzzle, and a fertile nucleus of Philological guesses, if the story of the Mutiny of the Bounty had not been a part of written History. Many a mutiny, many a storm and shipwreck, has contributed its quota to the population of these Islands during the long course of pre-historic centuries, but the brave men, who founded the new colony, are like those, who lived before Agamemnon. Even in these last ages, the results of the working of Commercial instinct have been marvellous. The Islands of Melanesia had once an unbounded supply of sandal-wood, and have still an inexhaustible supply of a Slug, called "Beche de mer." The wood was required for the Chinese Joss-worship, and the Slug for Chinese Belly-worship, and Englishmen and Americans from their distant homes were the agents in this really degrading Commerce. There is still an English patois current in the Islands, known as "Beche de mer English," and it is amusing to read in a Frenchmen's account of New Caledonia, that he had to communicate with the Natives in this choice Patois, in which Frenchmen are always spoken of as "Wee Wee," and God as "a big fellow," both terms being used in good

faith, and with profound respect. Englishmen are spoken of as "Dimdim," * from the recurrence in their speech of the National Oath, and it is noteworthy, that Froissart in his account of the battle of Agincourt, A.D. 1405, describes them under the term "Goddam." The French Colonial system is everywhere to make use of their own language as the test of loyalty, but they will have in Oceania a hopeless fight against English in its innate freedom from the shackles of Grammatical Inflexion, Genders, and Number, and its power of assimilation of foreign words. Bishop Selwyn (the elder) used to say that the first European words known in the New Hebrides were "Bishop" and "Tobacco." The Schoolmaster is abroad now. It can scarcely be expected, that the dying languages of these dying races will survive under the pressure of the great World-Vernacular, English, which in the next generation will be spoken by hundreds of millions of every race, colour, creed, and nationality, in every part of the World.

For the present, the different Vernaculars of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Mikronesia are the vehicles of a large Religious and Educational literature. All the story-books, and devotional works, including lives of Saints, and Moody's hymns, find their way into Oceanic word-forms. It is to be feared, that the mushroom literary language, which thus springs up under the hurried and uncritical prentice-hands of good and earnest men, is not calculated to convey a clear idea of the primitive simplicity of the forms of speech, which flows undefiled from the lips of men. It could have been wished, that more legends and stories had been taken down verbatim from the mouths of the people, gathered together in social intercourse, than Translations of a book written in a totally different type of language, and transferred to another, fettered by theological interpretations and prepossessions. Unless the translator has caught the real genius of the language, not only the form of words actually in existence, but its undeveloped power of providing for the expression of new ideas out of its own plastic resources, it is to be feared, that new and foreign, and unsympathetic phrases, idioms, and even grammatical forms, may have been introduced by a simple translator, working in his study with the aid of a couple of catechists, brought up in his own schools, and not exposed to the candid criticism of an independent audience, or the fiery attacks of a Public Press. What would have been the fate of Hindi and Urdu, had they been left to the English Judge, in those wonderful compositions called "Decrees," and his Writer of Proceedings? It is stated, that old men in Oceania converse with each other in an idiom no more understood by their children, trained in the Mission School, than are the words of an old Manxwoman in the Isle of Man by her grandchildren in the English-speaking Board Schools.

* This etymology is disputed.

All these Islands are either volcanic, or Coral-formations. From whatever quarter of the world came the wave of population, by the way of the Sea it must have come, and there is no difficulty in realizing this last feature of the process. A vessel could traverse the whole distance betwixt New Guinea and Easter Island without being more than five or six days out of sight of land. Even to the present time Canoes accomplish almost incredible voyages. By the way of the Sea in due course came the Explorers, who revealed the secrets of these sealed Gardens of the Ocean, the Missionaries who came to bring light to those, who were sitting in darkness, the Merchants, who brought the liquor-poison to destroy these races, the plantation-owners, who came to steal the bodies of the men, and lastly, the Agents of the European Governments, who came to annex these poor Islands to distant Empires, or to quarrel with each other about these crumbs, which had fallen from the table of the great Old World.

Let us consider each class in order. Unquestionably Torres and Mendáña, the Spaniards, in 1568; Tasman the Dutchman in 1645; and Bougainville the Frenchman in 1768 led the way; but Captain Cook, the great English Navigator, was the first, who in 1770 explored the Regions from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, from Tahíti to Australia. To him succeeded the unfortunate La Perouse, who perished in 1788 at Vanikoro; his fate remained for many years a mystery, until Dillon, a Captain of a Merchantman, persuaded the Government of Bangál to give him the command of a vessel to follow up a track, which led to the discovery. In the interval D'Entrecastreaux had been sent by the French to search, but had himself perished. Dumont D'Urville, in 1827, followed Dillon to the scene of La Perouse's disaster, and conducted the famous Exploring voyage of the Astrolabe. Wilkes, of the U.S. Navy, accompanied by Horatio Hale, made his famous voyage in 1835. By this time the British Colonies were being established in Australia and New Zealand, and Oceania ceased to be a Region for Explorers. French writers complain with justice, that they took a large share of the early explorations with but scant result. The Spaniards and Dutch, who were still earlier in the field, and whose memory still lives in so many names, have nothing but those names to compensate themselves for the labours, and the lives, and the deaths of their great countrymen.

To the Explorers succeeded at a very early date the Missionaries. Towards the close of the last century the London Missionary Society sent out its famous expedition in the Duff under John Williams, which found its way round Cape Horn to the Society Islands, and established itself in the different Groups of Eastern Polynesia. It was a long work of Faith, and patient waiting. From Polynesia they spread into Melanesia, and John Williams was killed in Erromanga. They occupied the Loyalty Islands, and in

the fullness of time, finding that the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands were occupied by other Societies, they pushed on to the South coast of New Guinea, and occupied it in force, and the Islands in Torres Straits.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society was not slack in following the steps of the Sister Society, and occupying the Friendly Islands, the Navigators' Islands, New Zealand, and the Fiji Archipelago. Their basis of operations was from Sydney in New South Wales, and in due course of time they sent out Pioneer Missions to the Island of New Britain, and the Duke of York's Island on the North-East coast of New Guinea.

The Church of England, through the Church Missionary Society, sent the first Christian Evangelists from Sydney to New Zealand, and after expenditure of lives and treasure, made a lasting impression upon the Maori inhabitants. From New Zealand sprang into existence the romantic and chivalric Melanesian Mission, with their Head Quarters at Norfolk Island, and operating thence upon the Northern portion of the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and the smaller Groups of Santa Cruz and Swallow Islands. Here fell one of the Missionary Heroes of modern times, Bishop Patteson.

The Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Canada, uniting with the Free Church of Scotland, occupied the Southern Islands of the New Hebrides, and prosecuted their quiet labours. In the fatal Island of Erromanga, hallowed by the blood of John Williams, at a later period fell the two Brothers Gordon of Canada, and the wife of the elder brother: all three were cruelly massacred, and devoured. Each one of the Protestant Churches of Great Britain has not hesitated to seal their Faith with the blood of their Agents, demanding no Revenge, seeking for no compensation, counting not their lives dear, that they might finish their course with joy.

The Lutheran Church of Holland has for a long period had a Mission of devoted men in Gelvinck Bay, at the N. W. corner of New Guinea, working among the Mafúr: and now in that portion of the Island, which has come under the Protectorate of Germany no less than three German Missions are being organized.

North of the Equator the American Board of Missions have successfully evangelized the Sandwich Islands, and thence spreading Westwards have founded Missions in the Gilbert Islands, the Marshall Islands, and the Caroline Islands.

It is to the Missionaries of these great Societies of Great Britain, its Colonies, and the United States of North America, that we are indebted for our knowledge of the languages of these vast Ocean-Regions. Translations of the Holy Scriptures, the whole or portions, have been published in more than twenty of their languages. Tribes in a state of savage nudity have been brought under the blessed influence of Gospel civilization. Cannibalism, Human-Sacrifices, Witchcraft, Child-murders have disappeared,

and in their places the habits of decent living and industrious bread-earning in lawful occupation is gradually springing up.

To the emissaries of the Church of Rome the Group of the Marquesas, New Caledonia, and the tiny Islands of Horne and Wallis, alias Uvea and Futuna, fell in the original chance occupation. Their object has ever been to exclude free thought and independent judgment, and, while excluding per fas aut nefas all Protestants from their close preserve, to elevate the to them fictitious cry of Tolerance, and do their best to disturb the peace of the Protestant Congregations. Dependent always on the Civil Power, we find the French Priest ever an intriguer for French domination, and doing his best to prevent Protestants maintaining themselves in French Islands. On the other hand, they thanklessly use to the uttermost the glorious liberty and toleration, which is the characteristic of every British dependency. In Western Australia Spanish Priests maintain an excellent Institution for the Natives at New Nursia to the great satisfaction of all. Some have laid down their lives gallantly for the great cause. All, who have the interest of the lower races at heart, would welcome even the inferior form of Christianity, presented by the Priests to the poor Natives in the shape of crosses, and Latin prayers, and genuflexions, because it is accompanied by lessons of morality, chastity, and acts of kindliness, but the French Priest has the art everywhere of preaching not the Religion of Christ, but the Religion of France, accompanied by false miracles, idle legends, purchase of slave-children, wherever it is feasible, and never-ceasing abuse of Great Britain and Protestantism.

After the Explorers, and the Missionaries, came the European Colonist and European Government, and in these last days, led on by Germany, there has been a regular scramble. Great Britain has annexed the whole of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, the Southern Coast of New Guinea up to the 141° of East Longitude, the Fiji Archipelago including Rotuma, and by a late treaty with Germany the Southern Islands of the Solomon Group were declared to be within the sphere of her influence, a precious new phrase to define the limits of plundering, as if a gang of thieves were to divide the Parishes of London into different spheres of predatory influence. France has annexed New Caledonia, and the Loyalty Islands, the Marquesas Group, and the Society Islands, and the little Islands of Horne and Wallis. France covets the Southern portion of the New Hebrides, and no doubt we shall soon hear of that Group being divided into spheres of British and French influence. Germany has annexed the Northern portion of New Guinea, East of the 141° of Longitude, the Islands of New Britain, New Ireland, New Hannôver, and the Admiralty Islands, and the Northern portions of the Solomon Group, and the Gilbert Islands, and Marshall Islands of Mikronesia have come within the sphere of

their influence. Holland is considered the Protector of New Guinea West of the 141° of East Longitude, and the adjacent Islands. Spain maintains her hold upon the Caroline Islands and the Ladrones. The Sandwich Islands and the Navigators' Group preserve an independence under the guarantee of Great Britain and the United States; but the other Groups not mentioned are in a precarious state, and will fall under some great Power. It is only to be hoped, that the South American Republics may be compelled to keep their hands off. It is bad enough for poor hunted game to fall into the jaws of great lions; but to be the prey of miserable jackals appears to be insult added to injury, and such Peru has proved herself to be.

It is my deliberate opinion, though it is arrived at with sadness, that European civilization presents itself to Races in a low state of Culture with such frightful concomitants, that it is better for them not to have known it. For many years these Islands were the refuges of runaway Sailors from Merchant Vessels, deserters from the Navy, men tainted with crime, dissolute in habits: they settled among the Natives, became worse than them, made them worse than they were, teaching them new arts, new vices, new crimes. In process of time came the Man-Stealing Vessels from Queensland, Fiji, and even Peru. Men were decoyed on board Vessels, thrown into the hold, and kidnapped. Sometimes one of the crew has dressed up to resemble a well-known Missionary, or a Bishop, so as to disarm suspicion. In this way whole Islands were depopulated of their males, some languages have actually ceased to be spoken, a bitter sense of wrong has been engendered in the minds of survivors and neighbours, venting itself in cruelty upon innocent Europeans, and, when the labourer returns to his Island, he comes back a changed, but not improved, man; he is supplied with firearms, and powder, he has acquired vices, and the compound savagery of the low European outcast; he has learned no useful trade, or manufacture, or method of agriculture: he comes back to find his wife remarried, as it was naturally supposed that he was dead: he has a sense of wrong, and the means of avenging it, and he avails himself of the opportunity.

Ships of war have been sent on cruises, and some Commanders have made rough and ready investigations and spoken kind words: others have cannonaded villages accessible to the sea: the liquor dealer has brought his deadly wares for barter with native products, and taught new and deadly tastes. Can it be a matter of surprise that under all such influences the population has wasted away? A ship arrives from Sydney with a few cases of small-pox or measles on board: no attempt is made to protect the people from the risk of infection: to these races infectious diseases, which have become hereditary, and therefore under control, among Europeans, are totally unknown, both in their symptoms, and their remedies: in Fiji,

50,000 died of the measles, for, when the first feverish eruption manifested itself, they rushed into the sea, and this meant death, as the cold water threw the eruption inwards. Many of the established customs, and modes of life familiar to Europeans seem calculated to be destruction to these Islanders: and many of their own customs lead to the same effect: even the adoption of European garments unsuited to the climate leads to disease, and it is notorious, that after commerce with a European a Native woman becomes barren, when united to one of her own countrymen. Of the fact of the gradual decay, and eventual extinction within a calculable period, there can be no doubt.

I quote some lines from Bishop Patteson's Journal: "How I "think of these Islands! How I see these bright coral and sandy "beaches, strips of burning sunshine, fringing the masses of forest "rising into ridges of little hills covered with a dense mass of "vegetation. Hundreds of people are crowding upon them, naked, "armed, with uncouth cries and gestures. I cannot talk to them, "but by signs: but they are my children *now*. May God enable "me to do my duty to them!" And yet, maddened by the cruelties of the man-stealers, they slew him. Some of the Islands consist of chains of lofty Mountains: on some are Volcanoes always in a state of eruption. Some Islands are low, low as the level of the sea: the trees seem growing out of the water: some are mere atolls, circles of corals round an internal lake always at peace, while the sea is raging round. Some of the Islands are girt with barrier reefs formed of coral: in others the Islands themselves are reefs of coral.

The early discoverers, the chance visitors, and the later residents, seem never to weary in the description of the marvellous beauties of these wondrous Islands, shrouded for so many centuries from the knowledge both of the Ancient and Modern World. The Greek and the Roman Geographers had speculated on the existence of an Antarctic Continent, and the Poets of both nations had dreamt of the Fortunate Islands, where Nature produced sustenance without labour; but these secrets were not revealed, until the hour had come, and the veil was lifted up, which had covered this galaxy of Islands, studding the Pacific, and the existence of tribes, languages and customs was revealed in all the virgin freshness and novelty of a totally different culture, unconscious of the discipline of centuries, which had hardened and refined Asiatic and European nations. Still they were found to be the same men, capable of being degraded to the level of evil demons, and of being elevated to the dignity of becoming faithful Christians. In no part of the world has the awful life-giving Power of the Gospel been so manifested by its work on the unredeemed soul, as is disclosed in the Narratives of Protestant, and Roman Catholic Missionaries in these Regions. It was given to these Islanders to develope the high sublimity of the Native Teacher System, and to graft a tree,

which could produce Confessors and Martyrs upon a stock, which had previously produced nothing but Idolaters stained with Human blood and Cannibals. The history of the great possibilities of the human race would have been incomplete, had we not in these last days been informed, that converted Cannibals had won the love and esteem of British Missionaries, both before and after their conversion. The divinity of the Gospel would not have been entirely appreciated, had we never read of the dauntless Polynesian Islanders, accompanied by their brave and faithful Christian wives, with their own free will, being landed on the coasts of an Island of bloody savages, knowing that there were but two alternatives, either to be killed and devoured long before the Mission Ship returned next year, or by the Grace of God working through their feeble speech, and humble steadfast example, to obtain such an influence over the Savages, as to transform them into new men, teaching the men to be strong and brave without being cruel, and the women to be loving and tender, and yet not unchaste. And they succeeded: they taught their countrymen to cover their nakedness, leave off their evil habits, submit to the laws of Monogamy, tear down and destroy their idols of wood and stone, and elevate the sign of the Cross, and to love the Bible, faithfully rendered in their own beautiful language, so dearly, that neither Giant-Pagan in Madagascar, nor Giant-Pope in Tahiti could tear it from their hands and hearts. The heart wakes up in a glad surprise, when it reads of such things. All those, who were engaged in this blessed work, sing the same triumphant Psalm; the same undercurrent of the music of thanksgiving is heard in all their narratives.

Without doubt, those who love their Master, and believe His precious promises, will rejoice, when even one poor Island, after expenditure of labour, and precious lives, is added to His Kingdom. The value of redeemed souls is not estimated in earthly balances, or by human calculations. The Lord knoweth them that are His. But it is a cause of encouragement for the future and thanksgiving for the past, to regard this blessed chain of Missions spread like a necklace of Pearls from the shores of New Guinea and Australia right up to the gates of the Morning in Easter Island almost within touch of South America. Our knowledge of the languages and customs of these Races has been collected solely by the Missionaries. The civilization of these ends of the World was not to be accomplished by Guns or Ships of War. Commerce, Statecraft or Colonization would not help these helpless races for the short period of existence left to them by the ruthless Law of Progress: it has rather aided their destruction by substituting Rum, Gunpowder, and Loathsome Diseases, for Cannibalism, Human Sacrifices, and Witchcraft. But the Missionary spirit of Europe and America has proved equal to the occasion, and a voice stronger than that of the

Lust of Gold, Earth-greed, and Annexation, has been heard. Instead of seeking for gold, the true-hearted Missionary has given something better than fine gold: instead of sending out foreign Governors, and Captains to rule over these tribes, a domination for good has been established over their souls by men of their own colour and race, but who have been transformed into Angels of Light by the life-giving influences of the Holy Spirit. Instead of attempting to annex these far-off Islands to an Earthly Kingdom, the Messengers of Good Tidings have given to these inhabitants of the ends of the world an inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven. A stream of light has been left on the waters to mark the course of the Mission Ship, the light of Human Knowledge, Christian Culture. and Divine Pardon. The one great object of Human Existence is to discover the knowledge of God's dealings with His Creatures, and the one great duty of those Creatures is to love, honour, and worship that great Creator, no longer unknown. This object has been obtained: this duty has been performed. Laus Deo!

"there to wander far away
On from island unto island at the gateways of the Day,
Larger constellations burning, mellow moons, and happy skies,
Breadth of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise.
Never comes the trader, never floats an European flag,
Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodlands, swings the trailer from the crag;
Droops the heavy-blossomed bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree,
Summer Isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of Sea."

LONDON, MAY 5, 1887.

APPENDIX.

PROVISIONAL LIST OF LANGUAGES OF OCEANIA UP TO MAY, 1887.

1 Polynesia			30
2 Melanesia	I. South Sea Islands	52	118
	II. New Guinea	66	
3 Mikronesia			14
4 Australia			34
		Grand Total	196

Subject to Reductions and Amplifications, as further information and criticism is received: it is welcomed.

R. N. C.

ABBREVIATIONS.—G. Grammar. D. Dictionary. Voc. Vocabulary. G.N. Grammatical Note. Z. Zeitschrift. Ethn. Ethnological.

I. POLYNESIA.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
1	Extreme East	Easter Island		Oster Insel. Geiseler, Berlin.
2	Gambier I.	Mangaréva		Mosbleck, Voc., Paris, 1843.
3	Low Archipelago	Taumotú		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
4	Society or Georgian I.	Tahíti		London Miss. Soc., G.D., Lond., 1831. Gaussin, G., Paris, 1853.
5	Cook or Harvey Island	Rarotonga		Buzacott, G., Rarotonga, 1854.
6	Austral I.	Rapa		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
7	Marquesas I	Nukuhiva		Buschmann, G., Berlin, 1843. Gaussin, G., Paris, 1853.
8	Sandwich I.	Hawaii		Andrews, G.D., Honolulu, 1854—65.
9		Savage I.		Lawes, G. (MSS.)
10	Navigators' I.	Samoa		Pratt, G.D., London, 1862.
11	Union Group or Tokelau	Fakaafo		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
12	Ellis Group	Vaitupa		Do.
13		Wallis I. or Uvea		Texts, Freiburg, 1878, 1885.
14		Horne I. or Futuna		Grezel, G.D., Paris, 1878.
15		Cocos I.		Hale's Expedition, U.S., Voc. 1841.
16	Friendly I.	Tonga I.		West, G., London, 1865. Rabone, D. (MSS.)
17	Loyalty I.	Uvea I.		See No. 13.
18	New Hebrides Island.	Aniwa I.		Steele's New Hebrides, Text, London, 18 .
19	Do.	Futuna I.		See No. 14.
20	Do.	Mel and Fil I.		
21	Shepherd's Group	Mai or Three Hills I.		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
22	Duff I.	Taumoco I.		Quiros, Voc.
23	Swallow I.	Nukapu I.		Markham, Cruise of the Rozario, J.R.G.S., 1872.
24	Do.	Tukopia I.		Dumont D'Urville, Voc., Paris, 1838.
25	Do.	Cherry I.		Markham, Cruise of the Rozario, J.R.G.S., 1872.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
26	Solomon I.	Leneneowa		Wallace, Australasia, 1879.
27	Do.	Rennell and Bellona		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
28	Do.	Ontong Java		Do.
29	New Zealand	Maori		Maunsell, G., 1862. Williams, D., 1852.
30	Do.	Chatham I.		Wallace, Australasia, 1879.

II. MELANESIA.

Subdivision I.

1		Fiji Archipelago	Several Dialects	Hazlewood and Calvert, G.D., 1850-52
2		Rotuma I.		Hale's Expedition, U.S., G.N., 1846.
3	Loyalty Island	Nengóne I. or Mare		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
4	Do.	Lifu I.		Do.
5	Do.	Uvea I.		H. Conon Von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873.
6	New Caledonia	I. Duauru		Capt. Cook, Voc., 1770. H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873.
7	Do.	Balada		
8	Do.	Yengeen		
9	Do.	Names uncertain		
10	Do.			
11	Do.			
12	Do.	I. of Pines		
13	New Hebrides	I. Anciyúm I.		Inglis, G.D., Lond., 1822.
14	Do.	Tanna I.		Texts, Bible Society.
15	Do.	Erromanga I.		Do.
16	Do.	Sandwich I. or Fate		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, G.N., Oxford, 1886.
17	Do.	Montague I. or Nguna		Do.
18	Do. (Shepherd Group)	Mai or Three Hills (Sesake)		Do.
19	Do. (Shepherd Group)	Tongoa		Do.
20	Do.	Api I., Tasiko or Baki		Do.
21	Do.	Do. Lemororo		Do.
22	Do.	Pama I.		H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873.
23	Do.	Ambrym I.		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
24	New Hebrides I.	Mallicollo I.		Georg Von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882.
25	Do.	Whitsuntide or Pentecost I. (A-Raga)		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
26	Do.	Espirito Santo (C. Lisburn)		Do.
27	Do.	Do. (Nogayon)		Do.
28	Do.	Lepers' I. (Oba)		Do.
29	Do.	Aurora I. (Maiwo)		Do.
30	Banks I.	Star I. (Merlav)		Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford. 1866.
31	Do.	St. Maria (Gog)		Do.
32	Do.	Do. (Laku)		Do.
33	Do.	Great Banks I. (Vanua Lava)	1 Pak 2 Sasar-Leon 3 Vureas Voc. 4 Mosina 5 Alo-Tepel 6 Nawâno 7-11 (Names uncertain)	Do., Voc.
34	Do.	Sugar Loaf I. (Mota)		Do., G., Texts, Voc.
35		Saddle I. (Motlav)		Do., G.N.
36		Do. (Volow)		
37		Rowa		Do.
38		Bligh I. (Norbarbar or Uraparapara)		Do.
39	Torres I.	Lo		Do.
40	St. Cruz I.	Vanikoro I.		Do.
41	Do.	Deni I.		Do.
42	Swallow I.	Nifilole I.		Do.
43	Solomon I.	San Christobal I.	1 Fagani or Bauro	Do.
44	Do.	Uláwa I.		Do.
45	Do.	Malanta I.	1 Saa 2 Malamashike 3 Bululaha 4 Alite	Do. Do.
46	Do.	Guadalcanar I.	1 Gera 2 Vaturama 3 (Name uncertain)	Do.
47	Do.	Florida I.		Do.
48	Do.	Savo I		Do.
49	Do.	Ysabel I. (Bugotu)		Do.
50	Do.	Do. (Gao)		Do., Voc.
51	Do.	New Georgia		H. C. v. d. Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1873, Voc.
52	Do.	Eddystone I.		

SUBDIVISION II.

NEW GUINEA (GERMAN).

ISLANDS.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
1	Bismark Archipelago	New Britain		Strauch, Z. Ethn. viii., 1876, Voc.
2	Do.	Duke of York		Brown, G., Sydney, 1882.
3	Do.	New Ireland		Strauch, Z. Ethn. viii., 1876, Voc.
4	Do.	Moise		Le Maire, Julg, Litteratur, Berlin, 1847.
5	Do.	New Hannover		Do.
6	Do.	Admiralty		Georg von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1882, Voc.

MAINLAND.

1	Kaiser Wilhelm's Land	Astrolabe Bay, alias Maclay Küste		Dumont D'Urville, Paris, Voc., 1833. Georg von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1882, Voc.

NEW GUINEA (BRITISH).

ISLANDS.

N.B.—Nothing known of d'Entrecastreaux Islands and Woodlark Islands.

1	Lousiade Islands	Teste		McFarlane, MSS. Codrington, Melanesian Languages, Oxford, 1886.
2	China Straits	Dinner		Texts.
3	Do.	Heath's		McFarlane, MSS.
4	Off South Cape	Brumer		McGillivray, Voc., 1852.
5	W. of Orangerie Bay	Toulon		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
6		Yule	2 Dialects	D'Albertis, Travels, Voc., 1880.
7	Torres Straits	Darnley, alias Erub		Murray, "40 Years," Voc., 1876.
8	Do.	Murray, alias Mer		Texts.
9	Do.	Yorke		McGillivray, Voc., 1852.
10	Do.	Saibai		Texts.
11	Do.	Tauan, alias Cornwallis		McFarlane, MSS.
12	Do.	Thursday		

MAINLAND.

N.B.—Nothing known of the Languages on the North Coast from Huon Gulf to Goodenough Bay. The list begins from the Eastern point and proceeds Westwards.

1	Goshen Straits	East Cape		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
2	China Straits	Milne Bay		Do.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
3	South Cape	Dahúni		Texts
		Orangerie Bay		Dumont D'Urville, Voc., 1833.
4	West of Mount Clarence	Aroma, alias Aloma		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
5	Near Keppel Pt.	Dedele		Do.
6	Hood's Bay	Kalo		Do.
		Quaibo		Do.
7	Mountains behind Hood's Lagoon	Animoropu		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
8	Hood Point	Kerepuna, alias Hula		First School Book, Sydney, 1878.
		Papaka, alias Babaga		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
9	Round Head	Ikolu		Do.
10	West of Round Head	Palavai		Do.
11	Do.	Manukolu		Do.
12	Pt. Moresby	Motu		Lawes, G.D., 1886.
13	Do. Inland	Koitapu		Stone, New Guinea, 1880, Voc.
	Do. Mountains	Koiári		Do.
14	Redscar Bay	Toula		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
15	Do.	Kabádi, alias Kapatsi		Chalmers, Pioneering, 1887.
	Cape Suckling	Naala		McGillivray, Voc., 1852.
16	Hall's Sound	Mou, alias Lolu		Lawes, Wallace's Australasia, 1879.
	Cape Possession	Maiva		Stone, New Guinea, Voc., 1880.
17	Freshwater Bay	Elema		Stone, New Guinea, Voc, 1880.
18	West of Do.	Namau		Chalmers, Pioneering, 1887.
19	Bald Head	Mipúa		Do.
20	Fly River	Kiwái		D'Albertis, Travels, Voc., 1880.

NEW GUINEA (DUTCH).

Islands.

1	Gelvinck Bay	Jobi	2 Dialects Ansus, Srui	Georg Von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882.
2	Do.	Misóri, alias Schouten, alias Suk i Biah		
3	Do.	Mafúr, alias Nafúr		Meyer, G.N., Vienna, 1874.
				Van Hasselt, D., Utrecht, 1875.
4	Do.	Rún		Georg Von der Gabelentz, Leipzig, 1882.
5	Do.	Moa		Do.
6	Dampier Straits	Middleburg, alias Mispaulu		Do.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
7	Dampier Straits	Guebe		Dumont D'Urville, Paris, Voc., 1853.
8		Misol		Schwan u. Van der Aa, Voc., Hague, 1879.
9		Ki		Wallace, Malay Archipelago, 1875.
10		Aru		Do.
		MAINLAND.		
1	North Coast	Humboldt Bay		Schwan u. Van der Aa, Voc., Leipzig, 1879.
2	Gelvinck Bay	Aropin, alias Waropin		Georg Von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882.
3	Do.	Wandaman		Do.
4	Do.	Umar		Do.
5	Do.	Jaur		Do.
6	Do.	Arfak	2 Dialects	Do.
7	Gelvinck Bay	Andai		Georg Von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882.
8	Do.	Hattam		Do.
9	North Coast	Amberbaki		Do.
10	South Coast	Onin		Do.
11	Do.	Kapauer		Schwan u. Van der Aa, Voc., Hague, 1879.
12	Do.	Tuburasi		Do.
13	Do.	Karas		Do.
14	McCluer Bay	Segar Bay		Georg Von der Gabelentz, Voc., Leipzig, 1882.
15	Arguna Bay	Kowiai		Do.
16	Interior of New Guinea	Mairassi		Do.
17	Cape Steenborm	Utanata, alias Lobo	2 Dialects	Do.

III. MIKRONESIA.

1		Tobi or Lord North I.	Hale's Expedition, U.S., Voc., 1846.
2		Pellew I.	Semper, Zeit. Anth. Ges., Berlin, 1871.
3		Ladrones or Marianne I.	Hale's Expedition, U.S., Voc., 1846.
4	Caroline I.	Yap I.	Tentens u. Kaberi, Voc., Hamburgh, 1873.
5	Do.	Mackenzi or Ulithi I.	Do.
6	Do.	Ponape	Gulick, G.N., Voc., Text, Boston, U.S.
7	Do.	Kusai	Text, Boston, U.S.
8	Do.	Satawal	Dumont D'Urville, Voc., Paris, 1833.
9	Do.	Ualan	Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
10	Do.	Mortlock	Text, Boston, U.S.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
11	Marshall or Radakh	I. Ebon		Hernsheim, Leipzig, 1880, G.N.
12	Do.	Mille		Do.
13	Gilbert I. or Kingsmill	Tarawa		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1841.
14	Union Group	Nui I.		Whitmee, Missionary's Cruise, 1871.

IV. AUSTRALIA.

1	Queen's Land	Cape York Konraregga Cape York		McGillivray, Voyage of the Rattlesnake, Voc., 1852.
2	Do.	Godang		Do.
3	Do.	Moreton Bay		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
4	Do.	Wide Bay		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 26. Bunce, Voc., Melbourne, 1856.
5	Do.	Darling Downs		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 29. Brucker, Voc.
6	Do.	Monero Downs		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 20. Lohtsky, Voc., J.R.G.S., ix., 1839.
1	New South Wales	Lake Macquaire		Threlkeld, G., Sydney, 1836. F. Müller, Grundriss, vol. i. 1882.
2	Do.	Bathurst		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
3	Do.	Mudgee		Do.
4	Do.	Wiraduree		F. Müller, Grundriss, vol. i. 1882.
5	Do.	Peel River		Hale's Expedition, U.S., 1846.
6	Do.	New England		Do.
7	Do.	Terreboo (Condamine River)		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 29. Birrell, Voc.
8	Do.	Bocharraboy (Condamine River)		Bleek's Catalogue of Library of Sir G. Grey, p. 29. Bunce, Voc., Melbourne, 1856.
9	Do.	Grafton Range		Do.
10	Do.	Kamilaroi (Namoi River)		Ridley, Kamilaroy, Sydney, 1866.

No.	Region.	Language.	Dialect.	Authorities.
11	New South Wales	Turrubul (Brisbane River)		Ridley, Kamilaroy, Sydney, 1868.
12	Do.	Dippil (N. of Moreton Bay)		Do.
13	Do.	Jervis Bay		Dumont D'Urville, 1833, Voc. Meyer, Voc. of Aborigines, 1843.
1	Victoria	Melbourne		Bunce, Melbourne, 1856.
2	Do.	Omio Snowy Mountains		Do. Dawson, L. of Victoria, W. District, 1855. Hutt, Voc., 1842. Brough Smith, Aborigines.
1	S. Australia.	Port Lincoln		Teichelman and Schurmann, G. Voc., 1840.
2	Do.	Parankalla		Schurmann, Voc., Adelaide, 1844. F. Müller, Grundriss, vol. i., 1882.
3	Do.	Adelaide		Do. Williams, Voc., 1839.
4	Do.	Murray R.		Moorhouse, G., Voc., 1846.
5	Do.	Encounter Bay		Meyer, Voc., Adelaide, 1843. F. Müller, Grundriss, vol. i., 1882.
6	Do.	Woolner D.		Bennet and Wood, Voc., Adelaide, 1872.
7	Do.	Narrinyéri		Text, Bible Society.
8	Do.	Pt. Essington		McGillivray, Voyage of Rattlesnake, Voc., 1852.
9	Do	Castlereagh		Bunce, Voc., Melbourne, 1856. Taplin, Folk Lore, Languages of S. Australia, 1879.
1	W. Australia.	Swan River		F. Müller, Grundriss, vol. i., 1882.
2	Do.	Murray Bay (S. of Perth)		Brady, Voc., Rome, 1845.
3	Do.	King George's Sound		Sir G. Grey, Voc. London, 1841. Moore, Voc., London, 1842. Dumont D'Urville, Paris, 1833, Voc.
4	Do.	New Nursia		Spanish Missionaries, Voc., Missions Catholiques, 1878.

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